Originis Eccleſiaſticæ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Chriſtian Church.

VOL. VI. In Two BOOKS.

GIVING,

I. An Account of the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and its ſeveral Parts, the Pſalmody, the Hymns, the Reading of the Scriptures, the Preaching, and the Prayers of the Penitents, Energumens and Catechumens, called the firſt, or Ante-Communion Service.

II. An Account of the *Miſſa Fidelium*, or whole COMMUNION-SERVICE of the Ancient CHURCH.

To which are added,

Two Diſcourſes, Of Preparation to the COMMUNION: and of Frequent COMMUNION, out of the Ancient Writers of the CHURCH.

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BOOK XIV.

Of that Part of Divine Service which the Ancients comprized under the General Name of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, The Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion-Service.

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Of the PSALMODY *of the Ancient Church.*

Sect. 1. *That the Service of the ancient Church uſually began with Pſalmody.*

IT has been obſerved before, That the Ancients comprized their whole Service under Two General Heads, to which they gave the diſtinguiſhing Names of *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, and *Miſſa Fidelium*, the Service of the Catechumens, and the Service of Communicants or Believers; that is, as we would now term them, The Ante-Communion-Service, and the Communion-Service. The Service of the Catechumens was that Part of Divine Worſhip, at which the Catechumens, and all others who were not perfect and full Communicants, were allowed to be preſent; and it conſiſted of Pſalmody, Reading the Scriptures, Preaching, and Prayers for ſuch particular Orders of Men, as were not admitted to participate of the Holy Myſteries: And under theſe ſeveral Heads we muſt now conſider it.

THE Service uſually began with Reading or Singing of *Pſalms*, as appears from that of St. *Jerom* [*a*] deſcribing the Service of the *Egyptian* Monks: They meet at Nine a Clock, and then the *Pſalms* are ſung, and the Scriptures are read, and after Prayers they all ſit down, and the Father preaches a Sermon to them. And ſo *Caſſian* repreſents it [*b*] That firſt the *Pſalms* were ſung, and then followed two Leſſons, one out of the *Old Teſtament*, and the other out of the *New*. Only on the Lord's Day and the Fifty Days of *Pentecoſt*, and the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*, they read one Leſſon out of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, or the *Epiſtles*, and the other out of the *Goſpels*. But probably there might be a Difference in the Order of Reading in different Churches. And that may reconcile the different Opinions of Learned Men concerning the Order of their Service. For ſome think they began with Reading the Scriptures, and others with a Prayer of Confeſſion. The Author of the *Conſtitutions*, it is certain, preſcribes [*c*] firſt the Reading of the *Old Teſtament*, and then the *Pſalms*, and after that the *Acts of the Apoſtles* and *Epiſtles*, and laſt of all the *Goſpels*. So that the *Pſalms* were intermingled with the Leſſons according to the Rules and Preſcriptions which that Author had obſerved in ſome Churches. St. *Baſil* [*d*] ſpeaks of a Confeſſion

[*a*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. Poſt horam nonam in commune concurritur, Pſalmi reſonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, &c.

[*b*] Caſſian. Inſtitut. Lib. 2. cap. 6. Quibus (Pſalmis) Lectiones geminas adjungentes, id eſt, unam Veteris & aliam novi Teſtamenti, &c. In die vero Sabbati vel Dominico utraſque de novo recitant Teſtamento, id eſt, unam de Apoſtolo, vel Actibus Apoſtolorum, & aliam de Evangeliis. Quod etiam totis Quinquageſimæ diebus faciunt. [*c*] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. Lib. 5. cap. 19. [*d*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. T. 3. p. 96.

Confeſſion made to GOD upon their Knees, after which they roſe up, and betook themſelves to ſing *Pſalms* to GOD. But that was in their Vigils or Morning Prayers before Day, and moſt probably only a private Confeſſion, which every Man made ſilently by himſelf, before they began the publick Service. But if we take it for a publick Confeſſion, as the Learned *Hamon Leſtrange* [e] does, then it will argue, That the *Eaſtern* Churches began their Morning *Antelucan* Service with a Prayer of Confeſſion, and ſo went on to their Pſalmody, which was the great Exerciſe and Entertainment of their Nocturnal Vigils. And indeed it was their Exerciſe at all Times in the Church, as St. *Auſtin* [f] notes, to fill up all Vacuities, when neither the Reading of the Scriptures, nor Preaching, nor Prayers, interpoſed to hinder them from it. All other Spaces were ſpent in ſinging of *Pſalms*, than which there could not be any Exerciſe more uſeful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his Opinion. And upon this Account (if the Obſervation of *Leſtrange* be rightly made out [g] of *Chryſoſtom)* the People were uſed to entertain the Time with ſinging of *Pſalms*, before the Congregation was complete and fully aſſembled. I take no Notice here of their Pſalmody at other Times, at their Meals, at their Labours, and in their private Devotions: Becauſe, though this is frequently mentioned by the Ancients with great and large Encomiums, yet it differed in many reſpects from the common Pſalmody, and we can

[e] Leſtrange, Alliance of Div. Offic. cap. 3. p. 75.

[f] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. Quando non eſt tempus, cum in Eccleſia fratres congregantur, ſancta cantandi, niſi cum legitur, aut diſputatur, aut antiſtites clara voce deprecantur, aut communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicitur?

[g] Leſtrange Allyance of Div. Offic. cap. 3. p. 77.

draw little Light or Argument from that to explain the publick Service.

Sect. 2. *The* Pſalms *intermixed with Leſſons and Prayers in ſome Churches.*

As to the publick Pſalmody of the Church, though we take it for the firſt and leading Part of the Service, yet we are not ſo to underſtand it, as if it was all performed at once in one continued Courſe of Repeating many *Pſalms* together without Intermiſſion, but rather with ſome Reſpite, and a Mixture of other Parts of Divine Service, to make the whole more agreeable and delightful. At leaſt, it was apparently ſo in the Practice of ſome Churches. For the Council of *Laodicea* made a Decree [*h*], That the *Pſalms* ſhould not be ſung one immediately after another, but that a Leſſon ſhould come between every *Pſalm*. And St. *Auſtin* plainly intimates, that this was the Practice of his own Church. For in one of his *Homilies* [*i*] he takes Notice firſt of the Reading of the Epiſtle, then of Singing the XCV *Pſalm*, *O come let us worſhip, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker*, and after that of a Leſſon read out of the Goſpel. And in another *Homily* [*k*] he ſpeaks of them in the ſame Order. In the Leſſon out of the Epiſtle, ſays he, Thanks are given to GOD for the Faith of the Gentiles. In the *Pſalm* we ſaid, *Turn us again, Thou Lord God of Hoſts, ſhew the Light of Thy Countenance, and we ſhall be whole.* In the Goſpel we were

[*h*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 17. [*i*] Aug. Serm. 10. de Verbis Apoſtoli. p. 112. Hoc de Apoſtolica Lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus Pſalmum, exhortantes nos invicem una voce, una corde dicentes, Venite adoremus, &c. Poſthæc Evangelica Lectio decem leproſos mundatos nobis oſtendit.

[*k*] Aug. Hom. 33. de Verb. Domini. p. 49. In Lectione Apoſtolica gratiæ aguntur Deo de fide gentium. In Pſalmo diximus, Deus virtutum converte nos, &c. In Evangelio ad cœnam vocati ſumus, &c.

were called to the Lord's Supper. By comparing these two Places of St. *Austin* together, we may observe, that it was not any particular *Psalm* that was appropriated to come between the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, but the *Psalm* that was in the ordinary Course of Reading. For the xcv^th^ is mentioned in one Place, and the lxxx *Psalm* in the other. *Mabillon* has observed the same Practice in the *French* Churches, out of the Collation between the *Catholicks* and *Arians* in the Reign of *Gundobadus* King of *Burgundy*, *An.* 499. For in the Relation of that Conference [*l*] it is said, That on the Vigil before the Day of Disputation, in celebrating the Divine Offices, it happened that the first Lesson, that was out of the *Pentateuch*, had those Words, *I will harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, &c. After which the *Psalms* were sung, and then another Lesson was read out of *Isaiah*, in which were these Words, *Go and tell this People, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand.* After the *Psalms* were sung again, another Lesson was read out of the *Gospel*, wherein were those Words of our Saviour upbraiding the *Jews* with their Infidelity, *Wo unto thee* Chorazin, *&c.* And last of all the *Epistle* was read, containing those Words, *Despisest thou the Riches of his Goodness*,&c. where it is easy to observe, That as there were Four Lessons read out of the *Old* and *New Te-*

[*l*] Collat. &c. ap. Mabillon. de cursu Gallicano. p. 399. Evenit autem ut ea nocte, cum Lector secundum morem inciperet Lectionem à Moyse, incidit in ea Verba Domini, Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, c&c. Deinde cum post Psalmos decantatos recitaret ex Prophetis, occurrerunt Verba Domini ad Esaiam dicentis, Vade & dices populo huic, Audite audientes, &c. Cumque adhuc Psalmi fuissent decantati, & legeret ex Evangelio; incidit in Verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis Incredulitatem, Væ tibi Chorazin, &c. Denique cum Lectio fieret ex Apostolo, &c.

ſtament, ſo there were *Pſalms* ſung between each Leſſon, except the laſt which is not mentioned.

Sect. 3. *Which* Pſalms *were called by a peculiar Name* Pſalmi Reſponſorij.

THESE *Pſalms* were ſtiled by a peculiar Name, *Reſponſoria*, and *Pſalmi Reſponſorij*, the Reſponſories; which was not a Name affixed to any particular Pſalms, but was given to all ſuch as happened to fall in here, in the common Courſe of Reading. The fourth Council of *Toledo* is to be underſtood of ſuch Pſalms, when it ſpeaks of Reſponſories [*m*], blaming ſome for neglecting to uſe the *Gloria Patri*, after them. And *Gregory Turonenſis* [*n*] oftenmentions them more expreſsly under the Name of *Pſalmi Reſponſorij*, making it a Part of the Deacon's Office to repeat them. The ancient Ritualiſts are not agreed about the Reaſon of the Name, why they were called *Reſponſoria*: Some ſaying [*o*] they were ſo called, becauſe one Singing, the whole Quire did anſwer them: Whilſt others [*p*] ſay, they had their Name becauſe they anſwered to the Leſſons, being ſung immediately after them. Which ſeems to be the more likely Reaſon.

Sect. 4. *Some* Pſalms *appropriated to particular Services.*

BUT we are not to imagine, that theſe were the only *Pſalms* which the Ancients uſed in their Pſalmody. For ſome *Pſalms* were of conſtant Uſe in the Church, as being appropriated to particular Services. We have ſeen [*] before, that the lxiii *Pſalm*, O *God*, *my God*,

[*m*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 15. Sunt quidam qui in fine Reſponſoriorum, Gloria non dicunt, &c. [*n*] Greg. Turon. de Vitis Patrum. cap. 8. Diaconus Reſponſorium Pſalmum canere cœpit. It. Hiſt. Francor. Lib. 8. cap. 3. Jubet Rex ut Diaconum noſtrum, qui ante diem ad Miſſas Pſalmum Reſponſorium dixerat, canere juberem. [*o*] Iſidor. de Offic. Lib. 1. cap. 8. [*p*] Rupert. de Offic. Lib. 1. cap. 15. [*] Book XIII. Chap. x. n. 1.

God, early will I ſeek Thee, was peculiarly ſtiled the *Morning Pſalm,* becauſe it was always ſung at Morning Service, as the xcv *Pſalm* is now in our *Liturgy.* And the cxli *Pſalm, Let my Prayer be ſet forth in Thy Sight as the Incenſe, and let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice,* was always ſung [*] at Evening Service. They had alſo ſome proper Pſalms adapted to the Nature of their Communion-Service, and their Funeral Offices, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And in the *French* Church, from the Time that *Muſæus* Presbyter of *Marſeilles* compoſed his *Lectionarium,* or Order of Reading the *Pſalms* and Leſſons, at the Inſtance of *Venerius* his Biſhop, the Reſponſory Pſalms were all adapted to their proper Times and and Leſſons, as *Gennadius* [*q*] informs us. And this, ſome Learned Men [*r*] think, was at firſt peculiar to the *Gallican* Office, and a ſingular Uſage of the *French* Church. Which may be true as to the Appropriating the ſeveral Pſalms to their proper Leſſons in the general Courſe of the Year: But it cannot be true, if it be meant only of particular and ſolemn Occaſions. For the Church had not only proper Leſſons, but proper Pſalms read upon greater Feſtivals, ſuitable to the Occaſion; and that long before the Time of *Muſæus*'s Compoſing his *Kalendar* for the *Gallican* Church. For St. *Auſtin* [*s*] plainly informs us, that the xxii *Pſalm, My God, my God, why haſt Thou forſaken me,* &c. was always read upon the Day of our SAVIOUR's Paſſion in the *African* Church, and he ſeems to intimate, that the *Donatiſts* did the ſame, though they were ſo ſtony-hearted as

[*] *See* Book XIII. Chap. xi. n. 2. [*q*] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Reſponſoria etiam Pſalmorum Capitula Tempori & Lectionibus congruentia excerpſit. [*r*] Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 218. [*s*] Aug. in Pſal. 21. in Præf. Serm. 3. p. 43.

not to make a juſt Application of it. And there is little queſtion to be made, but that as they had proper Pſalms for this Occaſion, ſo they had for all the other ſolemn Feſtivals.

Sect. 5. *Others ſung in the ordinary Courſe as they lay, without being appropriated to any Time or Day.*

THE other Pſalms were ſung in the ordinary Courſe of Reading from End to End, in the ſame Order as they lay in the Book, without being appropriated to any Times, or Leſſons, or Days, except thoſe particular *Pſalms*, which were appointed as proper for each Canonical Hour. *Caſſian* obſerves [*t*], That in *Egypt*, at the firſt Beginning of the Monaſtick Life, there were almoſt as many Types, Rules, or Orders about this Matter, as there were Monaſteries, ſome Singing Eighteen *Pſalms* immediately one after another, others Twenty, and ſome more. But at laſt by common Conſent, the Number for Morning and Evening Service was reduced to Twelve, which were read in one continued Courſe [*u*] without any Leſſons coming between them: For they had only two Leſſons, one out of the *Old Teſtament*, and the other out of the *New*, and thoſe read only when all the *Pſalms* were ended. He tells us alſo, That in ſome Places they ſung Six *Pſalms* [*x*] every Canonical Hour, and ſome

[*t*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 2. [*u*] Caſſian. ibid. cap. 4. Per univerſam Ægyptum & Thebaidem duodenarius Pſalmorum numerus tam Veſpertinis quam Nocturnis ſolennitatibus cuſtoditur, ita duntaxat ut poſt hunc numerum duæ Lectiones, Veteris ſcilicet ac Novi Teſtamenti ſingulæ ſubſequantur.

[*x*] Ibid. cap. 2. Sunt quibus in ipſis quoque Diurnis Orationum Officiis, id eſt, Tertia, Sexta, Nonaque id viſum eſt, ut ſecundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino reddantur obſequia, Pſalmorum etiam & Orationum putarent numerum coæquandum: Nonnullis placuit ſenarium numerum ſingulis diei Conventibus deputari.

ſome proportioned the Number of *Pſalms* to the Number of the Hour at which they met at their Devotions: So that at the third Hour they had only Three *Pſalms*, but Six at the ſixth, and Nine at the ninth Hour; till upon more mature Deliberation they came at laſt to this Reſolution, to have only Three *Pſalms* at every Diurnal Hour of Prayer [*y*], reſerving the greater Number of Twelve for the more ſolemn Aſſemblies at Morning and Evening Prayer. Though the Cuſtom of conforming the Number of *Pſalms* to the Number of Hours continued in Uſe in ſome Parts of *France*, or elſe was taken up in the Time of the ſecond Council of *Tours An.* 567. as appears from a ſingular Canon of that Council [*z*], which I have recited at large before in the laſt Book [*].

Sect. 6. *And ſome appointed occaſionally at the Diſcretion of the Biſhop or Precentor.*

BESIDES theſe, it was uſual for the Biſhop or Precentor to appoint any *Pſalm* to be ſung occaſionally in any Part of the Service at Diſcretion: As now our Anthems in Cathedrals are left to the Choice of the Precentor, and the *Pſalms* in *Metre* to the Diſcretion of the Miniſter, to chuſe and appoint what *Pſalms* he pleaſes, and what Times he thinks moſt proper in Divine Service. Thus *Athanaſius* tells us he appointed his Deacon to ſing an Occaſional *Pſalm* [*a*] when his Church was beſet with the *Arian* Soldiers. And St. *Auſtin* [*b*] ſometimes ſpeaks of a particular *Pſalm*, which

[*y*] Caſſian. Lib. 3. cap. 3. [*z*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. [*] Book XIII. Chap. ix. n. 9. [*a*] Athan. Apol. 2. 717. [*b*] Aug. in Pſal. 138. p 650. Pſalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari à Lectore: Sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Malumus nos in errore Lectoris ſequi voluntatem Dei, quàm noſtram in noſtro Propoſito. Vid. Aug. Præfat. in Pſal. 31.

which he ordered the Reader to repeat, intending himſelf to preach upon it: And it once happened, that the Reader miſtaking one of theſe *Pſalms*, read another in its Stead; which put St. *Auſtin* upon an *Extempore* Diſcourſe upon the *Pſalm* thatt was read by Miſtake to the People. And when we conſider that they ſometimes ſpent whole Days and Nights almoſt in Pſalmody; as when St. *Ambroſe*'s Church was beſet with the *Arian* Soldiers, the People within continued the whole Night and Day [*c*] in Singing of *Pſalms*; it will eaſily be imagined that at ſuch Times they did not ſing appropriated *Pſalms*, but entertained themſelves with ſuch as the Biſhop then occaſionally appointed, or left them at large to their own Choice, to ſing at Liberty and Diſcretion. Sometimes the Reader himſelf pitched upon a *Pſalm* as the Neceſſity of Affairs would allow him, or his own Diſcretion direct him. Thus St. *Auſtin* tells us in one of his *Homilies* [*d*], That he had preached upon a *Pſalm*, not which he appointed the Reader to ſing, but what GOD put into his Heart to read, which determined his Sermon to the Subject of Repentance, being the li" or *Penitential Pſalm*, which the Reader ſung of his own Accord, or rather as St. *Auſtin* words it, by GOD's Direction. *Sulpicius Severus* tells a remarkable Story to the ſame Purpoſe in the Life of St. *Martin* [*e*]. He ſays, When St. *Martin* was to be elected Biſhop, one whoſe Name was *Defenſor* among the Biſhops, was a great Stickler againſt him. Now it happened, that in the Tumult,

[*c*] Ambroſ. Epiſt. 33. ad Marcellinam Sororem. [*d*] Aug. Hom. 27. ex 50. T. 10. p. 175. Proinde aliquid de Pœnitentia dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos iſtum Pſalmum cantandum Lectori imperavimus: Sed quod ille cenſuit vobis eſſe utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit.

[*e*] Sulpit. Vit. Martin. cap. 7. p. 225.

Tumult, the Reader, whoſe Courſe it was to ſing the *Pſalm* that Day, could not come at his Place in due Time, and therefore another read the firſt *Pſalm* that he lighted upon when he opened the Book, which happened to be the viii *Pſalm*, wherein were thoſe Words, *Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings Thou haſt perfected Praiſe, becauſe of Thine Enemies, that Thou mighteſt deſtroy the Enemy and Defenſor*, as the *Gallican* Verſion then read it, *Ut deſtruas inimicum & Defenſorem*. And this, though it ſeemingly were but a chance Thing, was looked upon as Providential by the People, to overthrow the Machinations of *Defenſor*.

Sect. 7. *Prayers in ſome Places between every* Pſalm, *inſtead of a Leſſon.*

IN ſome Places, inſtead of Leſſons between every *Pſalm*, they allowed a ſhort Space for private Prayer to be made in Silence, and a ſhort Collect by the Miniſter, which *Caſſian* [*f*] ſays, was the ordinary Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Fathers. For they reckoned, that frequent ſhort Prayers were more uſeful [*g*] than long continued ones, both to ſollicite GOD more earneſtly by frequent Addreſſes, and to avoid the Temptations of Satan, drawing them into Laſſitude and Wearineſs, which was prevented by their ſuccinct Brevity. And therefore they divided the longer *Pſalms* into two or three Parts [*h*] interpoſing Prayers between every Diſtinction.

IN

[*f*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 5. Undecim Pſalmos orationum interjectione diſtinctos, &c. [*g*] Ibid. cap. 10. Utilius cenſent breves quidem Orationes, ſed creberrimas fieri, &c. [*h*] Ibid. cap. 11. Et idcirco ne Pſalmos quidem ipſos, quos in Congregatione decantant, continuata ſtudent pronunciatione concludere: Sed eos pro numero verſuum duabus vel tribus interceſſionibus, cum orationum interjectione diviſos, diſtinctim particulatimque conſummant, &c.

Sect. 8. *The* Gloria Patri *added at the End of every* Pſalm *in the* Weſtern, *but not in the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

IN all the *Weſtern* Churches, except the *Roman*, it was cuſtomary alſo at the End of every *Pſalm* for the Congregation to ſtand, and ſay, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*: But in the *Eaſtern* Churches it was otherwiſe: For as I have noted before [*] out of *Caſſian* [†] in all the *Eaſt* they never uſed this Glorification, but only at the End of the laſt *Pſalm*, which they called their *Antiphona* or *Allelujah*, which was one of thoſe *Pſalms* which had *Allelujah* prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *Antiphona* or Reſponſal, and then added, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.* But in the *Weſtern* Churches, he ſays, it was uſed at the End of every *Pſalm.* And ſo we are to underſtand thoſe Canons [*i*] of the Council of *Toledo*, which order, *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, to be ſaid at the End of the *Pſalms* and *Reſponſories*: But the Decretal of *Vigilius* [*k*], which orders the ſame at the End of the *Pſalms*, muſt be taken according to the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Church, to be uſed only at the Concluſion of all. Other Differences relating to the Uſe of this *Doxology* and its Original, ſhall be conſidered in the next Chapter in their proper Place.

Sect. 9. *The* Pſalms *ſometimes ſung by one Perſon only.*

AS to the Perſons concerned in this Service of Singing the *Pſalms* publickly in the Church, we may conſider them in four different Reſpects, according to the different Ways

[*] Book XIII. Chap. x. n. 14. [†] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 8. Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25. [*i*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 14, & 15. [*k*] Vigil. Ep. 1. ad Eutherum. cap. 2. In fine Pſalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

Ways of Pſalmody. 1. Sometimes the *Pſalms* were ſung by one Perſon alone, the reſt hearing only with Attention. 2. Sometimes they were ſung by the whole Aſſembly joyning all together. 3. Sometimes Alternately by the Congregation divided into diſtinct Quires, the one Part repeating one Verſe, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one Perſon repeated the firſt Part of the Verſe, and the reſt joyned all together in the Cloſe of it. The firſt of theſe Ways, *Caſſian* notes as the common Cuſtom of the *Egyptian* Monaſteries. For he ſays, Except him [*l*] who roſe up to ſing, all the reſt ſat by on low Seats in Silence, giving Attention to him that ſang. And though ſometimes Four ſang the Twelve *Pſalms* in one Aſſembly, yet they did it not all together, but in Courſe one after another [*m*], each Singing Three *Pſalms*, and the reſt keeping Silence till the laſt *Pſalm*, which they all ſang by Way of *Antiphona* or Alternate Song, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the Cloſe.

Sect. 10. *Sometimes by the whole Aſſembly joining all together.*

SOMETIMES again the whole Aſſembly joined together, Men, Women and Children, united with one Mouth and one Mind in ſinging *Pſalms* and Praiſes to GOD. This was the moſt ancient and general Practice, till the way of alternate Pſalmody was brought into the Church. Thus CHRIST and his Apoſtles ſung the Hymn at the laſt Supper, and thus *Paul* and *Silas* at Midnight ſung Praiſes unto GOD. *Bellarmin* [*n*] indeed, and ſome other Writers of the Romiſh

[*l*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 12. Abſque eo qui dicturus in medium Pſalmos ſurrexerit, cuncti ſedilibus humillimis inſidentes, ad vocem Pſallentis omni cordis intentione dependent.

[*m*] Ibid. cap. 5. & 8. [*n*] Bellarm. de Bonis Operibus. Lib. 1. cap. 16. Tom. 4. p. 1077.

Romiſh Church ſay, this Cuſtom was not in Uſe till the Time of St. *Ambroſe*: But they plainly miſtake the Introduction of the alternate Way of Singing *Pſalms* for this more ancient Way, which derives its Original from the Foundation of the Church. Thus St. *Hilary*, who lived before St. *Ambroſe*, takes Notice [o] that the People all prayed, and all ſang Hymns together. And St. *Chryſoſtom* comparing the Apoſtolical Times with his own, ſays [p], Anciently they all met together, and all ſang in common. And ſo do we at this Day. And again [q], Women and Men, old Men and Children differ in Sex and Age, but they differ not in the Harmony of Singing Hymns: For the Spirit tempers all their Voices together, making one Melody of them all. After the ſame manner St. *Auſtin* ſometimes [r] ſpeaks of Singing the *Pſalms* between the Leſſons with united Voices, though before his Time the Way of alternate Pſalmody was become very common in all Parts of the Church.

Sect. 11. *Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into two Parts.*

THIS Way of Singing the *Pſalms* alternately was, when the Congregation dividing themſelves into two Parts, repeated the *Pſalms* by Courſes, Verſe for Verſe one after another, and not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common Conjunction of Voices, was properly called Symphony: So this, for its Diviſion into two Parts, and alternate Anſwers, was commonly called Antiphony, and ſometimes

[o] Hilar. in Pſal. 65. p. 232. Audiat orantis populi conſiſtens quis extra Eccleſiam vocem, ſpectet celebres Hymnorum Sonitus. [p] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 653. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες κοινῇ. [q] Chryſ. in Pſal. 145. p. 824. [r] Aug. de Verb. Apoſt Serm. 10. p. 112. Cantavimus Pſalmum exhortantes nos invicem una voce, uno corde, dicentes, Venite adoremus, &c.

ſometimes *Reſponſoria*, the Singing by Reſponſals. This is plain from that noted *Iambick* [*s*] of *Gregory Nazianzen*, σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων σάσιν, where the Symphony denotes their Singing alternately Verſe for Verſe by Turns. *Socrates* [*t*] calls it ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδίαν, the Antiphonal Hymnody; and St. *Ambroſe* [*u*] *Reſponſoria*, ſinging by Way of Reſponſals. For, comparing the Church to the Sea, he ſays, from the Reſponſories of the *Pſalms*, and Singing of Men, Women, Virgins and Children, there reſults an harmonious Noiſe like the Waves of the Sea. He expreſsly mentions Women in other Places [*x*], as allowed to ſing in Publick though otherwiſe the Apoſtle had commanded them to keep Silence in the Church. St. *Auſtin* alſo frequently mentions [*y*] this Way of Singing by Parts or Alternately by Reſponſes: And he carries the Original of it in the *Weſtern* Church no higher than the Time of St. *Ambroſe*, when he was under the Perſecution of the *Arian* Empreſs *Juſtina*, Mother of the younger *Valentinian*; at which Time both he [*z*] and *Paulinus*, who writes

[*s*] Naz. Carm. 18. de Virtute. inter Iambica. T. 2. p. 218. [*t*] Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 8. [*u*] Ambroſ. Hexamer. Lib. 3. cap. 5. Reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu Virorum, Mulierum, Virginum, Parvulorum, conſonans undarum fragor reſultat. [*x*] Ambroſ. expos. Pſal. 1. Mulieres Apoſtolus in Eccleſia tacere jubet: Pſalmum etiam bene clamant. &c. [*y*] Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 26. in Præfat. Voces iſtæ Pſalmi, quas audivimus, & ex parte cantavimus. Item in Pſal. 46. In hoc Pſalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando reſpondimus, ea ſumus dicturi quæ noſtis. [*z*] Aug. Confeſs. Lib. 9. cap. 7. Tunc Hymni & Pſalmi ut canerentur ſecundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabeſceret, inſtitutum eſt: & ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pæne omnibus Gregibus tuis & per ceteras orbis partes imitantibus.

writes [a] the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, tell us the Way of Antiphonal Singing was firſt brought into the Church of *Milan*, in Imitation of the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Churches; and that from this Example it preſently ſpread all over the *Weſtern* Churches. What was the firſt Original of it in the *Eaſtern* Church, is not ſo certainly agreed upon by Writers either ancient or Modern. *Theodoret* ſays [b] that *Flavian* and *Diodorus* firſt brought in the Way of Singing *David*'s *Pſalms* alternately into the Church of *Antioch* in the Reign of *Conſtantius*. But *Socrates* [c] carries the Original of this Way of Singing Hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as *Ignatius*. *Valeſius* thinks *Socrates* was Miſtaken: But Cardinal *Bona* [d] and *Pagi* [e] think both Accounts may be true, taking the one to ſpeak of *David*'s *Pſalms* only, and the other of Hymns compoſed for the Service of the Church. Some ſay the Cuſtom was firſt begun by *Ignatius*, but deſtroyed by *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, and revived again by *Flavian*. But *Pagi*'s Conjecture ſeems moſt reaſonable, that *Flavian* only introduced this Way of Singing the *Pſalms* in the *Greek Tongue* at *Antioch*, whereas it had been uſed in the *Syrian* Language long before, as he ſhews out of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, and *Valeſius* himſelf confirms this out of the ſame Author, whoſe Teſtimony is preſerved by *Nicetas* [f]. However this Matter be as to the firſt Original of this Way of Antiphonal Pſalmody, it is certain, that from the Time that *Flavian* either inſtituted

[a] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. p. 4. Hoc in tempore primo Antiphonæ Hymni & Vigiliæ in Eccleſia Mediolanenſi celebrari cæperunt. &c. [b] Theod. Lib. 2. cap. 24.
[c] Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 8. [d] Bona de Pſalmod. cap. 16. Sect. 10. n. 1. [e] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an 400. n. 10.
[f] Nicet. Theſaur. Orthod. Fid. Lib. 5. cap. 30.

tuted or revived it at *Antioch*, it prevailed in a ſhort Time to become the general Practice of the Whole Church. St. *Chryſoſtom* [g] encouraged it in the Vigils at *Conſtantinople*, in Oppoſition to the *Arians*. St. *Baſil* [h] ſpeaks of it in his Time, as the received Cuſtom of all the *Eaſt*. And we have ſeen before, how from the Time of St. *Ambroſe* it prevailed over all the *Weſt*. And it was a Method of Singing ſo taking and delightful, that they ſometimes uſed it where two or three were met together for private Devotion. As *Socrates* [i] particularly Remarks of the Emperor *Theodoſius* Junior and his Siſters, that they were uſed to ſing alternate Hymns together every Morning in the Royal Palace.

Sect. 12. *Sometimes by a ſingle* Præcentor *repeating the firſt part of the Verſe, and the People all joining with him in the Cloſe. Where alſo of* Diapſalms, *and* Acroteleuticks *and* Acroſticks *in Pſalmody.*

BESIDES all theſe there was yet a Fourth Way of Singing, of pretty common Uſe in the fourth Age of the Church: Which was, when a ſingle Perſon (whom that Age called a *Phonaſcus*, ὑποβολεὺς, or *Præcentor* [*] began the Verſe, and the People joined with him in the Cloſe. This the *Greeks* called ὑπηχεῖν, and ὑπαχεῖν, and the *Latins Succinere*. And it was often uſed for Variety in the ſame Service with alternate Pſalmody. Thus St. *Baſil* deſcribing the different Manners of their Morning Pſalmody, tells us, They one while divided themſelves into two Parts, and ſung alternately, anſwering to one another; and then again let one begin the Pſalm, and the reſt joined with him [k] in the

[g] Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 8. [h] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. [i] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 22. [*] See Book 3. Chap. 7. n. 3. & Sidon. Apollin. Lib. 4. Ep. 11. Pſalmorum hic modulator & Phonaſcus. [k] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. Νῦν μὲν ἐχῇ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρξας ἑνὶ καλάρχειν τὸ μέλος, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι.

Cloſe of the Verſe. This was certainly in Uſe at *Alexandria* in the Time of *Athanaſius*, as I have obſerved in the laſt Book [†]. For both he himſelf [*l*] and all the Hiſtorians [*m*] who relate the Story after him, in ſpeaking of his Eſcape out of the Church when it was beſet with the *Arian* Soldiers, tell us he avoided the Aſſault by ſetting the People to Pſalmody, which Pſalmody was of this kind: For he commanded the Deacon to read the Pſalm, and the People ὑπακούειν, to repeat this Clauſe after him, *For his Mercy endureth for ever.* The common Tranſlations of *Athanaſius* make this ὑπακούειν to ſignify no more than the Peoples attending to what the Deacon read: But *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* the ancient Author of the *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, having Occaſion to relate this very Paſſage [*n*] of *Athanaſius*, rightly renders ὑπακούειν by *Reſpondere.* The Deacon read, and the People anſwered in theſe Words, *For his Mercy endureth for ever. Valeſius* [*o*] thinks it ſhould be read ὑπηχεῖν, inſtead of ὑπακούειν, in all thoſe Places of *Athanaſius* and the Hiſtorians after him: But there is no need of that Critical Correction; for both the Words among the *Greeks* are of the ſame Import, and ſignify to make Anſwer or Reſponſes, as *Cotelerius* a judicious Critick has [*p*] obſerved. And ſo the Word ὑπακούειν is uſed both by *Theocritus* [*q*] and *Homer.* So that there is no Reaſon to diſpute the Uſe of it in this Senſe in Eccleſiaſtical

[†] Book XIII. Chap. v. n. 6.

[†] Athanaſ. Apol. 2. p. 717. [*m*] Theodor. Lib. 2. cap. 13. Socrat. Lib. 2. cap. 11. Sozom. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

[*l*] Hiſt. Tripart. Lib. 5. cap. 2. Præcepi ut Diaconus Pſalmum legeret, Populi reſponderent. &c. [*o*] Valeſ. Not. in Theod. Lib. 2. cap. 13. [*p*] Coteler. Not. in Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 2. cap. 57. p. 262. [*q*] Theocrit. Idyl. 14. de Hyla. τεὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν. Ter puer reſpondit. Vid. Homer. Odyſſ. 4. & Stephani Lexicon.

Eccleſiaſtical Writers. St. *Chryſoſtom* uſes the Word ὑπηχεῖν [r] when he ſpeaks of this Practice. The Singer ſings alone, and all the reſt anſwer him in the Cloſe, as it were with one Mouth and one Voice. And elſewhere he ſays [s] the Prieſts began the Pſalm, and the People followed after in their Reſponſes. Sometimes this Way of Pſalmody was called ſinging Acroſticks. For though an Acroſtick commonly ſignifies the Beginning of a Verſe, yet ſometimes it is taken for the End or Cloſe of it. As by the Author [t] of the *Conſtitutions*, when he orders one to ſing the Hymns of *David*, and the People to ſing after him the Acroſticks or Ends of the Verſes. This was otherwiſe called *Hypopſalma* and *Diapſalma*, and ἀκροτελεύτιον, and ἐφύμνιον, which are all Words of the ſame Signification. Only we muſt obſerve, That they do not always denote preciſely the End of a Verſe, but ſometimes that which was added at the End of a Pſalm, or ſomething that was repeated frequently in the Middle of it, as the Cloſe of the ſeveral Parts of it. Thus St. *Auſtin* compoſed a Pſalm for the common People to learn againſt the *Donatiſts*, and in Imitation of the cxix Pſalm he divided it into ſo many Parts according to the Order of the Letters in the Alphabet (whence ſuch *Pſalms* were called *Abecedarii*) each Part having its proper Letter at the Head of it, and the *Hypopſalma* (as he calls it [u]) or Anſwer, to be repeated at the End of every Part of it, in theſe Words, *Omnes qui*

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 655. Ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, καὶ πάντες ἀπηχῶσιν (leg. ὑπηχῶσιν) ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεσθαι. Vid. Hom. 11. in Mat p. 108. ὑπηχήσαντες, &c. [s] Chryſ. in Pſal. 137. p. 518. Μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καλαρχομένων, προηγουμένων ἕπομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ἅσω σοι. &c.

[t] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

[u] Vid. Aug. Pſalmum contra partem Donati. Tom. 7. p. 1. Et Retract. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

gaudetis de Pace, modo verum judicate; as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the End of every *Pſalm*, but at the End of every Part of the cxix *Pſalm*. And in this reſpect the *Gloria Patri* it ſelf is by ſome ancient Writers called the *Hypopſalma*, or *Epode*, and *Acroteleutick* to the *Pſalms*, becauſe it was always uſed at the End of the *Pſalms*. Thus *Sozomen*, giving an Account of the *Arians* Management of their Pſalmody at *Conſtantinople* in their Morning Proceſſions, ſays, They divided themſelves into Parts, and ſung after the manner of *Antiphona*, or alternate Song, adding in the Cloſe their *Acroteleuticks* [x] framed and modelled after their own Way of Glorification. Where, as *Valeſius* rightly obſerves, 'tis plain, *Acroteleutick* is but another Name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the End of the *Pſalms*, but perverſely modelled to favour their own Hereſy; not ſaying, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*; but *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt*. Again *Sozomen*, ſpeaking of the Pſalmody with which the Chriſtians brought the Body of the Martyr *Babylas* from *Daphne* to *Antioch* in the Time of *Julian*, ſays, They who were beſt skilled, began the *Pſalms*, and the Multitude anſwered them with one harmonious Conſent, making theſe Words the *Epode* of [y] their Pſalmody, *Confounded be all they that worſhip graven Images, and boaſt themſelves in Images* or *Idol-gods*. Meaning that this Sentence was frequently repeated in the ſeveral Pauſes of their Pſalmody; which the Ancients, we ſee, ſometimes called an *Epode* or *Diapſalm*, like that of the cvii *Pſalm*, O *that Men would therefore praiſe the Lord for His Goodneſs, and declare the Wonders*

[x] Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 8. Καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἐψάλλον, ἀκελευστὶ συνιέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν τὰ ποιήματα. [y] Sozom. Lib. 5. cap. 19. ξυνεπήχει τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῇδεν. &c.

Wonders that He doth for the Children of Men! Which in the diſtinct Parts of that one *Pſalm* is four Times repeated.

Sect. 13. *An Anſwer to an Objection made againſt the Peoples bearing a Part in Pſalmody.*

FROM all this, it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the People generally had a Share in the Pſalmody of the ancient Church; and that this was not an Exerciſe ſtrictly confined to the Canonical Singers, or any Particular Order in the Church; but that Men, Women, and Children were all allowed to bear a Part in it, under the Direction and Conduct of Precentors, or thoſe who preſided in this and all other Offices of the Church. Therefore the Reflexion which I have formerly made upon *Cabaſſutius* [*], I cannot chuſe but here again repeat, who charges this Way of Singing as a mere Novelty and Proteſtant-whim, becauſe it differs from the preſent practice of his own Church; though it be exactly agreeable to the Practice of the ancient Church in all its ſeveral Methods, and in all Ages ſince the Apoſtles. Neither is there any one Thing can be objected againſt it, ſave a ſingle Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [z], which forbids all others to ſing in the Church, except only the Canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambo* or Reading-Desk, and ſung out of a Book. This I have explained to be only a Temporary Proviſion of a Provincial Council, deſigned to reſtore or revive the ancient Pſalmody, when it might be in ſome Meaſure corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or deſtroy the primitive Liberty of the People. Or if any thing more was intended by it, it was an Order that never took place in the Practice of the Church: It being evident, beyond

[*] Book III. Chap. vii. n. 2. [z] Conc. Laodic. Can. 15.

all Contradiction, from what has now been ſaid, that the People always enjoyed their ancient Privilege of joining in this Divine Harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greateſt Luminaries of the Church.

Sect. 14. *Pſalmody always performed in the ſtanding Poſture.*

To proceed then: We are to conſider farther, that Pſalmody was always eſteemed a conſiderable Part of Devotion, and upon that Account was uſually, if not always, performed by thoſe that were ingaged in it, in the ſtanding Poſture. *Caſſian* indeed ſeems to make an Exception in the Way of the Monaſteries of *Egypt*: But his Exception helps to clear the contrary Rule, and ſhews alſo that their Devotion was in the main performed in the ſtanding Poſture. For he ſays, though by reaſon of their continual Faſtings and Labour Night and Day, they were unable to ſtand all the Time, while Twelve *Pſalms* were reading, yet they that read in Courſe, always ſtood [*a*] up to read: And at the laſt *Pſalm*, they all ſtood up [*b*] and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the End. In other Places it was always the Cuſtom to ſtand, as is plain not only from this Exception, but from the Teſtimony of St. *Auſtin* [*b*], who ſpeaks of the Pſalmody as an Act of Devotion, which all the People performed ſtanding in the Church.

As

[*a*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 12. Abſque eo qui dicturus in medium Pſalmos ſurrexerit, cuncti ſedilibus humillimis inſidentes, &c. [*b*] Caſſ. ibid. cap. 8. [*c*] Aug. Serm. 3. in Pſal. 36. p. 122. Certe verum eſt quod cantavi, certe verum eſt quod in Eccleſia ſtans tam devota voce perſonui. &c.

Sect. 15. *Of the Uſe of plain Song, and its Commendation among the Ancients.*

As to the Voice or Pronunciation uſed in Singing, it was of two Sorts, the plain Song, and the more artificial and elaborate Tuning of the Voice to greater variety of Sounds and Meaſures. The plain Song was only with a little gentle Inflexion, and agreeable Turn of the Voice, with a proper Accent, not much different from Reading, and much reſembling the muſical Way of Reading the *Pſalms* now in our Cathedral Churches. This was the Way of Singing at *Alexandria* in the Time of *Athanaſius*. For St. *Auſtin* ſays, [*d*] He ordered the Reader to ſing the *Pſalm* with ſo little Inflection or Variation of the Tone, that it looked more like Reading than Singing. And this, St. *Auſtin* [*e*] ſeems to intimate to have been the common Way of the *African* Churches, as moſt agreeable to the ſlow Genius of the *African* People. Whence ſome of the warmer *Donatiſts* made it a Matter of Objection, That the *Catholicks* ſung the Divine Hymns of the Prophets ſoberly in the Church, whilſt they ſung their own Pſalms of human Compoſition in a Ranting Way, and even trumpeted out, like Men that were drunk, their own Exhortations. St. *Auſtin* does not ſpeak this, as if he wholly diſapproved the other more artificial and melodious Way of Singing, but only as it was intemperately abuſed by many, and particularly by the *Donatiſts*. For otherwiſe he

[*d*] Aug. Confeſ. Lib. 10. cap. 33. Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat ſonare Lectorem Pſalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior eſſet quam canenti. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad. Januar. cap. 18. Pleraque in Africa Eccleſiæ membra pigriora ſunt: Ita ut Donatiſtæ nos reprehendant, quod ſobrie Pſallimus in Eccleſia divina cantica Prophetarum, cum ipſi ebrietates ſuas ad canticum Pſalmorum humano ingenio compoſitorum, quaſi tubas Exhortationis inflamment.

commends this Way of Singing, as very uſeful to raiſe the Affections, when performed with a clear Voice [*f*] and a convenient Sweetneſs of Melody: And ſays, it was that that melted him into Tears, when he firſt heard it in the Beginning of his Converſion, in the Church of St. *Ambroſe*.

Sect. 16. *Artificial and melodious Tuning of the Voice allowed in Singing when managed with Sobriety and Diſcretion.*

THIS plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious Way of Singing, with Variety of Notes for greater Sweetneſs, was uſed and allowed, as well as plain Song, in the *Italick* Churches: and they miſtake St. *Auſtin*, who think he ſpeaks in Commendation of the one, to the Derogation of the other. For he profeſſes to admire both Ways for their Uſefulneſs, and particularly the more melodious Way, for this, *Ut per Oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum Pietatis aſſurgat*, that weaker Minds may be raiſed to Affections of Piety, by the Delight and Entertainment of their Ears. And whilſt it kept within due Bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general Approbation of Pious Men throughout the Church.

Sect. 17. *No Objection made againſt Pſalms and Hymns of human Compoſition, barely as ſuch.*

NEITHER was it any Objection againſt the Pſalmody of the Church, that She ſometimes made uſe of Pſalms and Hymns of human Compoſition, beſides thoſe of the ſacred and inſpired Writers. For though St. *Auſtin*, as we have juſt heard before, reflect upon

[*f*] Aug. Confeſ. Lib. 10. cap. 33. Veruntamen cum reminiſcor lachrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus Eccleſiæ tuæ—— Et nunc ipſo commoveor—Cum liquida Voce & convenientiſſima Modulatione cantantur, magnam Inſtituti hujus utilitatem agnoſco.

upon the *Donatiſts* for their Pſalms of human Compoſition, yet it was not merely becauſe they were human, but becauſe they preferred them to the divine Hymns of Scripture, and their indecent Way of Chanting them to the grave and ſober Method of the Church. St. *Auſtin* himſelf made a Pſalm of many Parts, in Imitation of the cxix *Pſalm*, as has been obſerved above in this Chapter, *n.* 12. And this he did for the Uſe of his People, to preſerve them from the Errors of *Donatus*. And it would be abſurd to think, that he who made a Pſalm himſelf for the People to ſing, ſhould quarrel with other Pſalms merely becauſe they were of human Compoſition. It has been demonſtrated in the fifth Chapter of the laſt Book, that there were always ſuch Pſalms, and Hymns, and Doxologies compoſed by Pious Men, and uſed in the Church from the firſt Foundation of it; nor did any but *Paulus Samoſatenſis*, except againſt the Uſe of them: Which he did not neither becauſe they were of human Compoſition, but becauſe they contained a Doctrine contrary to his own private Opinions. St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe* made many ſuch Hymns, which when ſome muttered againſt in the *Spaniſh* Churches, becauſe they were of human Compoſition, the fourth Council of *Toledo* [g] made a Decree to confirm the Uſe

[g] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Quia à nonnullis hymni humano ſtudio compoſiti eſſe noſcuntur in laudem Dei, & Apoſtolorum ac Martyrum triumphos, ſicut hi quos beatiſſimi Doctores Hilarius atque Ambroſius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam ſpecialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis ſanctorum Canonum, vel Apoſtolica Traditione non exiſtunt: Reſpuant ergo & illum Hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque Officio in fine omnium Pſalmorum dicimus, Gloria & Honor Patri, &c. —— Sicut ergo Orationes, ita & Hymnos in laudem Dei compoſitos nullus noſtrum ulterius improbet, ſed pari modo in Gallicia Hiſpaniaque celebrent, Excommunicatione plectendi, qui Hymnos rejicere fuerint auſi.

Uſe of them, together with the *Doxology, Glory be to the Father,* &c. and *Glory be to God on high:* Threatning Excommunication to any that ſhould reject them. The only Thing of Weight to be urged againſt all this, is a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*h*], which forbids all ἰδιωτικὰς ψαλμὰς, all private Pſalms, and all uncanonical Books to be read in the Church. For it might ſeem, that by private Pſalms, they mean all Hymns of human Compoſition. But it was intended rather to exclude *Apocryphal Pſalms,* ſuch as went under the Name of *Solomon,* as *Balzamon* and *Zonaras* underſtand it; or elſe ſuch as were not approved by publick Authority in the Church. If it be extended farther, it contradicts the current Practice of the whole Church beſides, and cannot in Reaſon be conſtrued as any more than a private Order for the Churches of that Province, made upon ſome particular Reaſons unknown to us at this Day. Notwithſtanding therefore any Argument to be drawn from this Canon, it is evident the Ancients made no ſcruple of uſing Pſalms or Hymns of human Compoſition, provided they were pious and Orthodox for the Subſtance, and compoſed by Men of Eminence, and received by juſt Authority, and not brought in clandeſtinely into the Church.

Sect. 18.

But two Corruptions ſeverely inveighed againſt: Firſt, Over great Niceneſs and Curioſity in Singing, in Imitation of the Modes and Muſick of the Theatre.

BUT there were ſome Diſorders and Irregularities always apt to creep into this Practice, and corrupt the Pſalmody and Devotions of the Church: and againſt theſe the Fathers frequently declaim with many ſharp and ſevere Invectives. Chiefly they complain of the Lightneſs and vain Curioſity which ſome uſed in Singing, who took their Mea-

[*h*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 59.

Meaſures from the Mean and Practice of the Theatres, introducing from thence the Corruptions and Effeminacy of ſecular Muſick into the grave and ſolemn Devotions of the Church. We have heard St. *Chryſoſtom* before [*] complaining of Mens uſing theatrical Noiſe and Geſtures both in their Prayers and Hymns. And here I ſhall add the Reflection which St. *Jerom* makes upon thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Epheſ.* v. *Singing, and making Melody in your Hearts to the Lord.* Let young Men hear this, let thoſe hear it, who have the Office of Singing in the Church, that they ſing not with their Voice, but with their Heart to the LORD; not like Tragedians phyſically preparing their Throat and Mouth, that they may ſing after the Faſhion of the Theatre in the Church. He that has but an ill Voice, if he has good Works, is a ſweet Singer before GOD.

Sect. 19. *And 2dly, Pleaſing the Ear without raiſing the Affections of the Soul.*

THE other Vice complained of, was the Regarding more the Muſick of the Words, and Sweetneſs of the Compoſure, than the Senſe and Meaning of them; pleaſing the Ear, without raiſing the Affections of the Soul, which was the true Reaſon for which Pſalmody and Muſick was intended. St. *Jerom* takes Notice of this Corruption in the ſame Place [*i*], giving this Caution againſt it: Let the Servant of CHRIST ſo order his Singing, that the Words that are read, may pleaſe more than the Voice of the Singer: That the Spirit that was in *Saul*, may be caſt out of them, who are poſſeſſed with it, and not find Admittance in thoſe who have turned the Houſe of GOD into a Stage and Theatre

[*] Book XIII. Chap. viii. n. 11. [*i*] Hieron. in Epheſ. 5. Sic cantet Servus Chriſti, ut non vox canentis, ſed verba placeant quæ leguntur: Ut Spiritus qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab iis, qui ſimiliter ab eo poſſidentur, & non introducatur in eos, qui de Domo Dei ſcenam fecere populorum.

Theatre of the People. St. *Auſtin* [k] confeſſes he was for ſome Time thus moved to a faulty Complacency in the ſweetneſs of the Song, more than the Matter that was ſung, and then he rather wiſhed not to have heard the Voice of the Singer. St. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* brings the Charge of theſe Abuſes more eſpecially againſt Women, and goes ſo ſo far as to ſay, that though the Apoſtle had allowed them to ſing in the Church, yet the perverſe and licentious Uſe they made of this Liberty, was a ſufficient Reaſon [l] why they ſhould be totally debarred from it. And ſome are of Opinion, that it was Abuſes of this Kind, in Exceſs, and not in Defect, that made the Council of *Laodicea* forbid all but the Canonical Singers to ſing in the Church; as thinking, that they might be better regulated and reſtrained from ſuch Abuſes by the immediate Dependence they had upon the Rulers of the Church. But the Experience of later Ages rather proves, that this was not the true Way to reform ſuch Abuſes; ſince there are greater Complaints made by conſidering Men, of the Exceſſes committed in Church Muſick after it was wholly given up to the Management of Canonical Singers, than there were before. Witneſs the Complaints made by *Polydore Virgil* [m], *Maldonat* [n], *Durantus* [o] and others in the Romiſh Church, and Biſhop *Wettenhal* [p] in the Proteſtant Communion, which it is none of my Buſineſs in this Place any farther to purſue.

CHAP.

[k] Aug. Confeſs. Lib. 10. cap. 33. Cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius Cantus, quam res quæ canitur moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, & tunc mallem non audire cantantem.

[l] Iſidor. Lib. 1. Ep. 90. [m] Polyd. Virgil. de Rer. Invent. Lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 359. [n] Maldonat. de 7 Sacramentis. T. 2. p. 238. [o] Durant. de Ritibus. Lib. 2. cap. 21. n. 11. [p] Wettenhal. *Gift of Singing*. Chap. i. p. 277 & 247.

CHAP. II.

A Particular ACCOUNT *of ſome of the moſt noted* HYMNS *in Uſe in the* SERVICE *of the* ANCIENT CHURCH.

Sect. 1. *Of the leſſer* Doxology, Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

BUT there is one Thing more may be of Uſe for the better underſtanding the Pſalmody of the Ancient Church, which is, to give a diſtinct Account of the moſt noted Hymns that made a Part of her Service. Among theſe one the moſt ancient and common was that which was called the leſſer *Doxology, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.* Concerning which we are to note in the firſt Place, that it was ſomething ſhorter than it is now: For the moſt ancient Form of it was only a ſingle Sentence without a Reſponſe, running in theſe Words, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End.* Amen. Part of the later Clauſe, *As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be,* was inſerted ſome Time after the firſt Compoſition. This appears from the moſt ancient Form uſed both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church without thoſe Words in it. The Fourth Council of *Toledo, an.* 633. reads it thus [*a*]: *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End.* Amen. Where we may obſerve, that not only the Words, *As it was in the Beginning,* &c. are omitted

[*a*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. In fine omnium Pſalmorum dicimus, Gloria & Honor Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui ſancto in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

ted, but the Word Honour is added to Glory, according [*b*] to another Decree made in that Council; that it ſhould not be ſaid, as heretofore ſome did, *Glory be to the Father*, but, *Glory and Honour be to the Father:* For as much as the Prophet *David* ſays, *Bring Glory and Honour to the Lord*, Pſal. xxviii. 2. And *John the Evangeliſt* in the *Revelations*, heard the Voice of the Heavenly Hoſt, ſaying, *Honour and Glory be to our God, who ſitteth on the Throne*, Rev. v. 13. From whence they conclude, that it ought to be ſaid on Earth as it is ſung in Heaven. The *Moſarabick Liturgy*, which was uſed in *Spain* a little after this Time, has it in the very ſame [*c*] Form. *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.* Which ſhews, that that was the received Way of uſing this Hymn in the *Spaniſh* Churches. The *Greek* Church alſo for ſeveral Ages uſed it after the ſame manner, only they did not inſert the Word *Honour*, which ſeems to be peculiar to the *Spaniſh* Church. *Athanaſius*, or whoever was the Author of the Treatiſe of *Virginity* among his Works [*d*] repeats it thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.* And *Strabo* [*e*] ſays of the *Greeks* in general, that they omitted thoſe Words in the latter Clauſe, *As it was in the Beginning*. So that it is not eaſy to tell what Time they firſt began to be uſed in it. Some ſay, the Council of *Nice* ordered them to be inſerted againſt *Arius:* Others, That the Church by common Conſent admitted them, in Compliance with the Doctrine of that

[*b*] Ibid. Can. 14. In fine Pſalmorum, non ſicut à quibuſdam huc uſque, Gloria Patri, ſed Gloria & Honor Patri, dicatur, &c. [*c*] Miſſa Mozarab. in Nativ. Chriſti. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 453. Gloria & Honor Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui ſancto in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

[*d*] Athan. de Virgin. p. 1051. [*e*] Strabo. de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25.

that Council, to confront the *Arian* Tenet, which aſſerted, That the Son was not in the Beginning, and that there was a Time, when He was not. But if ſo, it is ſtrange we ſhould not hear of this Additional Part of the Hymn in any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer for above two whole Centuries after. The firſt expreſs mention that is made of it, is in the ſecond Council of [*f*] *Vaiſon*, *An.* 529, which ſays, It was then ſo uſed at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, and *Africk*, and all the *Eaſt*, and therefore is now ſo ordered to be uſed in the *French* Churches. Whence it is plain, it was not in the *French* Churches before. And there is Reaſon to conjecture, that the *Eaſt* is here put for the *Weſt*, by a Miſtake of ſome Tranſcriber, ſince it appears from *Strabo*, that in his Time the Cuſtom of the *Greek* Church was ſtill otherwiſe: And how long it had been the Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Churches before the Time of this Council, is uncertain. The *Spaniſh* Churches, as we have ſeen, did not admit it till afterwards.

THERE goes an Epiſtle indeed under the Name of St. *Jerom* to Pope *Damaſus*, which, if it were genuine, would make this Addition more ancient, than now it can be allowed to be: For there he adviſes *Damaſus* to order, That in the *Roman* Church at the End of every *Pſalm* there ſhould be added, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be World without End.* Amen [*g*]. But this Epiſtle is rejected

[*f*] Conc. Vaſion. 2. Can. 5. Quia non ſolum in ſede Apoſtolica, ſed etiam per totum Orientem & totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum aſtutiam, qua Dei Filium non ſemper cum Patre fuiſſe, ſed à tempore fuiſſe blaſphemant, in omnibus clauſulis poſt, Gloria Patri, &c. ſicut erat in principio, dicitur, etiam & nos in univerſis Eccleſiis noſtris hoc ita eſſe dicendum decrevimus. [*g*] Hieron. Ep. ad Damaſum. 53. & inter Decreta Damaſi ap. Crab. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 383. Iſtud carmen laudis omni Pſalmo conjungi præcipias, &c.

ed as ſpurious by Learned Men of all Sides, *Bellarmin*, *Baronius*, *Bona*, and others of the Romaniſts, as well as Proteſtants in general, becauſe it contradicts the known Practice of the *Roman* Church in another Particular: For at *Rome* they did not uſe the *Gloria Patri* at the End of every *Pſalm* long after this, in the Time of *Walafridus Strabo* [*b*], neither do they now by the *Rubricks* of the *Roman Breviary* at this Day: Whereas, if *Damaſus* had made thoſe Orders, as this Epiſtle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been uſed at *Rome* at the End of every *Pſalm*; which it was not, either there or in any of the *Eaſtern* Churches, but only in *France* and ſome few other Churches, as we have heard before in the laſt Chapter.

THERE was another ſmall Difference in the Uſe of this ancient Hymn, which yet made no Diſpute among *Catholicks*, till the riſe of the *Arian* Hereſy, and then it occaſioned no ſmall Diſturbance. The *Catholicks* themſelves of old were wont to ſay, ſome, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*; Others, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghoſt*; and others, *Glory be to the Father, in* or *by the Son, and by the Holy Ghoſt*. Now theſe different Ways of expreſſing, were all allowed, ſo long as no heterodox Opinion was ſuſpected to be couched under them, as *Valeſius* [*i*] has obſerved in his Notes upon *Socrates*, and *Theodoret*, and St. *Baſil* [*k*] ſhews more at large in his Book *De Spiritu Sancto*. But when *Arius* had broach'd his Hereſy in the World, his Followers would uſe no other Form of Glorification but the laſt, and made it a diſtinguiſhing Character of their Party, to ſay, *Glory be to the Father, in* or *by the Son, and Holy Ghoſt:* Intending hereby to denote

[*b*] Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. cap. 25. [*i*] Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 21. & Theod. Lib. 2. cap. 24. [*k*] Baſil de Spir. Sanct. cap. 7, 25, & 29.

note, that the Son and Holy Ghoſt were inferior to the Father in Subſtance, and, as Creatures, of a different Nature from Him, as *Sozomen* [*l*] and other ancient Writers inform us. And from this Time it became ſcandalous, and brought any one under the Suſpicion of Heterodoxy, to uſe it, becauſe the *Arians* had now, as it were, made it the *Shibboleth* of their Party. *Philoſtorgius* indeed ſays [*m*], That the uſual Form of the *Catholicks* was a Novelty, and that *Flavian* at *Antioch* was the firſt that brought in this Form of ſaying, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*; Whereas all before him ſaid either, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*: Or, *Glory be to the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Ghoſt*. But this is no more than what one might expect from the Partiality of an *Arian* Hiſtorian, and it is abundantly confuted by the ancient Teſtimonies which St. *Baſil* produces [*n*] in his own Vindication againſt ſome, who charged him with the like Innovation; in anſwer to which, he ſays, He did no more than what was done before by *Irenæus*, *Clemens Romanus*, the two *Dionyſii* of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Athenogenes*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Firmilian* and *Meletius*, and what was done in the Prayers of the Church, and with the Conſent of all the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches. Which would make a Man amazed to hear Cardinal *Bona* [*o*] charging St. *Baſil* as Blame-worthy, for diſpleaſing the *Catholicks* in uſing the Form of the Heterodox Party; when it is plain, it was the Heterodox Party that quarrelled with him for uſing the *Catholick* Form of the Church.

[*l*] Sozom. Lib. 3. cap. 20. ἐδόξαζον πατέρα ἐν υἱῷ, δευτερεύειν τὸν υἱὸν ὑποφαίνοντες.

[*m*] Philoſtorg. Lib. 3. cap. 13. [*n*] Baſil. de Spir. ſanct. cap. 29. [*o*] Bona, Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 3. n. 2.

And yet though he blames St. *Baſil* without Grounds, telling us, That a *Catholick* Doctor ought to be without Rebuke, and abſtain from Terms that have a ſuſpected Senſe, and offend pious Ears; yet he has nothing to ſay to Pope *Leo*, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his Cenſure, for uſing the *Arian* Form of *Doxology*, though in a *Catholick* Senſe, in one of his *Chriſtmaſs* Sermons, which he thus Words, Let us give Thanks, Beloved, to the Father [*p*] by his Son, in the Holy Ghoſt. St. *Baſil* never uſed this ſuſpected Form (though he ſays it might be uſed with an Orthodox Meaning) but always, *Glory be to the Father, with the Son and Holy Ghoſt.* For which he was charged by ſome Heterodox Men as an Innovator; but there was no Room for *Bona*'s Cenſure.

HAVING thus ſtated the ancient Form and Modification of this Hymn in its firſt Original, and ſubſequent Progreſs that it made in the Church, we are next to ſee to what Uſe it was apply'd, and in what Parts of Divine Service. And here we may obſerve, that it was an Hymn of moſt general Uſe, and a *Doxology* offered to GOD in the Cloſe of every ſolemn Office. The *Weſtern* Church repeated it at the End of every *Pſalm*, and the *Eaſtern* Church at the End of the laſt *Pſalm*, as we have ſeen in the former Chapter. Many of their Prayers were alſo concluded with it, as we ſhall find in various Inſtances in the following Parts of this and the next Book; particularly the ſolemn Thanksgiving or Conſecration-Prayer at the *Euchariſt*, to which *Irenæus* [*q*] and *Tertullian* [*r*] refer, when they mention the Cloſe of it ending in theſe Words, εἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *World*

[*p*] Leo. Serm. 1. de Nativ. Agamus, dilectiſſimi, gratias Deo Patri, per Filium ejus, in Spiritu ſancto. [*q*] Irenæ. Lib. 1. cap. 1. [*r*] Tertul. de ſpectac. cap. 25.

World without End. Amen. The whole *Doxology* commonly running thus: *To Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be all Glory, Worſhip, Thankſgiving, Honour and Adoration, now and for ever, throughout all Ages, World without End.* Amen. As it is in the *Conſtitutions* [s]. Or, if the Prayer ended, *by the Interceſſion of Chriſt*, then it was, *To whom with Thee*, or, *with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour, Glory*, &c. *World without End.* [t] Amen. This was alſo the ordinary Concluſion of their Sermons, *That we may obtain eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt, To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Glory and Power, World without End*: As may be ſeen in the *Homilies* of *Chryſoſtom*, *Auſtin*, *Leo*, and all others, of which more in the IVth Chapter of this Book.

Sect. 2. *Of the* Great Doxology, Glory be to God on High.

ANOTHER Hymn of great Note in the ancient Church, was that which they commonly called, *The Angelical Hymn*, or *Great Doxology*, beginning with thoſe Words which the Angels ſung at our SAVIOUR's Birth, *Glory be to God on High*, &c. This was chiefly uſed in the Communion-Service, as it is now in our Church; and there we ſhall ſpeak of it again in its proper Place. It was alſo uſed at Morning Prayer daily at Mens private Devotions, as I have ſhewed before out of *Athanaſius* and the *Conſtitutions* [*], where the Reader may find it repeated at length under the Title of ὠρθρος εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ, the Morning Prayer. In the *Mozarabick Liturgy* it is appointed to be ſung in publick before the Leſſons on *Chriſtmaſs-Day*. St. *Chryſoſtom* [u] often mentions it, and in

[s] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 12. [t] Ibid. cap. 13.
[*] *See* Book XIII. Chap. x. n. 9. [u] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1337. Hom. 9. in Coloſ. p. 1380.

one Place particularly obſerves [x] of thoſe who retired from the World to lead an Aſcetick Life, that they met together daily to ſing their Morning Hymns with one Mouth to GOD, among which they ſung this Angelical Hymn with the Angels in Heaven. But I have obſerved before, that this was not the common Practice of all Churches, to ſing it every Day at Morning Prayer, but only in the Communion-Service; or at leaſt only upon *Sundays*, and *Eaſter-day*, and ſuch greater Feſtivals of the Church. Who firſt compoſed this Hymn, adding the remaining Part to the Words ſung by the Angels, is uncertain. Some ſuppoſe [y] it to be as ancient as the Time of *Lucian*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century, and is thought to mean it in one of his Dialogues, where he ſpeaks of the Hymn with many Names, πολυώνυμον ᾠδήν, as uſed by the Chriſtians: Others take it for the *Gloria Patri*; which is a Diſpute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the firſt Author and Original of this Hymn. And all I ſhall ſay farther of it, is only what was ſaid heretofore by the Fourth Council of *Toledo* [z] againſt ſome, who rejected the Hymns of St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe* and others, becauſe they were of human Compoſition: That by the ſame Reaſon they might have rejected both the leſſer *Doxology*, *Glory and Honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*, which was compoſed by Men; and alſo this greater *Doxology*, part of which was ſung by the Angels at our Saviour's Birth, *Glory be to God on high, and on Earth Peace to Men*

[x] Chryſ. Hom. 68. vel 69. in Mat. p. 600. [y] Smith's *Account of the* Greek *Church*. p 226. [z] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 12. Nam & ille Hymnus, quem nato in carne Chriſto, angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra Pax hominibus bonæ voluntaris, reliquaque quæ ibi ſequuntur, Eccleſiaſtici Doctores compoſuerunt.

Men of good Will (ſo they read it, as many other *Greek* and *Latin* Writers did;) but the reſt that follows, was compoſed and added to it by the Doctors of the Church.

Sect 3. *Of the* Triſagion *or* Cherubical *Hymn*, Holy, Holy, Holy, *&c.*

A THIRD Hymn of great Note in the Church was the Cherubical Hymn, or the *Triſagion*, as it was called, becauſe of the thrice repeating, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts*, in Imitation of the Seraphims in the Viſion of *Iſaiah*. The Original Form of this Hymn was in theſe Words, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, who art Bleſſed for ever.* Amen. Thus it is in the *Conſtitutions* [a] and frequently in St. *Chryſoſtom* [b] who ſays always, That it was in the ſame Words that the Seraphims ſung it in *Iſaiah*. Afterward the Church added ſome Words to it, and ſung it in this Form, ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us.* This Form is aſcribed by ſome to *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* and *Theodoſius* Junior. *An.* 446. And in this Form not long after we find it uſed by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* [c] in their Condemnation of *Dioſcorus*. Which is alſo noted by *Damaſcen* [d] who ſays, the Church uſed this Form to declare her Faith in the Holy TRINITY, applying the Title of *Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghoſt:* Not as exclud-

[a] Conſt. Lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 402. [b] Chryſ. Hom 1. de Verb. Eſai. T. 3. p. 834. Hom 6. in Seraphim. ibid. p. 890. Hom. 21 ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266. & paſſim. Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. Conc. Vaſens. 2. can. 4 [c] Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 310. T. 4. Labbe. [d] Damaſcen. de Orthod. Fide. Lib. 3. cap. 10.

ing any of the three Perſons from each of theſe Titles, but in Imitation of the Apoſtle, who ſays, *To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we by him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all Things, and we by him.* And thus this Hymn continued to be applied to the whole TRINITY, till *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, as ſome [e] ſay, or as others relate [f], *Peter Gnapheus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, cauſed the Words, ὁ ϛαυρωθεὶς δι ἡμᾶς, that was crucified for us, to be added to it. Which was intended to bring in the Hereſy of the *Theopaſchites*, who aſſerted that the Divine Nature it ſelf ſuffered upon the Croſs, and was in effect to ſay, that the whole TRINITY ſuffered, becauſe this Hymn was commonly applied to the whole TRINITY. To avoid this Inconvenience, one *Calandio* Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the Time of *Zeno* the Emperor, made another Addition to it, of the Words, CHRIST our King, reading it thus, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Chriſt our King, that waſt crucified for us, have Mercy on us*, as *Theodorus Lector* [g] and other Hiſtorians inform us. Theſe laſt Additions occaſioned great Confuſion and Tumults in the *Eaſtern* Church, whilſt the *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Weſtern* Churches ſtifly rejected them; and ſome of the *European* Provinces, the better to confront them and maintain the old Way of applying it to the whole TRINITY, inſtead of the Words, *crucified for us*, expreſsly ſaid, *Holy Trinity, have Mercy on us*, as we find it in *Ephrem Antiochenus* [h] recorded in *Photius*.

THIS is the ſhort Hiſtory and Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this celebrated Hymn in the Service of the Church, and of the heretical Corruptions and Interpolations that were intended to be made upon

[e] Evagr. Lib. 3. cap. 44. [f] Damaſcen. ibid.
[g] Theodor. Lect. Lib. 2. p. 566. Cedren. an. 16. Zenonis.
[h] Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. 228. p. 773.

upon it. As to its Uſe, it was chiefly ſung in the Middle of the Communion-Service, as we ſhall ſee more expreſsly hereafter in the next Book: But it was ſometimes uſed upon other Occaſions, as we have heard in the Council of *Chalcedon* before: And ſome *Greek Ritualiſts* [*i*] tell us, that it was always ſung before the Reading of the Epiſtle, which was anciently a Part of the Service of the Catechumens. But then they diſtinguiſh between the *Triſagion* and *Epinicion* or *Triumphal Hymn*, calling the ſimple Form, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts*, the *Epinicion*, which was ſung in the Communion-Service; and the other, the *Triſagion*, which was ſung in the Service of the Catechumens: But the more ancient Writers do not obſerve this Diſtinction; and therefore I have here put both Forms under the common Name of the *Triſagion*. He that would ſee this Hiſtory more at large, may conſult *Chriſtianus Lupus* [*k*] upon the Council of *Trullo*, and Mr. *Allix* [*l*] who has written a peculiar Treatiſe upon the Subject.

Sect. 4. *Of the* Allelujah *and* Alleluatick Pſalms.

NEXT to the *Triſagion* there is frequent mention made among the ancient Writers of Singing the *Allelujah*. By which they ſometimes mean the Repetition of this ſingle Word, which ſignifies, *Praiſe the Lord*: Which they did in Imitation of the Heavenly Hoſt, ſinging and ſaying, again and again, *Allelujah*, *Rev.* xix. Sometimes they mean one of thoſe *Pſalms*, which were called *Alleluatick Pſalms* [*m*], becauſe they had the Word *Allelujah* prefixed before them in

[*i*] German. Theoria Eccleſ. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 145. [*k*] Lupus, Not. in Can. 81. Trullan. [*l*] Alix de Triſagio. [*m*] Aug. in Pſal. 105. p. 505. Pſalmi Alleluatici. It. in Pſal. 118. p. 542.

the Title, ſuch as the cxlv, and thoſe that follow to the End. The Singing of theſe, was ſometimes called Singing the *Allelujah*, as has been obſerved out of *Caſſian* [*n*] more than once in the foregoing Parts of this, and the former Book. But the more common Acceptation of *Allelujah*, is for the ſinging of the Word itſelf by a frequent ſolemn Repetition of it upon certain Days, and in ſpecial Parts of Divine Service; it being a ſort of Invitatory, or mutual Call to each other to praiſe the LORD. Therefore, as St. *Auſtin* [*o*] obſerves, they always uſed it in the *Hebrew* Language, becauſe that was the known Signification of it: And ſo it was in our firſt *Liturgy*, though now we ſay, *Praiſe ye the Lord*, with a Reſponſe of the People, *The Lord's Name be praiſed*. Anciently there was no Diſpute about the Lawfulneſs of the Hymn itſelf, but ſome Variation and ſome Diſpute there was about the Times of uſing it. St. *Auſtin* ſays, in ſome Churches it was never ſung but upon *Eaſter* Day, and the fifty [*p*] Days of *Pentecoſt*: But in other Churches it was uſed at other Times alſo. *Vigilantius* contended fiercely [*q*] againſt St. *Jerom*, that it ought never to be ſung but only upon *Eaſter* Day. And in this, he ſeems to have followed the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, where *Sozomen* [*r*] aſſures us, it was never ſung but once a Year, and that was upon *Eaſter* Day: In ſo much that it was the common Form of an Oath among the *Romans*,

[*n*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 5, & 11. [*o*] Aug. Ep. 178. & Hom. 16. ex 50. T. 10. p. 165. [*p*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 17. Ut Alleluia per ſolos dies Quinquaginta cantetur in Eccleſia, non uſquequaque obſervatur. Nam & in aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi. Vid Ep. 86. & Hom. in Pſal. 106. & Serm. 151. de Tempore. [*q*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap 1. Exortus eſt ſubito Vigilantius, qui dicat—— nunquam niſi in Paſcha Alleluia cantandum. [*r*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19.

Romans, As they hoped to live to ſing *Allelujah* on that Day. Cardinal *Bona* [*s*] and *Baronius* [*t*] are very angry at *Sozomen* for this: But *Valeſius* [*u*] honeſtly defends him, for as much as *Caſſiodore*, who was a *Roman*, reports the ſame in his *Hiſtoria Tripartita*. But we muſt note, that anciently in thoſe Churches, where it was moſt frequented, there were ſome Exceptions in Point of Time and Seaſon. For in the Time of *Lent* it was never uſed, as appears from St. *Auſtin* [*x*], who ſays, That was a Time of Sorrow, and therefore from the Beginning of *Lent* till *Eaſter* Day they always omitted it: The ancient Tradition of the Church, being only to uſe it at certain Seaſons. The fourth Council of *Toledo* [*y*] forbids the Uſe of it not only in *Lent*, but upon other Days of Faſting, as particularly upon the firſt of *January*, which was then kept a Faſt in the *Spaniſh* Church, becauſe the Heathen obſerved it with great Superſtition of many idolatrous Rites and Practices. In the ſame Council the *Allelujah* is mentioned under the Name of *Laudes* [*z*], and appointed to be ſung after the Reading of the *Goſpel*; which as *Bona* [*a*] and *Mabillon* [*b*] obſerve, was according to the *Mozarabick* Rite; for in other Churches it was ſung between the *Epiſtle* and the *Goſpel*.

[*s*] Bona de Pſalmod. cap. 16. §. 7. n. 4. [*t*] Baron. an. 384. n. 28. [*u*] Valeſ. in Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19.

[*x*] Aug. in Pſal. 110 Venerunt dies ut jam cantemus Alleluja, &c. Vid. in Pſal. 106. & 148 [*y*] Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 10. In omnibus Quadrageſimæ diebus (quia tempus non eſt gaudij, ſed mœroris) Alleluia non decantetur — Hoc enim Eccleſiæ univerſalis conſenſio roboravit. In temporibus vero reliquis, id eſt, Kalendis Januarij, quæ propter errorem Gentilitatis aguntur, omnino Alleluia non decantabitur.

[*z*] Ibid. Can 11. Laudes ideo Evangelium ſequuntur propter gloriam Chriſti, quæ per idem Evangelium prædicatur.

[*a*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib 2. cap. 6. n. 4. [*b*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. Lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 12.

ſpel. It was alſo ſung at Funerals, as St. *Jerom* acquaints us [*c*] in his Epitaph of *Fabiola*, where he ſpeaks of the whole Multitude Singing *Pſalms* together, and making the golden Roof of the Church ſhake with ecchoing forth the *Allelujah*. The Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [*c*], ſpeaks of it alſo as uſed in the Confection of the Chriſm, or holy Oyl to be uſed in the Unction of Confirmation. St. *Auſtin* [*e*] ſays, it was ſung every Lord's Day at the Altar, for the ſame Reaſon that they prayed Standing, as a Memorial of CHRIST's Reſurrection, and as a Figure of our future Reſt and Joyfulneſs, to ſignify that our Buſineſs in the Life to come, will be nothing elſe but to praiſe GOD, according to that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Bleſſed are they that dwell in Thy Houſe, O Lord, they will be always praiſing Thee.* The meaning of *Allelujah* being nothing elſe but *Praiſe the Lord*, as both he and others [*f*] repreſent it. In the ſecond Council of *Tours* [*g*] it is appointed to be ſung immediately after the *Pſalms* both at the ſixth Hour, that is, Noon day, and the twelfth Hour, that is Evening Prayer. But whether they mean the ſhorter *Allelujah*, or one of thoſe *Pſalms* called the *Alleluatick Pſalms*, of which St. *Auſtin* and *Caſſian* ſpeak, is not very eaſy to determine. *Iſidore* [*h*] ſays,

[*c*] Hieron. Ep. 30. cap. 4. Sonabant Pſalmi, aurata tecta templorum reboans in ſublime quatiebat Alleluja. [*d*] Dionyſ. de Hierarch. Eccleſ. cap. 4. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 15. Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad Altare ſtantes oramus, & Alleluja canitur, quod ſignificat actionem noſtram futuram non eſſe niſi Laudare Deum, &c. [*f*] Vid. Juſtin. Quæſt. ad Orthodox. Q. 50. [*g*] Conc. Turon. 2. Can. 19. Patrum ſtatuta præceperunt, ut ad ſextam, ſex Pſalmi dicantur cum Alleluja; & ad Duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluja. [*h*] Iſidor. de Offic. Lib. 1 c. 13. In Africanis Eccleſiis non omni tempore, ſed tantum Dominicis diebus & 50 poſt Domini reſurrectionem Alleluja cantatur: Verum apud nos ſecundum antiquam Hiſpaniarum traditionem præter dies Jejuniorum & Quadrageſimæ omni tempore canitur Alleluja.

ſays, it was ſung every Day in *Spain*, except upon Faſt-Days: Though it was otherwiſe in the *African* Churches. St. *Jerom* [*i*] ſays, it was uſed in private Devotion: For even the Plow-Man at his Labour ſung his *Hallelujahs*. And this was the Signal or Call among the Monks [*k*] to their Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. For one went about and ſung *Allelujah*, and that was the Notice to repair to their ſolemn Meeting. Nay *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſeems to intimate [*l*], that the Seamen uſed it as their Signal or *Celeuſma* at their common Labour, making the Banks eccho while they ſung *Allelujah* to CHRIST. I only obſerve farther, That in the Church *Allelujah* was ſung by all the People, as appears not only from what is ſaid before by St. *Jerom*, that the Church ecchoed with the Sound of it; but alſo from that of *Paulinus* in his Epiſtle to *Severus* [*m*], *Alleluja novis balat Ovile choris*, The whole Sheepfold of CHRIST ſings *Allelujah* in her new Choires. And St. *Auſtin* [*n*] alluding to this, ſays, it was the Chriſtians ſweet *Celeuſma* or *Call*, whereby they invited one another to ſing Praiſes unto CHRIST.

Sect. 5. *Of the* Hoſanna *and the Evening Hymn, and* Nunc dimittis, *or the Song of* Simeon.

I DO not here inſiſt upon the *Hoſanna*, or the Evening Hymn, becauſe it does not appear that either of theſe were uſed in the Service of the Catechumens. The *Hoſanna* was but a Part of the great *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on high*, and only

[*i*] Hieron. Ep. 18. ad Marcellam. Quocunque te verteris, arator ſtivam retinens Alleluia decantat. [*k*] Id. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. cap. 16. Poſt Alleluja cantatum quo ſigno vocabantur ad Collectam, nulli reſidere licitum erat.

[*l*] Sidon. Lib. 2. Ep. 10. Curvorum hinc Chorus helciariorum, Reſponſantibus Alleluja ripis, ad Chriſtum levat amnicum Celeuſma. [*m*] Paulin Ep. 12. ad Sever.

[*n*] Aug. de Cantico Novo. cap. 2. Tom. 9. Celeuſma noſtrum dulce cantemus Alleluja.

only uſed in the Communion-Service, where we ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter. And the Evening Hymn has been mentioned [*] before in the former Book, where we have given an Account of the daily Evening Service, and ſhewed it to be rather a private Hymn, than any Part of the publick Worſhip of the Church. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or Song of *Simeon, Lord now letteſt Thou thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word*, &c. But whether any of this was uſed in publick, or only by Chriſtians in their private Devotions in their Families at their ſetting up of Lights, is what I ingenuouſly confeſs I am not yet able from any ancient Records to determine. For though there is frequent mention af the λυχναψία among the *Greeks*, and of the *Lucernarium* among the *Latins*, as of a publick Office, for Veſpers or Evening-Prayers; yet I will not aſſert, that this Hymn was a Part of that Office, without clearer Proof, but leave it to farther Diſquiſition and Enquiry. The only Thing we find more of the *Nunc dimittis*, is in the Life of *Maria Ægyptiaca*, who died about the Year 525. of whom it is ſaid, that a little before her Death ſhe received the *Euchariſt*, repeated the *Creed*, and the *Lord's-Prayer*, and ſung the *Nunc dimittis, Lord now letteſt Thou thy Servant* [*] *depart in Peace according to thy Word.* But this was only an Act of private Devotion, and whether it was then received into the publick Offices of the Church, remains uncertain.

BUT

[*] Book XIII. Chap. xi. n. 5. [o] Vita Mariæ Ægypt. ap. Durantum de Ritibus Lib. 1. cap. 16. n. 9.

Sect. 6. *Of the* Benedicite, *or the Song of the three Children.*

BUT we are more certain of the Uſe of the Hymn, called, *Benedicite*, or Song of the Three Children in the burning fiery Furnace. For not only *Athanaſius* [p] directs Virgins to uſe it in their private Devotions, but the Fourth Council of *Toledo* [q] ſays, it was uſed in the Church over all the World, and therefore orders it to be ſung by the Clergy of *Spain* and *Gallicia* every Lord's Day, and on the Feſtivals of the Martyrs, under Pain of Excommunication. *Leſtrange* [r] thinks this is the firſt Time there is any mention made of this Hymn, as of publick Uſe in the Church: But *Chryſoſtom* lived two hundred Years before this Council, and he makes the ſame Obſervation as the Council does, that it was ſung in all Places [s] throughout the World, and would continue to be ſung in future Generations. The *Lectionarium Gallicanum* publiſhed by *Mabillon* [t] appoints this Hymn to be ſung after the Reading of the Prophets, much after the ſame manner as it is now ordered to be ſung between the firſt and ſecond Leſſon in the Liturgy of our Church.

THE

[p] Athan. de Virgin. p. 1057. [q] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 13. Hymnum quoque trium puerorum, in quo univerſa cœli terræque creatura Deum collaudat, & quem eccleſia Catholica per totum orbem diffuſa celebrat, quidam ſacerdotes in Miſſa Dominicorum dierum & in ſolennitatibus Martyrum canere negligunt. Proinde ſanctum Concilium inſtituit, ut per omnes Hiſpaniæ Eccleſias vel Galliciæ, in omnium Miſſarum ſolennitate idem in publico (al. Pulpito) decantetur, &c.

[r] Leſtrange Allyance of Div. Offic. Chap. 3. p. 79.

[s] Chryſ. Quod nemo læditur niſi à ſeipſo. Tom. 4. p. 593. ᾄδην παντα̃χοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδομένην, καὶ ἀδησομένην εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς. [t] Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 2. p. 108.

Sect. 7. *Of the* Magnificat, *or Song of the Holy Virgin.*

THE Uſe of the *Magnificat*, or Song of the Holy Virgin, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord*, &c. is not quite ſo ancient: For the firſt Time we meet with it as preſcribed for publick Uſe, is in the Rules of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and *Aurelian* [*u*] who Order it to be ſung in the *French* Churches at Morning-Service. And that was about the Year 506.

Sect. 8. *When firſt the* Creed *began to be ſung as an Hymn in the Church.*

SOME learned Perſons reckon the ſinging of the *Creed* into the Pſalmody of the Church, and ſpeak of it as an ancient Cuſtom: But herein they miſtake by Suffering themſelves to be impoſed upon by Modern Authors. Biſhop *Wettenhal* [*x*] ſays, it is no improbable Conjecture, that the Hymn which the Primitive Chriſtians are ſaid by *Pliny* to have ſung to CHRIST as GOD, was their *Creed*; and that it is certain, the *Nicene Creed* has been ſung in the Church in a manner from the very compiling of it. For this he cites *Platina* in the Life of Pope *Mark*, who affirms, that it was ordained by that Pope, that on all ſolemn Days immediately after the *Goſpel*, the *Creed* ſhould be ſung with a loud Voice by the Clergy and People, in that Form wherein it was explained by the *Nicene* Council. When yet it is certain on the other Hand, that the *Creed* was never ſo much as barely repeated in the *Roman* Church in Time of Divine Service, till the Year 1014. when *Benedict* the eighth brought it into Uſe, to comply with the Practice of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Churches, as has been ſhewed at large in a former

[*u*] Apud Mabillon. de Curſu Gallican. p. 407. [*x*] Wettenhal, *Gift of Singing*. Chap. 3. p. 330.

mer Book [*], where we have noted, that it was never read publickly in the *Greek* Church, but once a Year, till *Peter Fullo* brought it into the Church of *Antioch*, an. 471. and *Timotheus* into the Church of *Conſtantinople* an. 511. from whoſe Example it was taken by the third Council of *Toledo An.* 589. and brought into Cuſtom in the *Spaniſh* Churches. After which it was four whole Centuries before it gained Admittance in the Church of *Rome*. So little Reaſon is there to depend upon the Authority of Modern Authors, in Caſes where they plainly contradict the Teſtimony of more ancient and credible Writers. And this is a good Argument, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [y] well urges it, to ſhew the Differences betwixt the old *Gallican* and *Roman* Offices, and that the Church of *England* did not follow preciſely the Model of the *Roman* Offices, but thoſe that were more anciently received in the general Practice of the *Gallican* and *Britiſh* Churches.

Sect. 9. *Of the Author and Original of the Hymn* Te Deum.

THERE remains one Hymn more, the *Te Deum*, which is now in Uſe among us, the Author and Original of which is variouſly diſputed. The common Opinion aſcribes it to St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin* jointly; others to St. *Ambroſe* ſingly [z], becauſe he is known to have compoſed Hymns for the Uſe of the Church. Two Things are chiefly ſaid in Favour of theſe Opinions, which have no real Weight or Force in them. 1. That the Chronicle of *Dacius*, one of St. *Ambroſe*'s Succeſſors, ſays, He compoſed it. 2. That it is approved as his Hymn in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, *An.* 633. But to the firſt it is reply'd by Learned Men, That the pretended *Chronicon* of *Dacius* is a mere Counterfeit

[*] Book X. Chap. iv. n. 17. [y] Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 237. [z] Comber *of Liturgies*, p. 180.

feit, and altogether ſpurious. *Mabillon* [*a*] proves it to be at leaſt 500 Years younger than its reputed Author: Whence the Story that is ſo formally told in it, is concluded to be a mere Fiction, and Invention of later Ages. The Story is this, as *Spondanus* [*b*] a Favourer of it, reports it out of *Dacius:* That when St. *Auſtin* was baptized by St. *Ambroſe*, whilſt they were at the Font, they ſung this Hymn by Inſpiration, as the Spirit gave them Utterance, and ſo publiſhed it in the Sight and Audience of all the People. But the Authority of the Story reſting merely upon the Foundation of this fabulous Writer, there is no Credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater Weight to be laid upon what is alledged from the Council of *Toledo*: For the Council only ſays, That ſome Hymns were compoſed for the Uſe of the Church by St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambroſe*, without any particular mention of this Hymn; ſo that it might as well be aſcribed to St. *Hilary*, as St. *Ambroſe*, for any Thing that is ſaid in that Council. The Truth of the Matter is, that it was compoſed by a *French* Writer about an hundred Years after St. *Ambroſe*'s Death, for the Uſe of the *Gallican* Church. *Pagi* [*c*] ſays, *Gavantus* found it in ſome MSS. aſcribed to St. *Abundius*; and others have the Name of *Siſebutus* prefixed to it. Biſhop *Uſher* [*d*] found it in two MSS. aſcribed to *Nicettus* Biſhop of *Triers*, who liv'd about the Year 535. And he is now by Learned Men generally reputed the Author of it. The Learned *Benedictins*, who lately publiſhed St. *Ambroſe*'s Works, judge St. *Ambroſe* not to be the Author

[*a*] Mabil. Analecta Veterum. Tom. 1. p. 5. [*b*] Spondan. an. 388. n. 9. In quibus Fontibus, prout Spiritus ſanctus dabat eloqui illis, Te Deum laudamus, cantantes, cunctis qui aderant audientibus & videntibus, ediderunt. Ex Chronico Dacij, Lib. 1. c. 10. [*c*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 388. n. 11.
[*d*] Uſſer. de Symbolo p. 3.

thor of it: And Dr. *Cave*, though he was once [*e*] of a different Judgment; yet upon maturer Conſideration [*f*] ſubſcribes to their Opinion. Wherefore the moſt rational Concluſion, is that of Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [*g*] That it was compoſed by *Niceitus*, and that we muſt look on this Hymn as owing its Original to the *Gallican* Church; ſince not long after the Time of *Nicetius* it is mentioned in the *Rule of* St. *Benedict*, cap. 11. and the *Rule of Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, cap. 21. and the *Rule of Aurelian*, where they preſcribe the Uſe of it: But *Menardus* [*h*] is confident, there is no mention of this Hymn in any Writers of Credit before them.

Sect. 10. *The Hymns of St.* Ambroſe.

BUT though St. *Ambroſe* cannot be allowed to be the Author of this Hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he compoſed Hymns for the Uſe of the Church, ſome of which are yet extant. For St. *Auſtin* [*i*] mentions one of his Evening Hymns in ſeveral Places, *Deus Creator omnium*, &c. Which I forbear to relate here at length, becauſe I have done it in the former Book [†]. Again St. *Auſtin* in his *Retractations* [*k*] ſpeaks of another Hymn compoſed by St. *Ambroſe* upon the Repentance of *Peter* after the crowing of the Cock, Part of which he there relates, and ſays, it was uſed to be ſung by many in his Time. *Du Pin* thinks

[*e*] Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 215. [*f*] Id. Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 2. p. 75. Ambroſij eſſe, nullo idoneo teſtimonio probari poteſt, & Fabulam pro origine habere videtur.

[*g*] Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 222. [*h*] Menard. Not. in Gregor. Sacramentar. p. 351. [*i*] Aug. Confeſs. Lib. 9. cap. 12. It de Muſica Lib. 6. cap. 2. & 17. [†] Book XIII. Chap. v. n. 7. [*k*] Aug. Retract. Lib. 1. cap. 21. Cantatur ore multorum in Verſibus Beatiſſimi Ambroſij, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait, Hoc, ipſa Petra Eccleſia, canente, culpam diluit.

[*l*] moſt of thoſe Hymns which are now the daily Office of the Roman Service, are taken from St. *Ambroſe*, but that the reſt are in a different Stile, and owing to other Authors. Particularly that the Hymn, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, is none of his, which is now uſed in the Romiſh Church in the fourth Week of *Lent*, ſo notorious for their kneeling down to the Croſs, and worſhipping it in theſe Words [*m*]: *Hail, Croſs, our only Hope, in this Time of Paſſion, increaſe the Righteouſneſs of the Pious, and grant Pardon of Sins to the Guilty.* We are ſure this could not be the Compoſition of St. *Ambroſe*, nor any Writer of that Age; being ſo much the reverſe of the Practice of the ancient Church, in whoſe Hymns or other Devotions there is not the leaſt Footſtep of worſhipping the Croſs, or any Material Image of GOD, as has been demonſtrated in a former Part [†] of this Work, where the Hiſtory of Images has been handled *ex profeſſo*, in conſidering the Way of adorning the ancient Churches.

Sect. 11. *The Hymns of St.* Hilary, Claudianus Mamercus, *and others.*

THERE were many other Hymns, and ſome whole Books of Hymns compoſed by other Writers of the Church, of which we have little remaining beſides the bare Names, and therefore it will be ſufficient juſt to mention them. St. *Jerom* ſays,[*n*] St.

[*l*] Du Pin. Bibliothec. Cent. 4. p. 231. [*m*] Breviar. Rom. Hebdom. 4. Quadrageſimæ. Die Sabbtti.

O Crux ave ſpes unica,
Hoc Paſſionis tempore,
Auge piis juſtitiam,
Reiſque dona veniam.

[†] Book VIII. Chap. viii. n. 6. &c. [*n*] Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. cap. 100.

St. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers* compoſed a Book of Hymns: And theſe we are ſure were many Years after his Death of famous Note and Uſe in the Spaniſh Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of *Toledo* [o]. But none of theſe are come to our Hands, except a Morning Hymn [p] prefixed before his Works, which he ſent with an Epiſtle to his Daughter *Abra*. It is a Prayer to CHRIST for Preſervation from the Perils of Day and Night, ſavouring of ancient Piety, and concluding with the common Glorification of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [q] ſays alſo that *Claudianus Mamercus* collected the Pſalms and Hymns and Leſſons proper for the Feſtivals in the Church of *Vienna* in *France*, and made ſome Hymns of his own, one of which he highly [r] commends for its Elegancy, Loftineſs, and Sweetneſs, as excceeding any of the ancient *Lyricks*, in the greatneſs of its Compoſure and Hiſtorical Truth. *Savaro* ſays in his Notes upon the Place, that it is the ſame which is now in the Roman *Breviary*, and becauſe it anſwers the Character which *Sidonius* gives it, and has none of

[o] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 12. [p] Hilar. Epiſt. ad. Fil. Abram. Interim tibi Hymnum Matutinum & Serotinum miſi, ut memor mei ſemper ſis. *The Hymn begins thus*: Lucis Largitor optime, &c. *And Ends in theſe Words of the* Doxology:

Gloria tibi Domine,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum ſpiritu Paracleto.
Nunc & per omne ſæculum.

[q] Sidon. Lib. 4. Ep. 11. Pſalmorum hic modulator & Phonaſcus, Inſtructas docuit ſonare claſſes. Hic ſolennibus annuis paravit, Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

[r] Id. Lib. 4. Ep. 3. Jam vero de Hymno tuo ſi percunctere quid ſentiam, commaticus eſt, copioſus, dulcis, elatus, & quoſlibet lyricos Dithyrambos amœnitate poetica & hiſtorica veritate ſupereminet.

the Superſtition of a Modern Compoſure in it (ſuch as the *Vexilla Regis*, fathered upon St. *Ambroſe*) I think it not improper to tranſcribe in the Margin here [*s*] for the Uſe of the learned Reader. And ſay farther, That if every Thing in the Roman *Breviary* had been in this Strein, it had much more reſembled the Piety and Simplicity of the ancient Hymns, and been free from thoſe Marks of Superſtition and Idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the Follies of the Modern ſuperſtitious Admirers of the Worſhip of the Virgin *Mary* and the Croſs, which were ſo great a Deviation from the ancient Worſhip, and ſtood ſo much in need of Reformation. There were many other Hymns for the Uſe of particular Churches, compoſed by learned Men, as *Nepos*, and *Athenogenes*, and *Ephrem Syrus*, not to men-

[*s*] Breviar. Rom. Dominica 5. Quadrageſimæ, ſive in Paſſione Domini ad Matutinum.

Pange lingua glorioſi
Prælium certaminis,
Et ſuper crucis trophæum
Dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter Redemptororbis
Immolatus vicerit.

De Parentis Protoplaſti
Fraude Factor condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
Morſu in mortem corruit,
Ipſe lignum tunc notavit,
Damna ligni ut ſolveret.

Hoc opus noſtræ ſalutis
Ordo depoposcerat,
Multiformis Proditoris
Ars ut artem falleret,
Et medelam ferret inde,
Hoſtis unde læſerat.

Quando venit ergo ſacri
Plenitudo temporis,
Miſſus eſt ab arce Patris
Natus orbis Conditor:
Ac de ventre Virginali
Caro factus prodiit.

Vagit infans inter arcta
Conditus preſepia:
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat;
Et manus pedeſque & crura
Stricta cingit faſcia.

Gloria & honor Deo
Uſquequaque altiſſimo,
Una Patri, Filioque,
Inclito Paraclito,
Cui Laus eſt & Poteſtas
Per æterna ſæcula. Amen.

mention thoſe ſpoken of by *Pliny* and *Tertullian*, and frequently by *Euſebius*; nor thoſe which *Paulus Samoſatenſis* cauſed in his Anger to be caſt out of the Church of *Antioch*; nor thoſe which *Sozomen* [*t*], ſays were made upon a ſpecial Occaſion, when the People of *Antioch* had incenſed *Theodoſius* by throwing down his Statues; which were both ſung in the Church, and before *Theodoſius* himſelf by the ſinging Boys as he ſat at Table. Of all which we have no farther Account but only the bare mention of them in their ſeveral Authors. As for thoſe compoſed by *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Paulinus*, *Prudentius* and other Chriſtian Poets, they were not deſigned for Publick Uſe in the Church, but only to antidote Men againſt the Poiſon of Hereſies, or ſet forth the Praiſes of the Martyrs, or recommend the Practice of Virtue in a private Way: For which Reaſon I take no Notice of them in this Place, being only concerned to give an Account of ſuch Hymns as related to the ancient Pſalmody, as a Part of the Publick Service of the Church. And ſo I have done with the firſt Part of their Worſhip in the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or Service of the Catechumens.

[*t*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 23.

CHAP. III.

Of the Manner of Reading the SCRIPTURES *in the publick Service of the* CHURCH.

Sect. 1. *Leſſons of the Scripture ſometimes mixed with Pſalms and Hymns, and ſometimes read after them.*

NEXT to the Pſalmody and Hymns, we are to take a View of their Way of Reading the Scriptures, which was another Part of the Service of the Catechumens, at which (as has been obſerved before) all ſorts of Perſons were allowed to be preſent for Inſtruction. Which is an Argument of it ſelf, ſufficient (if there were no other) to prove, that they were always read in a known Tongue: Of which I need ſay no more here, becauſe it has been ſo fully evinced by great Variety of Arguments in the laſt Book. What we are now to obſerve farther, relates to the Manner and Circumſtances of this Service. Where firſt of all it is proper to remark, that tho' many times the *Pſalms*, and Leſſons, and Hymns, were ſo intermixed (as now they are in our *Liturgy*) that it is hard to tell which came firſt in order, or with which the Service began: Yet in ſome Places it was plainly otherwiſe: For the *Pſalms* were firſt ſung all together, only with ſhort Prayers between them, and then the Leſſons were read by themſelves, to ſuch a Number as the Rules of every Church appointed. Of which I have given ſufficient Proof out of *Caſſian* and St. *Jerom* in the Beginning of the laſt Chapter, which may ſuperſede all farther Confirmation in this Place.

Sect. 2.

The Leſſons read both out of the Old *and* New Teſtament, *except in the Church of* Rome, *where only* Epiſtle *and* Goſpel *were read.*

THE next Thing worthy of our Obſervation, is the Number of the Leſſons, which were always two at leaſt, and ſometimes three or four, and thoſe partly out of the *Old Teſtament*, and partly out of the *New*. Only the Church of *Rome* ſeems to have been a little ſingular in this Matter: For, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [*a*] obſerves out of *Walafridus Strabo* [*b*] and others of her old Ritualiſts, for 400 Years, till the Time of Pope *Celeſtine*, they had neither *Pſalms* nor *Leſſons* out of the *Old Teſtament* read before the Sacrifice, but only *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*. In other Churches they had Leſſons out of the *Old Teſtament* as well as the *New*. *Caſſian* [*c*] ſays, in *Egypt*, after the Singing of the *Pſalms*, they had two Leſſons read, one out of the *Old Teſtament*, and the other out of the *New*: Only on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, and the Fifty Days of *Pentecoſt* they were both out of the *New Teſtament*, one out of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* or the *Epiſtles*, and the other out of the *Goſpels*. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*d*] ſpeaks of four Leſſons, two out of *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, beſides the *Pſalms*, and then two out of the *Epiſtles* or *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and the *Goſpels*. Again [*e*], he mentions the Reading of the *Prophets* on *Sundays*. And in another Place [*f*], The *Law* and the *Prophets*, the *Pſalms* and the *Goſpels*. And again, the *Law* and the *Prophets* [*g*], and the *Epiſtles*, and the *Acts*, and the *Goſpels*. So *Juſtin Martyr* deſcribing the Buſineſs of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies on the Lord's Day, ſpeaks of the Reading of the Writings of the

[*a*] Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 215. [*b*] Strabo de Reb. Eccl. cap. 12. [*c*] Caſſian Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 6.
[*d*] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. [*e*] Idem. Lib. 2. cap. 59.
[*f*] Idem. Lib. 5. cap. 19. [*g*] Idem. Lib. 8. cap. 5.

Prophets, as well as the Apoſtles [*h*]. In like manner *Chryſoſtom* reproving ſome who were very negligent at Church, ſays [*i*], Tell me what Prophet was read to Day, what Apoſtle? implying, that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us, that the Book of *Geneſis* was always read in *Lent*, of which more by and by, in the following Obſervation. St. *Baſil* in one of his *Homilies* [*k*] upon Baptiſm in *Lent*, takes notice of the ſeveral Leſſons that were read that Day, beſides the *Pſalms*, whereof one was out of the 1st of *Iſaiah*, the ſecond out of *Acts* ii, and the third out of *Matthew* xi. And in another *Homily* [*l*] he ſpeaks of the *Pſalms*, and *Proverbs*, and *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels*, as read that Day. *Maximus Taurinenſis* in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Epiphany* [*m*] ſays, The Leſſons were out of *Iſaiah* lx. *Matthew* ii. and *John* i. for that Feſtival. St. *Auſtin* ſometimes only mentions *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*. But in other Places he expreſsly mentions [*n*] the Reading of the *Prophets*, and particularly mentions the Prophet *Micah*, and thoſe Words of the vith Chapter, *What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God*; which were the Theme for his Diſcourſe upon the Leſſon for the Day. In the *French* Churches there is ſtill more Evidence for this Practice: For *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* [*o*] in one of his *Homilies* cited by *Mabillon*, uſes

[*h*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in Rom. p. 270. Hom. 3. de David & Saul. T. 2. p. 1037.

[*k*] Baſil. Hom. 13. de Bapt. T. 1. p. 409. [*l*] Baſil. Hom. 21. in Lacizis. p. 460. [*m*] Maxim. Taurin. Hom. 4. in Epiphan. [*n*] Aug. Hom. 237. de Temp. p. 384.

[*o*] Cæſar. Arelat. De non recedendo ab Eccleſia, &c. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 4. Non tunc fiunt Miſſæ, quando divinæ Lectiones in Eccleſia recitantur, ſed quando munera offeruntur, & Corpus vel Sanguis Domini conſecratur:

uſes this Argument to the People, why they ſhould ſtay the whole Time of Divine Service, becauſe the Leſſons were not ſo properly called *Miſſa* or Divine Service, as was the Oblation or Conſecration of the Body and Blood of CHRIST: For they might read at home, or hear others read the Leſſons, whether out of the Prophets, or Apoſtles, or Evangeliſts; but they could not hear or ſee the Conſecration any where elſe but only in the Houſe of GOD. Where it is plainly implied, that the Leſſons were then read in the Church as well out of the *Prophets*, as the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels*. And ſo in the Relation of the Conference between the *Catholicks* and *Arians* in the Time of *Gundobadus* King of *Burgundy*, which we have had Occaſion to mention before [*] out of the ſame Learned Writer, it is ſaid, that in the Vigil held the Night before the Conference, four Leſſons were read, one out of *Moſes*, another out of the Prophet *Eſaias*, a third out of the *Goſpel*, and the laſt out of the *Epiſtles*. And in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, publiſhed by *Mabillon*, there is always a Leſſon out of the *Old Teſtament* before the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*: And on the *Sabbatum ſanctum*, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter* [p] there are no leſs than Twelve Leſſons appointed out of *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Joſhua*, *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and *Jonah*, beſide the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel* which follow after. It farther appears from the Canons of the Council of *Laodicea* [q] and the third Council of *Carthage* [r], and St. *Cyril*'s *Catechetical Diſcourſes* [s], that all the Books

conſecratur: Nam Lectiones, ſive Propheticas, ſive Apoſtolicas, ſive Evangelicas, etiam in domibus veſtris aut ipſi legere, aut alios legentes audire poteſtis; Conſecrationem vero Corporis & ſanguinis Domini non alibi, niſi in Domo Dei, audire vel videre poteritis.

[*] Book XIV. Chap. i. n. 2. [p] Lectionar. Gallican. ap Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 2. p. 138. [q] Conc. Laodic. Can. 59, & 60. [r] Conc Carth. 3. Can. 47. [s] Cyril Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 67.

Books of the *Old Teſtament* were then read in the Church, as well as the *New*. For they give us Catalogues of what Books might, or might not be read in the Church, among which all the Books of the *Old Teſtament* are ſpecified as ſuch as were then actually read in the publick Service; and *Cyril* allows his Catechumens to read no other Books in private but the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, which he thought they might ſafely read, becauſe they were both publickly read in the Church.

Sect. 3. *Proper Leſſons for certain Times and Feſtivals.*

THE next Obſervation to be made is, upon their Method of Reading the Scriptures, which ſeems always to be done by ſome Rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. *Auſtin* tells us [*t*] there were ſome Leſſons ſo fixed and appropriated to certain Times and Seaſons, that no others might be read in their Stead. And he particularly inſtances in the Feſtival of *Eaſter*, when for four Days ſucceſſively the Hiſtory of CHRIST's Reſurrection [*u*] was read out of the four *Goſpels*. On the Day of his Paſſion [*x*] they read the Hiſtory of his Sufferings out of St. *Matthew's Goſpel* only. And all the Time between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* [*y*] he ſays, they read the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. This laſt Particular is frequently mentioned by St. *Chryſoſtom*, who has a whole Sermon to give an Account of the Reaſons of it. There he takes Notice of many Things together relating to this Matter

[*t*] Aug. Expoſ. in 1 Joan. in Præfat. T. 9. p. 235. Interpoſita eſt ſolennitas ſanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio Lectiones oportet in Eccleſia recitari, quæ ita ſunt Annuæ, ut aliæ eſſe non poſſint. [*u*] Vid. Aug. Serm. 139, 140, 141, 144, 148. de Tempore. Item. Chryſ. Hom. 88. in Mat. p. 731. [*x*] Aug. Serm. 144. de Tempore. p. 320. [*y*] Aug. Tract. 6. in Joan. Tom. 9. p. 24. & Hom. 83. de Diverſis.

Matter of Reading the Leſſons by Rule and Order. Firſt he tell us [z] how by the Appointment of the Church, on the Day of our SAVIOUR's Paſſion all ſuch Scriptures were read, as had any Relation to the Croſs; then how on the Great Sabbath, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter*, they read all ſuch Portions of Scripture as contained the Hiſtory of His being betrayed, crucified, dead and buried. He adds alſo [a], that on *Eaſter* Day they read ſuch Paſſages as gave an Account of his Reſurrection; and on every Feſtival the Things that related to that Feſtival. But it ſeemed a Difficulty, why then the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which contain the Hiſtory of their Miracles done after *Pentecoſt*, ſhould not rather be read after *Pentecoſt*, than before it? To this he anſwers, That the Miracles of the Apoſtles, contained in that Book, were the great Demonſtration of our SAVIOUR's Reſurrection: and therefore the Church appointed that Book to be read always between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, immediately after our Saviour's Reſurrection, to give Men the Evidences and Proofs of that Holy Myſtery, which was the Completion of their Redemption. So that though the Leſſons for other Feſtivals related the Things that were done at thoſe Feſtivals; yet for a particular Reaſon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which contained the Hiſtory of Things done after *Pentecoſt*, were read before *Pentecoſt*, becauſe they were more proper for the Time immediately following our SAVIOUR's Reſurrection. And upon this Account it became a general Rule over the whole Church to read the *Acts* at this Time, as not only *Chryſoſtom* teſtifies here, but in many other Places of his Writings. In his *Homily* upon thoſe Words, *Saul yet breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter againſt the Diſciples*, Acts ix. he gives this Reaſon why he could not preach in order

[z] Chryſ. Hom. 63. Cur in Pentecoſte Acta legantur. T. 5. p. 949. [a] Chryſ. ibid. p. 951.

der upon every Part of that Book [*b*] becauſe the Law of the Church commanded it to be laid aſide after *Pentecoſt*, and the Reading of it to conclude with the End of the preſent Feſtival. In another Place [*c*] he ſays, it was appointed by Law to be read on that Feſtival, and not uſually read in any other Part of the Year. And in another Place [*d*] he gives this Reaſon why he broke off his Sermons upon *Geneſis* in the *Paſſion Week*, becauſe the Intervention of other Solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other Subjects, agreeable to what was read in the Church, as againſt the Traitor *Judas*, and upon the Paſſion, and our SAVIOUR's Reſurrection, at which Time he took in hand the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and preached upon them from *Eaſter* to *Pentecoſt*. *Caſſian* [*e*] ſays, the ſame Order was obſerved among the *Egyptians*: And it appears from the ancient *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, that it was ſo in the *French* Churches: For there almoſt on every Day between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, except the *Rogation* Days, and ſome few others, two Leſſons are ordered to be read out of the *Apocalyps* and the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Whence it may be concluded farther, that the Reading of the *Apocalyps*, was alſo in a great Meaſure appropriated to this Seaſon in the *Gallican* Church. And ſo it was in the *Spaniſh* Churches by an Order of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, which enjoyns the Reading of it [*f*] in this Interval under Pain of Excommunication. In *Lent* they uſually read the Book of *Geneſis*, as is plain

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 47. Tom. 5. p. 637. ἡνίκα πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ βιβλίον, &c.

[*c*] Hom. 48. in Inſcriptionem Altaris. Act. 17. T. 5. p. 650. τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ νενομοθέτηται αὐτὸ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, &c.

[*d*] Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 478. [*e*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 6. [*f*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 16. Si quis Apocalypſin à Paſcha uſque ad Pentecoſten Miſſarum tempore in Eccleſia non prædicaverit, Excommunicationis ſententiam habebit.

plain from *Chryſoſtom*, whoſe famous *Homilies* called ἀνδριάντες, becauſe they are about the Statues of the Emperor, which the People of *Antioch* had ſeditiouſly thrown down, were preached in *Lent*: And in one of theſe [g] he ſays, he would preach upon the Book that had been read that Day, which was the Book of *Geneſis*, and the firſt Words, *In the Beginning God created Heaven and Earth*, were the Subject of his Diſcourſe. In another Sermon [h] preached upon the ſame Text in the Beginning of *Lent*, he ſays, the Words had been read in the Leſſon that Day. And for this very Reaſon he preached two whole *Lents* upon the Book of *Geneſis*, becauſe it was then read of Courſe in the Church. For the thirty-two firſt of thoſe *Homilies* were preached at *Conſtantinople* in *Lent* in the third Year after he was made Biſhop, *an.* 400, or 401; but the Feſtivals of the *Paſſion*, and *Eaſter*, and *Pentecoſt* coming on, this Subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other Subjects, as he himſelf [i] tells us, ſuitable to thoſe Occaſions. Afterward he reſumed his former Work, and finiſhed his *Comment* upon *Geneſis* in Thirty-two Sermons more in the Year enſuing. Which makes it plain, that *Geneſis* was then read in *Lent*, as the *Acts* were in *Pentecoſt*, and that *Chryſoſtom* conformed his Diſcourſes according to the Order of Reading then eſtabliſhed in the Church. It appears farther from St. *Ambroſe*, that the Book of *Job* and *Jonah* were both read in the *Paſſion Week*. For ſpeaking of a Sermon which he made to the People at this Time, he ſays

[g] Chryſ. Hom. 7. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 107. τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειρίσωμαι βιβλίον. [h] Serm. 1. in Gen. 1. T. 2. p. 880. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη σήμερον. Vid. Chryſ. Hom. 6. de Pœnitentia in Edit. Latinis. [i] Chryſ. Hom 33. in Gen. p. 480. Vid. Severiani Gabalenſis Hom. 1. in Gen. ap. Combefiſ. Auctar. Noviſſ. p. 214. Et Aug. Serm. 71. de Temp.

ſays [*k*], Ye have heard, Children, the Book of *Job* read, which is in Courſe appointed to be read at this Time. And [*l*] again, ſays he, the Book of *Jonah* was read. That is, as *Pagi* [*m*] critically remarks, on the third Day of the *Paſſion Week*. And that this was an ancient Rule of the Church, appears from *Origen*'s Comment upon *Job*, which St. *Jerom* [*n*] ſays, St. *Hilary* tranſlated into *Latin*. For there [*o*] he not only tells us, that the Book of *Job* was read in the Church in *Paſſion Week*, but alſo gives us the Reaſon of it, becauſe it was a Time of Faſting and Abſtinence, a Time, in which they that faſted and abſtained, had as it were a ſort of Fellow-Suffering with admirable *Job*, a Time in which Men by Faſting and Abſtinence followed after the Paſſion of CHRIST JESUS our Lord: And becauſe the Paſſion of *Job* was in a great meaſure a Type and Example of the Paſſion and Reſurrection of CHRIST, therefore the Hiſtory of *Job*'s Paſſion was with good Reaſon read and meditated upon in theſe Days of Paſſion, theſe Days of Sanctification, theſe Days of Faſting. Thus far *Origen*: But in the [*p*] *Lectionarium Gallicanum* there is no mention of the Book of *Job*, but only of *Jonah* on the *Sabbatum magnum*, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter* Day [*q*]. St. *Jerom* ſeems to ſay, that the Prophet *Hoſea* was alſo read

[*k*] Ambroſ. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Soror. p. 160. Audiſtis, Filij, librum legi Job, qui ſolenni & munere eſt decurſus & Tempore. [*l*] Ibid. p. 162. Sequenti die lectus eſt de more Liber Jonæ. [*m*] Pagi. Critic. in Baron. an. 387. n. 4.

[*n*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. [*o*] Origen in Job. Lib. 1. p. 366 In conventu Eccleſiæ in diebus ſanctis legitur Paſſio Job, in diebus Jejunij, in diebus Abſtinentiæ, &c. [*p*] Lectionar. Gallic. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 139.

[*q*] Hieron. Procem. in Hoſea ad Pammach. Pierij quoque legi Tractatum longiſſimum, quem in exordio hujus Prophetæ die Vigiliarum Dominicæ Paſſionis extemporali & diſerto Sermone profudit.

read on the Vigil of our SAVIOUR's Paſſion. For he mentions a long Diſcourſe of *Pierius*, which he had read, made by that Martyr on the Beginning of that Book, in an elegant but extemporary Style, on the Vigil before the Paſſion. St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Goſpel of St. John*, which he was then expounding, adviſes his Auditors to read at Home, in the Week-Days before, ſuch Portions of the *Goſpel* as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's Day following in the Church. Which implies ſome certain Rule and Order. So that though we have not any compleat *Lectionarium*, or *Kalendar* of Leſſons now remaining, yet we are ſure their Reading of Scripture was ſome Way methodized and brought under Rule, eſpecially for the greater Solemnities and Feſtivals of the Church. The firſt *Kalendar* of this kind is thought by ſome to be *Hippolytus's Canon Paſchalis*, which, as I have ſhewed before [*] no leſs Men than *Scaliger* and *Gothofred* take to be a Rule appointing Leſſons proper for the Feſtivals. But *Bucherius* and others give another Account of it, which leaves the Matter uncertain. There goes alſo under the Name of St. *Jerom*, a Book called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium*; but Criticks of the beſt Rank [s] reckon this a Counterfeit, and the Work of a much later Writer, becauſe it mentions Leſſons out of the *Prophets* and *Old Teſtament*, whereas in St. *Jerom's* Time, as we have noted before, there were no Leſſons read beſides *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* in the Church of *Rome*. However, ſome Time after there were ſeveral Books of this kind compoſed for the Uſe of the *French* Churches. *Sidonius Apollinaris*

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in Joan. al. 11. edit. Savil. p. 597.
[*] Book XIII. chap. v. n. 6. [s] Vid. Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. p. 229. & Cave Hiſt. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 225.

naris [*t*] ſays, *Claudianus Mamercus* made one for the Church of *Vienna*, *An.* 450. And *Gennadius* [*u*] ſays, *Muſæus* made another for the Church of *Marſeilles* about the Year 458. But both theſe are now loſt, and the oldeſt of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which *Mabillon* lately publiſhed from a Manuſcript, which he judges by the Hand to be above a Thouſand Years old, but wrote after the Time of *Gregory the Great*, becauſe it mentions the Feſtival of *Genouefa* [*x*], who is ſuppoſed to live after his Time. But though we have no more ancient *Kalendar* now remaining, yet the Authorities alledged before do indiſputably evince the Thing itſelf, that the Leſſons of Scripture were generally appropriated to Times and Seaſons, according as the Feſtivals required: And for the reſt, they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as *Mabillon* [*y*] ſhews from the Rules of *Cæſarius* and *Aurelian*; or elſe were arbitrarily appointed by the Biſhops at Diſcretion, as ſometimes particular *Pſalms* were upon emergent Occaſions, according to the Obſervation that has been made [*] in ſpeaking of that Subject. St. *Auſtin* ſays expreſsly [*z*], he ſometimes ordered a Leſſon to be read agreeable to the Subject of the *Pſalm* upon which he was Preaching. And *Ferrarius* [*a*] gives ſeveral other Inſtances both out of St. *Auſtin* [*b*] and

[*t*] Sidon. Lib. 4. Ep. 11. Hic ſolennibus annuis paravit, Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent. [*u*] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Excerpſit de Scripturis Lectiones totius anni Feſtivis diebus aptas; Reſponſoria Pſalmorum Capitula Temporibus & Lectionibus congruentia. [*x*] Lectionar. Gallic. ap. Mabil. p. 114. [*y*] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 406.

[*] Book XIV. chap. i. n. 6. [*z*] Aug. in Pſal. 90. Ser. 2. p. 412. Propterea fecimus ipſam Lectionem Evangelij recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus eſt, per ea verba Pſalmi quæ hic audiſtis.

[*a*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum. Lib. 1. cap. 17.

[b] and *Chryſologus* [c], to the ſame Purpoſe, which need not here be repeated.

Sect. 4.
By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the Church.

THE next Queſtion may be concerning the Perſons by whom the Scriptures were publickly read in the Church. Which is a Queſtion that has been in ſome Meaſure anſwered before, in ſpeaking of the Order of Readers [*]. Where I ſhewed, That for the two firſt Centuries, before the Order of Readers was inſtituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the Deacons, or elſe in Imitation of the *Jewiſh* Church, by ſuch as the Biſhop or Preſident for that Time appointed. But in the Time of St. *Cyprian*, it was the peculiar Office of the Readers, which were become an inferior Order of the Clergy, to read all the Leſſons of Scripture, and even the *Goſpel*, as well as other Parts, as appears from ſeveral [d] of *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles. Here I muſt add, that in after-Ages the Reading of the *Goſpel* was in ſome Churches confined to the Office of the Deacons and Presbyters. For ſo the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [e] words it, After the other Leſſons are read by the Readers, let a Deacon or a Preſbyter read the *Goſpels*. And ſo St. *Jerom* reminds *Sabinianus* [f] the Deacon, how he had read the *Goſpels* in the Church. And *Socrates* [g] notes the ſame of *Sabbatius*, a Presbyter in the *Novatian* Church. *Sozomen* ſays [h], At *Alexandria* the *Goſpel* was read only by the Archdeacon; in other Places by the Deacons; in others only by the Presbyters, and on the

[b] Aug. Ser. 23. de Verbis Domini. Ser. 121. de Diverſi. Tract. 12. in Joan. [c] Chryſolog. Ser. 66, & 118.
[*] Book III. Chap. v. [d] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Ep. 38.
[e] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. [f] Hieron. Ep. 48. ad Sabinian. Evangelium Chriſti quaſi Diaconus lectitabas.
[g] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 5. [h] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19.

the greater Feſtivals by the Biſhop, as at *Conſtantinople* on *Eaſter* Day. In the *French* Churches it was the ordinary Office of Deacons, as appears from that Canon of the Council of *Vaiſon*, which [*i*] ſays, That if the Presbyter was ſick, the Deacon might read an *Homily*, giving this Reaſon for it, that they who were thought worthy to read the *Goſpels* of CHRIST, were not unworthy to read the *Expoſitions* of the holy Fathers. Yet in the *Spaniſh* Churches the ancient Cuſtom continued, that the Readers read the *Goſpel* as well as other Leſſons. Which may be collected from that Canon of the firſt Council of *Toledo* [*k*] which allows no one that had done publick Penance, ever to be ordained, unleſs it were to the Office of a Reader, in Caſe of great Neceſſity, and then he ſhould read neither the *Epiſtle* nor the *Goſpel*. Which implies, that other Readers who were never under Penance, read both the *Goſpel* and all other Leſſons, as *Albaſpinæus* [*l*] in his Notes rightly obſerves upon it.

Sect. 5.

Whether the Epiſtle *and* Goſpel *were read twice, firſt to the Catechumens, and then to the Faithful at the Altar.*

BUT in one Thing that Learned Perſon ſeems to be miſtaken, when he ſuppoſes that [*m*] Reading of the *Goſpel* to have been in the Communion-Service. For anciently the Scriptures, and even the *Goſpel* itſelf, were only read in the Service of the Catechumens. Cardinal *Bona* [*n*] indeed

[*i*] Conc. Vaſens 2. Can. 2. Si enim digni ſunt Diaconi, quæ Chriſtus in Evangelio locutus eſt, legere, quare indigni judicentur ſanctorum Patrum Expoſitiones publice recitare?

[*k*] Conc. Tolet. 1. Can. 2. Pœnitentes non admittantur ad Clerum, niſi tantum ſi neceſſitas aut uſus exegerit, & tunc inter Lectores deputentur, ita ut Evangelia aut Apoſtolum non legant. Vid. Can. 4. ibid. [*l*] Albaſpin. Not. in Conc. Tol. 1. Can. 2. Liquido ex his conſtat Lectores non Evangelium tantum, ſed & Lectiones pronunciaſſe. [*m*] Albaſpin. Not. in Can. 4. Conc. Carthag. 3. [*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 7. n. 1.

deed ſays, the ancient Cuſtom was to read the *Goſpel* only to the Faithful, and that the Council of *Orange* in *France* [o], and the Council of *Valentia* in *Spain* [p], were the firſt that ordered it otherwiſe. But nothing is plainer, than that the Reading of the *Goſpel* was always before the Sermon, and the Sermon was always before the Communion-Service began, in the Preſence of the Catechumens, and before their Diſmiſſion ordinarily, being deſigned chiefly for their Inſtruction. Therefore though ſome ill Cuſtom might have crept into the Churches of *France* and *Spain*, excluding the Catechumens from hearing the *Goſpel* and the Sermon, which thoſe Councils endeavoured to correct; yet that is far from proving it to be the ancient Cuſtom, to confine the Hearing of the *Goſpel* to the Faithful only: And a Man cannot look into the *Homilies* of St. *Auſtin* or St. *Chryſoſtom*, but he will find this Miſtake every where confuted. For they always ſpeak of Reading the *Goſpel* before the *Homily*, and the *Homily* made in the Preſence of the Catechumens: And the contrary Suppoſition is merely owing to a common Prejudice and Conceit, that the ancient Service was in all Things like the modern, where the *Goſpel* is twice read, firſt among the Leſſons, and then with the *Epiſtle*, by itſelf in the Communion-Service; whereas anciently they were both read in the ordinary Courſe of the Leſſons, in that Part of the Service only, which was properly called the *Service of the Catechumens*.

[o] Conc. Araufican. 1. Can. 18. [p] Conc. Valentin. Can. 1.

Sect. 6. *The Solemnity and Ceremonies of Reading the Leſſons. Where firſt of the Salutation,* Pax vobis, *before Reading.*

THE next Thing worthy our Obſervation is the Solemnity and Ceremony, with which the Ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The Reader, before he began to read, was commonly uſed to ſay, *Pax vobis, Peace be with you,* which was the uſual Form of Salutation at the Entrance of all Offices in the Church. St. *Cyprian* [q] plainly alludes to this, when ſpeaking of a new Reader whom he had ordained to the Office the Lord's Day before, he ſays, *Auſpicatus eſt Pacem, dum dedicat Lectionem,* he began to uſe the Salutation, *Peace be with you,* when he firſt began to read. I know none of the Commentators that take Notice of this Cuſtom in *Cyprian,* or make any Remark upon the Phraſe: But this is evidently the Senſe of it, and ſo the learned *Albaſpinæus* [r] underſtands it. This Cuſtom ſeems to have continued in *Africk,* till the Third Council of *Carthage* [†] made an Order to the contrary, that the Readers ſhould no longer ſalute the People. This Form of Salutation, *Peace be with you,* to which the People uſually anſwered, *And with thy Spirit,* was commonly the Office of a Biſhop or Presbyter or Deacon in the Performance of their ſeveral Functions in the Church, as is noted by *Chryſoſtom* [s] in many Places: And therefore this Council took away this Power from the Readers, and put it into the Hands of the Deacons or the other ſuperior Miniſters of the Church. So that as the Reader had uſed to ſay before Reading, *Peace*

be

[q] Cypr. Ep. 33. al. 38. ad Cler. Carthag. p. 75. [r] Albaſpin. Not. in Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 4. [†] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 4. Ut Lectores Populum non ſalutent. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1337, & 1338.

be with you, this Canon only ordered that it ſhould be ſaid by ſome other Miniſter. For that it was uſed either by the Reader, or ſome other Miniſter before he began to read, appears from St. *Auſtin*, who writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, ſays [*t*] nothing could be more perverſe than their own Practice, who before the Reader began to read the *Epiſtle*, ſaid to him, *Peace be with thee*, and yet ſeparated from the Peace of thoſe Churches to which the *Epiſtles* were written.

Sect. 7. *This Salutation ſometimes uſed by the Biſhop immediately before the Reader began to read.*

ST. *Auſtin* in another Place mentions the Biſhops uſing this Form of Salutation as ſoon as he came into the Church, immediately before the Reader began to read the Leſſons, which in *Africk* in thoſe Days was the firſt Part of the Service, with a *Reſponſory Pſalm* between every Leſſon. I went to Church, ſays he [*u*], I ſaluted the People, that is, ſaid *Peace be unto you*, and then Silence being made, the ſolemn Leſſons of the Holy Scriptures were read in Order. This Cuſtom of ſaluting the People in this Form is alſo mentioned by *Chryſoſtom* in ſeveral Places. When we are come [*x*] into the Church, ſays he, we ſay immediately, *Peace be unto you*, according to this Law, and ye anſwer, *And with thy Spirit*. Again [*y*], the Biſhop

[*t*] Aug. Ep. 165. Quid autem perverſius & inſanius, quam Lectoribus eaſdem Epiſtolas legentibus dicere, Pax tecum, & ab earum Eccleſiarum Pace ſeparare, quibus ipſæ Epiſtolæ ſcriptæ ſunt? [*u*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1489. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat Eccleſia, perſonabat vocibus gaudiorum: Deo gratias, Deo Laudes.—— Salutavi populum. —— Facto tandem ſilentio, Scripturarum divinarum ſunt lecta ſolennia. [*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 33. in Mat. p. 318. κοινῇ πᾶσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπλέγομεν εἰσιόντες εὐθέως κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον. [*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 653.

at his Entrance into the Church ſays always, *Peace be unto you*, as a proper Salutation when he comes into his Fathers Houſe. And in another Place [z], when the Biſhop enters the Church, he immediately ſays, *Peace be with you all:* When he begins his Sermon, he ſays again, *Peace be with you all*, &c. Now conſidering that this was the common Salutation at the Beginning of all Offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as ſoon as the Biſhop came into the Church, it is plain that ſuch a Form of Salutation was always uſed by one or other before the Reading of the Scriptures.

Sect 8.

The Deacon injoined Silence, before the Reader began, and required Attention: As the Reader alſo did before every Leſſon, ſaying Thus ſaith the Lord.

ST. *Chryſoſtom* takes Notice of two other Cuſtoms relating to this Matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater Advantage: That is, the Deacons enjoining Silence and requiring Attention, and the Reader himſelf after the naming any Leſſon, ſaying, *Thus ſaith the Lord.* The Deacon, ſays he, who is the common Miniſter of the Church, firſt ſtands up [a] and cries with a loud Voice, προσέχωμεν, *Let us give Attention:* This he repeats ſeveral Times, and after that the Reader names the Prophet, *Iſaiah* ſuppoſe, or any other; and before he begins to read, he alſo cries aloud, τάδε λέγει κύριος, *Thus ſaith the Lord.* So again in another Place [b], When the Reader riſes up and ſays, *Thus ſaith the Lord*: and the Deacon ſtands up, and commands all Men to keep Silence, he does not ſay this to honour the Reader, but GOD who ſpeaks to all by him. This en-

[z] Chryſ. Hom. 3 in Coloſ. p. 1338. [a] Chryſ. Hom. 9. in Act. Apoſt. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in 2. Theſ.

enjoining of Silence is ſpoken of by St. *Ambroſe* [c] and others: But it differed from another Act of the Deacons under the ſame Name, *Silentium indicere*, which was calling upon the People to fall to their private Prayers, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more in the next Book. *Chap.* i.

Sect. 9. *At the naming of the Prophet or Epiſtle the People in ſome Places ſaid,* Deo gratias, *and* Amen, *at the End of it.*

MABILLON [d] obſerves, That at the naming of the Leſſons out of the *Prophets* or *Epiſtles* the People ſometimes ſaid, *Deo Gratias, Thanks be to God*, as it is in the *Mozarabick Liturgy*. But we have little Notice of this elſewhere. Only St. *Auſtin* ſays, it was a very common Phraſe among the Monks [e] when they met a Brother-Chriſtian, to ſay, *Deo Gratias, Thanks be to God*; for which the *Circumcellions*, or *Agoniſtici*, as they called themſelves, among the *Donatiſts*, were wont to inſult them, though they themſelves often uſed to ſay, *Deo Laudes*, which in their Mouth was more to be dreaded than the roring of a Lion. It appears alſo from the Acts of *Eradius* his Election to be his Succeſſor, that it was an uſual Acclamation upon many other Occaſions: For as ſoon as he had nominated *Eradius* to be his Succeſſor, the People cried out [f] for a long Time together, *Deo Gratias, Chriſto Laudes, Thanks be to God, Praiſe be to Chriſt*. What therefore was ſo common upon other

[c] Ambroſ. Præfat. in Pſalmos. Quantum laboratur in Eccleſia ut fiat ſilentium, cum lectiones leguntur. &c. Vid. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 22. c. 8. [d] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 1 cap. 2. n. 10. [e] Aug. in Pſal. 132. p. 630. A quibus plus timetur, Deo laudes, quam fremitus leonis, hi etiam inſultare nobis audent, quia Fratres, cum vident homines, Deo gratias, dicunt. [f] Aug. Ep. 110. de Actis Eradij. A populo acclamatum eſt trigeſies ſexies; Deo gratias, Chriſto Laudes.

Occaſions, might very probably be ſaid by Way of Acclamation at the naming of the Leſſons of the Holy Scriptures. *Grotius* [g] ſays, it was alſo cuſtomary at the End of the *Epiſtle* for the People to anſwer *Amen*: And that hence it was, that at the End of all St. *Paul's Epiſtles* the Word, *Amen*, was added by the Church. I know not upon what Grounds he aſſerts this, and therefore I ſhall let it reſt upon the Authority of that learned Man, without affirming or denying his Aſſertion.

Sect. 10. *At the reading of the* Goſpel *all ſtood up, and ſaid in ſome Places,* Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

AT the reading of the *Goſpel* it was a general Cuſtom for all the People to ſtand up: And ſome of the middle Age *Ritualiſts* take Notice of their ſaying, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, at the naming of it. The Author of the *Homily de Circo vel Hippodromo* [h] under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſays, When the Deacon goes about to read the *Goſpel*, we all preſently riſe up, and ſay, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord.* But as that *Homily* is known to be none of *Chryſoſtom's*, we cannot certainly ſay, it was the Cuſtom in his Days. But the Cuſtom of riſing up at the reading of the *Goſpel* is certainly as old as *Chryſoſtom*: For he ſpeaks of it in one of his *Homilies* [i] on St. *Matthew*. If the Letters of a King are read in the Theatre with great Silence: Much more ought we to compoſe ourſelves, and ſtand up with attentive Ears, when the Letters not of an earthly King, but of the Lord of Angels are read to us.

THI

[g] Grot. Annot. in Philem. ver. 25. [h] Chryſ. Hom. 52. de Circo. Tom. 6. p. 491. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 1. in Mat. p. 11.

THE Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*k*] mentions the ſame: When the *Goſpel* is read, let the Presbyters and Deacons and all the People ſtand with profound Silence. And ſo *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* [*l*], When the true Shepherd appears at the opening of the Holy *Goſpels*, then the Biſhop himſelf riſes up, and lays aſide his Paſtoral Habit or Authority, ſignifying thereby, that then the LORD himſelf, the Author of the Paſtoral Function, his GOD and his Maſter is preſent. This was every where obſerved, except at *Alexandria*, where it is noted by *Sozomen* [*m*] as a ſingular Thing in that Church, That the Biſhop did not Uſe to riſe up, when the *Goſpel* was read. And *Caſſian* [*n*] obſerves it as no leſs ſingular in the Monks of *Egypt*, that excepting the Reader who always ſtood up, the reſt ſat upon low Seats both when the Pſalms and the Leſſons out of the *Old* or *New Teſtament* were reading. Which was only indulged them becauſe of their exceſſive Watchings and Faſtings and Labours. In other Places ſitting at the Goſpel was reckoned a Corruption and Abuſe: Inſomuch that *Philoſtorgius* [*o*] tells us, That *Theophilus* the *Arian* Biſhop, who went to the *Indies*, corrected it as an Indecency that had crept in there againſt the Rules of the Church. And *Anaſtaſius* did the ſame at *Rome*, as is ſaid in his Life by the Author [*p*] of the *Pontifical*. For he made a Decree that as often as the Holy *Goſpels* were read, the Prieſts ſhould not ſit, but ſtand in a bowing Poſture. In *Africk* the general Cuſtom was, not

[*k*] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. [*l*] Iſidor. Peluſ. Lib. 1. Ep. 136. [*m*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19. [*n*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 12. [*o*] Philoſtorg. Lib. 3. c. 5. [*p*] Pontifical. Vit. Anaſtaſ. Hic conſtituit, ut quotieſcunque ſancta Evangelia recitarentur, ſacerdotes non ſederent, ſed curvi ſtarent.

not only to ſtand at the *Goſpel*, but at all the other Leſſons out of Scripture: For they gave equal Honour to every Part of the Word of GOD, inſomuch as that their *Sermons* and *Homilies* and whatever was rehearſed in the Church, was heard ſtanding, as we ſhall ſee more in the next Chapter. Here it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that *Cyprian*'s Readers not only ſtood up to read, but that all the People ſtood [q] about them when they read the Scriptures. And in St. *Auſtin*'s Time the Cuſtom was the ſame: For he ſays [r] the longeſt Leſſons were then heard by all Sorts and Sexes ſtanding, except only ſuch as through ſome Infirmity in their Feet or Weakneſs of Body were diſabled, who upon that Account were indulged ſitting, but no others whatſoever. *Bona* [s] thinks there was no certain Anſwer made, when the *Goſpel* was ended. For ſome ſaid only, *Amen*, as it is in the *Mozarabick Liturgy* and the Rule of St. *Benedict*. Which *Alexander Hales* interprets the ſame as ſaying, *God grant we may perſevere in the Doctrine of the* Goſpel. Others ſaid, *Deo Gratias, Thanks be to God*; and others *Laus tibi Chriſte, Praiſe be to Thee, O Chriſt*. But all this is ſaid only out of the Middle-age Writers, whilſt there is a perfect Silence as to this Matter in the more ancient Writers of the Church.

THERE

[q] Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 78. In loco altiore conſtitui oportet, ubi ab omni populo circumſtante conſpecti &c.

[r] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. T. 10. p. 174. Quando Paſſiones prolixæ aut certe aliquæ Lectiones longiores leguntur, qui ſtare not poſſunt, humiliter & cum ſilentio ſedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. *Note that this* Homily *is by* Mabillon *and the* Benedictins *in their* New Edition *aſcribed to* Cæſarius Arelatenſis: *If it be his it proves the Cuſtom of ſtanding to hear the Leſſons, to have been according to the Uſage of the French Churches.* [s] Bona. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 7. n. 4.

Sect. 11.
Lights carried before the Goſpel *in the* Eaſtern *Churches.*

THERE was one Ceremony more ancient, which St. *Jerom* makes peculiar to the *Eaſtern* Churches, which was the carrying Lights before the *Goſpel* when it was to be read. He ſays [*t*], They had no ſuch Cuſtom in the *Weſtern* Church, either as burning Candles by Day at the Monuments of the Martyrs (as *Vigilantius* falſely accuſed them); nor at any other Time, ſave only when they met in the Night, to give Light to their Aſſemblies: But in the *Eaſtern* Church it was otherwiſe: For without any Regard to the Relicks of the Martyrs, whenever the *Goſpel* was read, they lighted Candles, partly to demonſtrate their Joy for the good News which the *Goſpel* brought, and partly by a corporeal Symbol to repreſent that Light of which the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, *Thy Word is a Lamp to my Feet, and a Light unto my Paths.* I know no other Author beſide St. *Jerom*, that mentions this, and as far as his Authority will prevail, it may be credited, and no farther. Dr. *Cave* [*u*] judges, it might not be much elder than his Time; however it was, it is no Argument to patronize the burning of Lamps and Wax-Candles, without the ſame Reaſon, in Churches at Noon-day.

Sect. 12.
Three or four Leſſons ſometimes read out of the Goſpels *on the ſame Day.*

IT is farther obſervable, That in ſome Churches, upon ſome ſolemn Occaſions, they had three or four Leſſons read out of the *Goſpels* on the ſame Day. St. *Auſtin* [*x*] ſays, he would

[*t*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 3. Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, ſicut fruſtra calumniaris, ſed ut noctis tenebras hoc folatio temperemus —— Abſque Martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis Eccleſias, quum legendum eſt Evangelium, accenduntur Luminaria jam ſole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, ſed ad ſignum lætitiæ demonſtrandum, &c.

[*u*] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Lib. 1. c. 7. p. 203. [*x*] Aug. Serm. 164. de Tempore. p. 320.

would have had four Leſſons read out of the four *Goſpels* on the Day of our SAVIOUR's Paſſion; but the People were diſturbed at it, as what they had not been accuſtomed to, ſo he was forced to wave it. But the Cuſtom prevailed in the *French* Churches. For in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum* publiſhed by *Mabillon*, the Leſſons of ſeveral Feſtivals are thus appointed: On the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, there is one Leſſon out of St. *Matthew* ii. for Morning Service, and three more out of *Matthew*, *Luke* and *John*, for the Communion-Service. So on the *Paraſceve* or Day of our SAVIOUR's Paſſion, there is one Leſſon of the *Goſpel* for Morning Service, another for the ſecond, another for the third, another for the ſixth, another for the ninth Hours [*y*] of Prayer, collected out of the four *Goſpels* by Way of Harmony or *Catena*. Whence we may obſerve, That the old *Gallican Liturgy* (from whence our *Engliſh* Service is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the *Roman* [*] by Learned Men) had diſtinct Offices for Morning and Communion-Service, and diſtinct *Goſpels* for each Service on ſolemn Days, as ours now has for all the Feſtivals, which probably were deſigned at firſt for diſtinct Offices, though they are now commonly read together in the greateſt Part of our Churches.

Sect. 13. *Of longer and ſhorter Leſſons, and their diſtinct Uſe, according to* Durantus.

THERE is another Diſtinction made by ſome between the longer and ſhorter Leſſons. The longer Leſſons are ſaid [*z*] by *Durantus* to be uſed at the long Nocturnal or *Antelucan* Service, and the leſſer at the other Canonical Hours of Prayer. So that this Diſtinction could have no Place till the

[*y*] Vid. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 116, & 134. [*] Vid. Stillingfleet. Orig. Britan. chap. 4. [*z*] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 3. cap. 18. n. 4, & 5.

the Canonical Hours were ſettled in the Church. Which was not till the fourth or fifth Century, as has been ſhewed in another [*] Place. *Radulphus Tungrenſis* [a] whom *Durantus* cites, ſpeaks ſomewhat of this Diſtinction in his Time, and ſays the leſſer ſort of Leſſons were called vulgarly, *Capitula*, Chapters, and deſigned for the Praiſe of GOD. Which makes it more probable, that theſe leſſer Leſſons were no other than the *Pſalms*, or Antiphonal Hymns collected out of the *Pſalms* for the Service of the ſeveral Hours of Devotion. Which are expreſsly called *Capitella de Pſalmis*, Chapters out of the *Pſalms*, by the Council of *Agde* [b], and were the ſame as Antiphonal Hymns, collected out of the *Pſalms*, and to be ſaid alternately by Way of Reſponſes. So that whatever may be ſaid of the middle Ages, there ſeems to be no Ground for this Diſtinction of greater and leſſer Leſſons in the ancient Service, ſave only as we take the Reading of the *Pſalms* for Leſſons of Scripture.

Sect. 14. *What might or might not be read by Way of Leſſons in the Church.*

'TIS true indeed, St. *Auſtin* in one of his *Homilies* [c], which *Mabillon* and the *Benedictins* in their late Edition aſcribe to *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, ſpeaks of longer and ſhorter Leſſons; but it is not in relation to the long Morning Service, and the ſhorter Service of the Canonical Hours, but upon a quite different Occaſion. For there it is ſuppoſed, that beſide the Leſſons of Scripture, ſometimes other Leſſons were read out of the *Homilies* of the Fathers, or the *Acts of the Martyrs*,

[*] Book XIII. Chap. ix. n. 8. [a] Radulph. de Canon. Obſervant. Propoſ. 8, & 13. [b] Conc. Agathen. Can. 30. in concluſione Matutinarum vel Veſpertinarum & Miſſarum, poſt Hymnos Capitella de Pſalmis dici, &c. [c] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. quæ eſt Hom. 300. in Appendice Edit. Benedictin.

tyrs, which becauſe they were ſometimes very prolix, an Indulgence was therefore granted to Infirm Perſons to ſit down to hear them read. And this leads us to a new Obſervation and farther Remark upon the ancient Practice, That in ſome Churches at leaſt other Things were allowed to be read by Way of Leſſon and Inſtruction beſide the Canonical Scriptures, ſuch as the Paſſions of the *Martyrs* on their proper Feſtivals, and the *Homilies* of the Fathers, and the *Epiſtles* and *Tracts* of pious Men, and the Letters Communicatory of one Church to another, with other Things of the like Nature. That the Paſſions of the *Martyrs* were ſometimes read among the Leſſons in the Church, appears not only from the foreſaid *Homily* of *Cæſarius* or St. *Auſtin*, but from a Rule made in the Third Council [*d*] of *Carthage*, which forbids all other Books to be read in the Church beſides the Canonical Scripture, except the Paſſions of the *Martyrs* on their *Anniverſary-Days* of Commemoration. *Euſebius* probably collected [*e*] the Paſſions of the *Martyrs* for this very Purpoſe; as *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* did after him, which *Johannes Diaconus* [*f*] ſays were uſed to be read in the Churches. Thus *Gelaſius* [*g*] ſays the Acts of Pope *Sylveſter* were read in many of the Roman Churches, though not in the *Lateran*, becauſe they were Apocryphal and written by an unknown Author. And *Mabillon* [*h*] gives ſeveral other ſuch Inſtances out of *Avitus* and *Ferreolus*; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he publiſhed,

[*d*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 47. Liceat legi Paſſiones Martyrum cum anniverſarii eorum dies celebrantur. [*e*] Euſeb Lib. 5. cap. 4. *Speaks of theſe Collections.* [*f*] Joan. Diac. Præfat. ad Vit. Gregor. Magni. [*g*] Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 992. [*h*] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 403, & 407.

publiſhed, there are frequently Leſſons appointed out of St. *Auſtin* and others upon the Feſtivals of St. *Stephen* and the *Holy Innocents*, and *Julian* the Martyr, on *Epiphany*, and the Feſtivals of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. Whence ſome learned Men [*] conjecture not improbably, that ſuch Sort of Hiſtories and Paſſions of the Martyrs had particularly the Name of *Legenda*, *Legends*: For though now that Name be commonly taken in a worſe Senſe, for a fabulous Hiſtory, becauſe many Lives of Saints and Martyrs were written by the Monks of later Ages in a mere fabulous and Romantick Way, yet anciently it had a good Signification, and in its Original Uſe denoted only ſuch Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs as were allowed by Authority to be read in the Church. The curious Reader may find frequent References made by St. *Auſtin* in his *Homilies* [†] to ſuch Leſſons read out of the Paſſions of the Martyrs on their Anniverſary-Days in the Church: As alſo in the *Homilies* of Pope *Leo* [‖] and others, which it is needleſs to recite in this Place.

BUT beſides the *Paſſions of the Martyrs* and *Homilies* relating to them, there were alſo many other pious Books read by Way of moral Exhortation in many Churches. Thus *Euſebius* [*i*] ſays, the Book called *Hermes Paſtor*, was anciently read in the Church. He ſays the ſame of *Clemens Romanus*'s firſt Epiſtle (*k*] to the *Corinthians*, that it was read in many Churches, both in his own Time, and the Ages

[*] Vid. Chamier. Panſtratia. Tom. 1. de Canon. Script. Lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 1. p. 101. [†] Vid. Aug. Serm. 12. de Sanctis. p. 408. Serm. 45. de Diverſis. p. 508. Item. Serm. 63. p. 553. Serm. 93. p. 564. Serm. 101. 103. 105. 109. de Diverſis. [‖] Leo. Serm. de Maccabæis. [*i*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. cap. 3. Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 10. [*k*] Euſeb. Lib. 3. cap. 16.

Ages before him. And *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* [*l*] ſays, They read not only that Epiſtle of *Clemens*, but another writen by *Soter* Biſhop of *Rome*, which they would always continue to read. *Sozomen* ſays[*m*], The Book called the *Revelations of Peter*, was read once a Year on *Good-Friday* in many of the Churches of *Paleſtine*. *Athanaſius* [*n*] teſtifies the ſame of the Book called Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων, *The Doctrine of the Apoſtles*. And St. *Jerom* [*o*] ſays, The *Homilies of Ephrem Syrus* were in ſuch Honour as to be read in the Church after the Reading of the Scriptures. St. *Auſtin* [*p*] aſſures us, That the *Acts of the Collation of Carthage*, were read always in the Church in *Lent*. And in one of his Epiſtles [*q*] he deſires of *Marcellinus Comes*, that the *Acts of the Tryal of the Donatiſts*, who were convict of the Murder of the *Catholicks*, might be ſent him, to be read in all the Churches of his Dioceſe. And it is remarkable, that in the Accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the *Diocletian* Perſecution, there is ſometimes mention [*r*] made of burning the Salutary or Communicatory Letters, which were ſent from one Church to another. St. *Auſtin* adds farther, That when any one received a ſignal Mercy from GOD, the Relation of it was many Times [*s*] read publickly in the Church. Of which he gives ſeveral

[*l*] ap. Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 23. [*m*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19. [*n*] Athan. Ep. ad Ruffin. Tom. 2. p. 39. [*o*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. [*p*] Aug. de Geſtis cum Emerito. T. 7. p. 215. [*q*] Aug. Ep. 158. Geſta quæ promiſit Præſtantia tua, vehementer expecto, & in Eccleſia Hipponenſi jam jam cupio recitari, ac ſi fieri poteſt, per omnes Eccleſias etiam in noſtra Diœceſi conſtitutas. [*r*] Geſta Purgationis Felicis & Cæciliani. ad calcem Optati. p. 276. Inde Cathedram tulimus, & Epiſtolas ſalutatorias, & oſtia omnia comburimus ſecundum ſacrum præceptum. [*s*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1489. Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, &c.

ral Inſtances in his own and other Churches of *Africk*. And St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, ſometimes the Emperor's Letters [*t*] were read in the Church, and heard with great Attention, which he urges as an Argument, why Men ſhould hear with Reverence the Writings of the Prophets, becauſe they come from GOD, and their Epiſtles are from Heaven. Such Circular Epiſtles alſo as were ſent from one Church to another, to notify the Time of keeping *Eaſter* (which were called *Heortaſtical* or *Feſtival Epiſtles*) were generally publiſhed [*] in their Churches: But theſe I mention not as Leſſons, but only hint the Cuſtom incidentally, correſponding to that of our Reading Briefs for Charity, or the Circular Letters of Biſhops, or notifying Holidays, or Bans of Marriage, or Things of the like kind relating to the Publick.

Sect. 15. *Thoſe which we now call* Apocryphal *Books, were anciently read in ſome Churches, but not in all.*

As to thoſe Books which we now call *Apocryphal*, they were read in ſome Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from *Cyril's Catechiſms*, where he directs [*u*] the Catechumens to read no Apocryphal Books, but only ſuch Books, as were ſecurely read in the Church: And then he ſpecifies what Books were then read in the Church, *viz.* all the Canonical Books which are now in our Bibles, except the *Revelations*, without any mention at all of the *Apocryphal* Books; which is a certain Argument that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, as I have more fully demonſtrated in another Place [*]. The like

[*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Theſ. p. 1501. [†] Vid. Caſſian. Collat. 10. cap. 2. [*u*] Cyril. Catech. 4. n. 22. p. 66, & 67.
[*] Book X. Chap. i. n. 7.

Determination was made for ſome other Churches by the Council of *Laodicea* [x] which forbids all but the Canonical Books to be read in the Church, and likewiſe ſpecifies what ſhe means by Canonical Books, *viz. Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, Eſther,* 4 *Books of Kings,* 2 *Of Paralipomena or Chronicles,* 2 *Of Eſdras, The Book of* 150 *Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, Canticles, Job,* 12 *Prophets, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Epiſtles of Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the* 4 *Goſpels, The Acts of the Apoſtles, the* 7 *Catholick Epiſtles,* 14 *Epiſtles of St. Paul.* Where none of the *Apocryphal* Books nor the *Revelations* are mentioned, which is a plain Evidence that none of them were read in the Churches of that Diſtrict. After the ſame manner the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [y] giving Orders about what Books of the *Old Teſtament* ſhould be read in the Church, mentions the five Books of *Moſes,* and *Joſhua* and *Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (which he means by the Hiſtories of their Return from *Babylon*) the Books of *Job* and *Solomon,* the ſixteen *Prophets* and the *Pſalms:* But ſays nothing of any of the *Apocryphal* Books; which argues, that he did not find them to be read in the Rituals of thoſe Churches whence he made his Collections.

HOWEVER in other Churches they were allowed to be read [z] with a Mark of Diſtinction, as Books of Piety and Moral Inſtruction, to edify the People; but they neither gave them the Name of Canonical

[x] Conc. Laodic. can. 59. [y] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57.

[z] Hieron. Præfat. in Libros Salomonis. Sicut ergo Judith & Tobiæ & Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Eccleſia, ſed eos inter Canonicas ſcripturas non recipit: Sic & hæc duo volumnia (Sapientiam & Eccleſiaſticum) legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem Eccleſiaſticorum Dogmatum confirmandam.

nonical Books, nor made Uſe of them to confirm Articles of Faith. This is expreſsly ſaid by St. *Jerom.* And *Ruffin* [*a*], who was Presbyter of *Aquileia*, delivers the ſame as the ancient Tradition and Practice of that Church, when theſe Books were neither reckoned Canonical, nor yet in the worſt Senſe *Apocryphal*, but called Eccleſiaſtical, becauſe they were read in the Church, but not uſed to confirm Matters of Faith. Among theſe he reckons the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, and *Eccleſiaſticus*, and *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Maccabees*, and *Hermes Paſtor* and the Book called the two Ways, or the Judgment of *Peter*. *Athanaſius* [*b*] alſo Ranks theſe Books, not among the Canonical, but among thoſe that might at leaſt be read to or by the Catechumens, among which he reckons *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus*, and *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Eſther*, and the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles*, and the Shepherd, that is, *Hermes Paſtor*. So in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum* publiſhed by *Mabillon*, there are Leſſons appointed out of *Tobit* and *Judith* and *Eſther*, particularly in the *Rogation-Week* for ſeveral Days together.

[*a*] Ruffin. in Symbolum. ad calcem Cypriani. Oxon. p. 26. Sciendum tamen eſt, quod & alij Libri ſunt, qui non Canonici, ſed Eccleſiaſtici a Majoribus appellati ſunt: Ut eſt Sapientia Solomonis, & alia Sapientia quæ dicitur Filij Syrach —Ejuſdem ordinis eſt Libellus Tobiæ, & Judith, & Maccabæorum libri. In novo vero Teſtamento Libellus, qui dicitur, Paſtoris ſive Hermatis, qui appellatur, Duæ Viæ, ſive judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in Eccleſiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

[*b*] Athan. Ep. Heortaſtic. ad Ruffin. T. 2. p. 39. It. Synops. Scriptur. ibid. p. 55.

Sect. 16. *And in ſome Churches, under the Title of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a larger Senſe.*

IN ſome Churches theſe Books were alſo read under the general Name of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a large Senſe, for ſuch Books as were in the Rule or Canon or Catalogue of Books authorized to be read in the Church. Thus at leaſt we muſt underſtand the Canon of the Third Council of *Carthage*,[c] which ordered that nothing but the Canonical Writings ſhould be read in the Church under the Name of the Divine Scriptures, among which Canonical Scriptures there are reckoned *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* under the Name of *Solomon*, together with *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Heſter*, and the *Maccabees*. St. *Auſtin* ſeems to have followed this Canon, making all theſe Books Canonical, but giving Preference to ſome above the other, as they were more or leſs generally received by the Churches. In his Book of *Chriſtian Doctrine* [d] he calls all the *Apocyphal* Books Canonical, but he does not allow them ſo great Authority as the reſt, becauſe they were not generally received as ſuch by the Churches. He ſays the Books [e] of *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* were none of *Solomon*'s, but yet received

[c] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 47. Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Eccleſia legatur ſub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem Canonicæ ſcripturæ, id eſt, Geneſis, &c. Salomonis libri quinque ——Tobias, Judith, Heſter, Eſdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo. [d] Aug. de Doctrin. Chriſt. Lib. 2. cap. 8. Tenebit hunc modum in ſcripturis Canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Eccleſiis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioreſque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minoriſque authoritatis Eccleſiæ tenent. [e] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 17. cap. 20. Non eſſe ipſius, non dubitant doctiores, eos tamen in authoritatem maxime Occidentalis antiquitus recepit Eccleſia.

ceived into Authority by the *Weſtern* Church. By which he muſt mean the Roman Church, where Pope *Innocent* had [*f*] received them. For in the *Eaſtern* Church their Canonical Authority was alwaysrejected: And in many of the *Weſtern* Churches: For neither *Ruffin* at *Aquileia* nor *Philaſtrius* at *Brixia* in *Italy* [*g*], nor *Hilary* at *Poictiers* in *France* [*h*] grant them any Authority in the Canon of Scripture. Nay *Hilary* of *Arles* [*i*] expreſsly told St. *Auſtin*, That the Churches of *France* were offended at him, becauſe he had uſed a Proof out of the Book of *Wiſdom*, which was not Canonical. And it is remarkable, that at *Rome* it ſelf *Gregory* the Great, having Occaſion to quote a Text out of *Maccabees*, makes a Prefatory Excuſe for alledging a Text out of a Book that was not Canonical [*k*], but only publiſhed for the Edification of the Church. And even St. *Auſtin* himſelf [*l*] in anſwer to the *French* Divines, pleads no farther for the Divine Authority of the Book of *Wiſdom*, which he had cited as Canonical, but that it was ſo received by the Chriſtians of *Africk* before him. Which by his own Rule, laid down before in his Book of *Chriſtian Doctrine*,

[*f*] Innocent. Ep. 3. ad Exuper. cap. 7. [*g*] Philaſtr. de Hæres. cap. 40. de Apocryphis. Et cap. 9. [*h*] Hilar. Præfat. in Pſalmos. [*i*] Hilar. Arelat. Epiſt. ad Aug. inter Oper. Aug. T. 7. p. 545. Illud etiam teſtimonium quod poſuiſti, Raptus eſt ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, tanquam non Canonicum definiunt omittendum. [*k*] Greg. Magn. Moral. in Job. Lib. 19. cap. 13. Qua de re non inordinate agimus, ſi ex libris licet non Canonicis, ſed tamen ad ædificationem Eccleſiæ editis, teſtimonium proferamus. [*l*] Aug. de Prædeſtin. Lib. 1. cap. 14. T. 7. p. 553. Non debuit repudiari ſententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in Eccleſia Chriſti de gradu Lectorum Eccleſiæ Chriſti tam longa annoſitate recitari, & ab omnibus Chriſtianis, ab Epiſcopis uſque ad extremos Laicos, Fideles, Pœnitentes, Catechumenos, cum veneratione Divinæ authoritatis audiri.

did not make it in the higheſt Senſe Canonical, becauſe it was rejected by all the Churches of the *Eaſt*, and a great Part of the *Weſt* from the Authority of Canonical Scripture. So that though theſe Books were read in the *African* Church under the Name of Canonical Scripture, yet they were not eſteemed of equal Authority with the reſt, becauſe they were reputed by all the World beſides as *Apocryphal*, or as ſome call them, Eccleſiaſtical only, being ſuch as were allowed to be read in the Church for Moral Inſtruction and Edification, but not uſed to confirm Articles of Faith. And this is the Account which *Cajetan* himſelf gave of the Practice of the Church, before the Council of *Trent* defined a new Canon of Scripture. He ſays, They are not [*m*] Canonical, that is, Regular, to confirm Articles of Faith: Yet they may be called Canonical, that is, Regular, for the Edification of the People, as being received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible only for this End. And with this Diſtinction he thinks we are to underſtand both St. *Auſtin* and the Council of *Carthage*, all whoſe ſayings are to be reduced to the Rule of St. *Jerom*. But if any think that St. *Auſtin* or the *African* Church meant more, it may be ſaid, their Authority is of no Weight againſt the general Conſent of the whole Church in all Ages beſides, from the firſt ſettling of the Canon down to the Council of *Trent*; the Proof of which Conſent is ſo fully and unanſwerably made out by Biſhop *Co-*

[*m*] Cajetan. in fine Comment. in Hiſtor. Vet. Teſt. Ad Hieronymi limam reducenda ſunt tam verba Conciliorum quàm Doctorum. Et juxta illius ſententiam Libri iſti non ſunt Canonici, id eſt, Regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ ſunt fidei: poſſunt tamen dici Canonici, id eſt, Regulares, ad Ædificationem fidelium, utpote in Canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti & authorati. Cum hac diſtinctione diſcernere poteris dicta Auguſtini & ſcripta in Provinciali Concilio Carthaginenſi.

Cosins in that excellent Book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the Testimonies of the Writers of every Age distinctly in their Order, that little more can be added [*] to it, and it is wholly needless to detain the Reader upon that Subject; it being sufficient to our present Purpose, to have observed, that these Books of controverted Authority were read, either under the Name of *Apocryphal*, or Ecclesiastical, or Canonical, in most of the ancient Churches.

Sect. 17. *A short Account of the Translations of Scripture used in the ancient Church.*

THERE is one Thing more, which it will not be improper to give a short Account of, before we put an End to this Chapter: That is, of the Translations of Scripture that were commonly used in the ancient Church. I mean not here to prove again (what has been abundantly done before in the last Book) that the Scriptures were translated and read in the Vulgar Language in every Church: But the Thing I would observe in this Place, is only this: That they generally read the Translations of the

[*] *To the Testimonies cited by Bishop* Cosins *the Learned Reader may add this of* Franciscus Georgius Venetus, *a* Franciscan, *who lived a little before the* Reformation: Problem. in Scriptur. Tom. 6. Sect. 5. Problem. 184. Par. 1622. 4°. Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tobiæ? Respond. Quamvis Historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in Canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in Ecclesia tanquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur. *Here he plainly rejects the Book of* Tobit *out of the Canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common History, which was allowed to be read in the Church. Which Words are so displeasing to the Curators of the* Roman *Index* Expurgatorius, *that they Order it to be struck out, with many other Passages of the same Author, where he reflects on the Vulgar Translation as corrupt and false, and corrects its Errors from the Original* Hebrew, *of which he was a considerable Master, though in other Things he had his Failings.* Vid. Index Libror. Prohibitorum & Expurgandorum. per Sotomajor. p. 417. Madriti. 1667. Fol.

Septuagint, where *Greek* was the Vulgar Language, or elſe ſuch Tranſlations into other Languages, as were derived from it. For they had no Tranſlation of the Bible from the *Hebrew*, till the Time of St. *Jerom* in the *Latin* Church, but only ſuch as were made from the *Greek* Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*. The *Septuagint* was uſed all over the *Greek* Church, except perhaps that Part of *Syria* where *Syriack* was the moſt Vulgar Language, that is, in *Oſdroene* and *Meſopotamia*, where they had a *Syriack* Tranſlation made from the *Hebrew* not long after the Time of the Apoſtles. This was called the old Tranſlation in Oppoſition to another, which was made from the *Septuagint* in after Ages. In all other Parts of the *Eaſt* the *Septuagint* was the common Tranſlation. But this by Tract of Time and Variety of Copies was much corrupted, upon which Account it was reviſed and corrected by ſeveral Learned Men, which laboured in this Work, particularly by *Origen* and *Heſychius* the Egyptian, and *Lucian* of *Antioch*, two Martyrs who ſuffered in the *Diocletian* Perſecution. Hence, as St. *Jerom* [*n*] informs us, there came to be three famous Exemplars or Editions of the *Septuagint* uſed in the *Eaſtern* Churches. *Alexandria* and *Egypt* followed the Copy reviſed by *Heſychius*. *Conſtantinople* and all the *Aſiatick* Churches as far as *Antioch* uſed that of *Lucian*. The Churches of *Paleſtine* and *Arabia* read the Copy corrected by *Origen* and publiſhed by *Euſebius* and *Pamphilus*. And ſo between theſe three Editions, the whole World

[*n*] Hieron. Præfat. in Librum Paralipomenon. Alexandria & Ægyptus in Septuaginta ſuis Heſychium laudat Auctorem. Conſtantinopolis uſque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæſtinos Codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Euſebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt: Totuſque orbis hac inter ſe veritate compugnat.

World was divided. *Origen* did two Things farther in this Matter. 1. He publiſhed an Edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, becauſe it was in ſix Columns, the firſt was the *Hebrew* in *Hebrew* Characters [o], the ſecond the *Hebrew* in *Greek* Characters, the third the Tranſlation of *Aquila* the *Jew*, the fourth the Tranſlation of *Symmachus*, the fifth the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, and the ſixth the Tranſlation of *Theodotion* the *Ebionite*. To theſe he afterward added two other Tranſlations found at *Nicopolis* and *Jericho*, and theſe made up his *Octapla*. And in proceſs of Time, he publiſhed another leſſer Edition containing only the four Tranſlations, of the *Septuagint*, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, which he called his *Tetrapla*. Secondly, He publiſhed the *Septuagint* with the Additions of *Theodotion* mixed with it, to ſupply the Places where it was defective, which Additions he marked with an *Aſterisk* to diſtinguiſh them; and ſuch Places as were redundant in the *Septuagint*, and not to be found in the *Hebrew*, nor in *Theodotion*, he alſo marked with an *Obelisk* or ſtrait Line for Diſtinction alſo. But this mixing of the two Tranſlations together in proceſs of Time occaſioned ſome Confuſion, and St. *Jerom* complains of it [p] as a bold Undertaking, and therefore he ſet about a new Edition and Tranſlation [q] of the *Septuagint* for the Uſe of the *Latin* Church. Hitherto all Churches uſed the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, except the *Syrian* Churches, as was ſaid before, and except on the Book of *Daniel*, which in all Churches was read according to the Tranſlation of *Theodotion*, as the ſame St. *Jerom* [r] informs us in ſeveral Places, particularly in his *Preface* upon *Daniel*, becauſe by ſome

[o] Vid Euſeb. Lib. 6 cap. 16. [p] Hieron. Præfat. in Paralipom. [q] Hieron. Præfat. in Joſue. [r] Hieron. Præfat. in Joſue. It. Com. in Daniel. 4. & Apolog. 2. cont. Ruffin.

ſome Means or other, the *Septuagint* Tranſlation of that Book was more corrupt than any other Part of Scripture. But there were Abundance of Faults in that Tranſlation in other Places, partly by the Deſign of the Interpreters (who added ſome Things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the Senſe at Pleaſure, eſpecially in Texts that had any Relation to the Holy TRINITY, as St. *Jerom* ſhews at large in his *Preface* upon the *Pentateuch*, where he expoſes the Story of their having diſtinct Cells, and their being eſteemed inſpired Writers;) and partly from the great Variety of Copies, and the great Corruptions that were crept into them by the Ignorance or Negligence of Tranſcribers: And this both in the *Septuagint* Copies themſelves, and the *Latin* Tranſlations that were made from them. Upon this Account St. *Jerom*, by the Inſtigation of *Chromatius* and *Heliodore*, and other pious Biſhops of the *Latin* Church, ſet about a Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* and *Old Teſtament* from the Original *Hebrew*: But this met with great Oppoſition for ſome Time: For though many applauded it, and read it in the Churches, yet others oppoſed it, and *Ruffin* and others bitterly inveighed againſt it, as reflecting on the Church, which had uſed and recommended the *Septuagint*, and the Tranſlations made from it, ever ſince the Time of the Apoſtles. St. *Auſtin* [*t*] himſelf diſſuaded him from the Undertaking, and when it was finiſhed, he would not ſuffer it to be read in his Dioceſe for Fear of giving Scandal to the People; telling him farther [*u*] what a Tumult had been

[*s*] Hieron. Præfat. in Daniel. Danielem Prophetam juxta Septuaginta Interpretes Domini ſalvatoris Eccleſiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis Editione: Et hoc cur acciderit neſcio.—Hoc unum affirmare poſſum, quod multum à veritate diſcordet, & recto judicio repudiatus ſit. [*t*] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron.

[*u*] Aug. Ep. 10. ad Hieron.

been raiſed in one of the Churches of *Africa*, by a Biſhop's introducing his Tranſlation, which he was forced to lay aſide again for Fear all his People ſhould have deſerted him. But in other Places it met with a kinder Reception. For by Degrees it came to be uſed by Learned Men in their *Expoſitions*. *Gregory the Great* makes uſe [x] of both Tranſlations, calling St. *Jerom*'s the New Tranſlation, and the other the Old; which was otherwiſe called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, becauſe it was the moſt common and Vulgar Tranſlation uſed in all the *Latin* and *Italick* Churches. The preſent *Vulgar Latin* Tranſlation is ſuppoſed by Learned Men neither to be the ancient *Vulgar*, nor St. *Jerom*'s *New One*, but a Mixture of both together [y]. The *Pſalms* in the preſent *Vulgar*, are not from the *Hebrew*, but are of St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation from the *Septuagint* of *Lucian's Emendation*. The other Books come nearer the *Hebrew*, than they do to the *Septuagint*, which ſhews that they have ſomething of St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation. But the *Pſalms* were always read at *Rome* according to the old Verſion, and continued ſo to be uſed till Pope *Pius* V ordered St. *Jerom*'s Verſion with Emendations from the *Septuagint* to be put in its Place. And ſo the Old Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* came to be called the *Roman Pſalter*; and St. *Jerom*'s New Tranſlation, the *Gallican Pſalter*, becauſe it was immediately received in the *Gallican* Church. This is obſerved both by *Mabillon* [z] and *Bona* [*] out of *Berno Augienſis* and *Strabo*, who ſay, The *French* and *Germans* took the New Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* corrected from the *Septuagint* by St. *Jerom*, whilſt the *Romans*

[x] Greg. M. Ep. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. & Lib. 20. Moral. cap. 3. [y] Vide Walton. Prolegom. 10. n. 9.
[z] Mabil. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 396. [*] Bona Rer. Liturg Lib. 2. cap. 3. n. 4.

Romans continued to uſe the old Vulgar corrupt Edition: Which is ſtill read in the *Vatican* Church at *Rome*, and the *Ambroſian* Church at *Milan*, and St. *Mark*'s at *Venice*: And *Bona* is ſo free as to ſay, He thinks it had been more for the Honour and Benefit of the Church to have kept ſtill to the Old Verſion of the *Pſalter*, ſince now there is a great Diſagreement between the *Breviary* and the *Miſſal*, whilſt the ſame *Pſalms* are ſung different Ways [†], in the *Miſſal* according to the Old Tranſlation, and in the *Breviary* according to the New one: Which he ſpeaks of as a Miſtake, but tenderly, becauſe though it was a Deviation from the old Rule obſerved in *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, and the *Miſſa Mozarabica*, and the *Ambroſian Liturgy*, yet it was Pope *Pius*'s Order that made the Correction.

I MIGHT here have added ſeveral other Things relating to the ancient Way of dividing the ſeveral Books of Scripture into Chapters, and Verſes, and Canons, and Sections and Sub-Sections, very much differing from the preſent Way of dividing them into Chapter and Verſe: But becauſe Obſervations of this Kind are very intricate of themſelves, and have no Relation to the Service of the Church, which is the Subject in Hand, I ſhall omit them here with many other Miſcellany Rites of the ſame Nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a Critical Diſcourſe by themſelves; and now proceed to the next Part of the Service of the Church in the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, which was the *Sermon* or *Homily*, immediately after the Reading of the *Pſalms* and other Scriptures, before any Prayers were

[†] Bona ibid. n. 5. Hæc autem Diſſonantia, ablato nunc Veteri Pſalterio, ſæpe occurrit. Cæterum iſta hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quenquam carperem, ſed ne priſca Eccleſiæ Diſciplina ignoraretur.

were made either for particular Orders of Men, ſuch as Catechumens, Energumens, Penitents, *&c.* or for the General State of CHRIST's Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of PREACHING, *and the Uſages relating to it, in the Ancient* CHURCH.

Sect. 1. *All Sermons anciently called* Homilies, Diſputations, Allocutions, Tractatus, *&c.*

IMMEDIATELY after the Reading of the *Pſalms* and Leſſons out of the Scriptures, before the Catechumens were diſmiſſed, followed the Sermon, which the Biſhop, or ſome other appointed by him, made to the People. This being done in the Preſence of the Catechumens, was therefore uſually reckoned a Part of the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or *Ante-Communion Service.* Such Diſcourſes were commonly termed *Homilies* from the *Greek* ὁμιλίαι, which ſignifies indifferently any Diſcourſe of Inſtruction to the People, whether compoſed by the Preacher himſelf, or read out of a Book compoſed by another; though we now generally reſtrain it to the later Senſe in our modern Way of ſpeaking. Among the *Latins*, they were frequently called *Tractatus*, as appears from many Paſſages of *Cyprian*, *Optatus*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Jerom*, *Gaudentius*, *Chryſologus*, and many others collected by *Ferrarius* [*a*], which I think it needleſs to recite. Only I ſhall obſerve one Thing, That this Word ſignifies any Expoſition or Handling of Scripture, as well by

[*a*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. Lib. 1. cap. 1.

by Way of Writing, as Preaching: And in both Senſes the *Tractatores*, the Preachers and Expoſitors of Scripture, were oppoſed to the *Canonici & Authentici*, the *Prophets*, *Evangeliſts* and *Apoſtles*, who wrote by Inſpiration, and whoſe Authority was abſolutely Infallible and Authentick; which could not be ſaid of any Expoſitors, however excellent or Learned, who dictated their Thoughts without any ſuch peculiar Aſſiſtance. This Diſtinction is often inculcated by St. *Auſtin*: I confeſs, ſays he, writing to St. *Jerom* [*b*], I have learned to pay this Reverence and Honour only to thoſe Books of Scripture which are called *Canonical*, that I moſt firmly believe none of the Authors of them was guilty of any Error in Writing. And if I find any thing in thoſe Books, which ſeems contrary to Truth, I make no doubt but that it is either a Corruption of the Copy, or that the Tranſlator did not hit the Senſe, or that I myſelf do not underſtand it. But I read all others with this Caution and Reſerve, That however eminent they be for Piety and Learning, I do not believe what they ſay to be true merely becauſe it was their Opinion; but becauſe they perſuade me either by thoſe Canonical Authors, or by probable Reaſon, which carries the Appearance of Truth. So again, in

[*b*] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. cap. 1. Ego enim fateor Charitati tuæ, ſolis eis Scripturarum Libris qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, & nullum eorum Auctorem ſcribendo aliquid erraſſe firmiſſime credam. Ac ſi aliquid in eis offendero Literis, quod videatur contrarium veritati: Nihil aliud, quam vel mendoſum eſſe codicem, vel Interpretem non aſſequutum eſſe quod dictum eſt, vel me minime intellexiſſe, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut, quanta libet Sanctitate Doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipſi ita ſenſerunt; ſed quia mihi per illos auctores Canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, perſuadere potuerunt.

in his Book *De Catechizandis Rudibus* [c] he diſtinguiſhes the Inſpired Writers, by the Name of *Canonical*, from all others, whom he calls *Tractators* and *Expoſitors* of Scripture. As *Claudianus Mamertus* ſpeaks [d] of all Expoſitors under the Name of *Tractators*, but of the holy Pen-men themſelves under the Title of *Authenticks*. St. *Auſtin* [e] and St. *Jerom* [f] often ſpeak of Preaching under the Name of Diſputations; *Tertullian* [g] calls them *Allocutions*; dividing the whole Service into theſe four Parts, Reading the Scriptures, Singing the Pſalms, making Allocutions, and ſending up Prayers. Among the *Greeks* they are frequently called λόγοι, which anſwers to the *Latin* Word, *Sermones*, and the *Engliſh* Sermons. The moſt ancient Name is that of *Evangelium*, and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, appropriated more peculiarly to the Preaching of the Apoſtles; and therefore ſeldom or never aſcribed to any others by Eccleſiaſtical Writers. A more general Name in Scripture, is that of διδασκαλία, Doctrine and Teaching: Whence Preachers of the Word are call'd διδασκαλοι, Doctors and Teachers by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28, 29. which *Vincentius Lirinenſis* obſerves to be the ſame as *Tractatores* [h] in after-Ages. St. *Paul* alſo uſes the Word κήρυγμα, for Preaching, 1 *Cor.* ii. 4. and in many other Places [i] of his *Epiſtles*. And ſo it

[c] Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 8. T. 4. p. 298. Si libris ei perſuaſum eſſe videris, ſive Canonicis ſive utilium Tractatorum, &c. [d] Mamert. de Statu Animæ. Lib. 2. cap. 10. Sed nunc locus & tempus eſt, ut ſicut à Philoſophis ad Tractatores, à Tractatoribus ad Authenticos gradum conſequar. ita. It. Lib. 1. cap. 2. Poſt Authenticorum plurimos Tractatores, &c. [e] Aug. Tract. 89. in Joan. Confeſſ. Lib. 5. cap. 13. Hom. 50, & 81. de Diverſis. [f] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. [g] Tertul. de Anima. cap. 9. Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Pſalmi canuntur, aut Adlocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delegantur, &c. *So frequently in* Gregory the Great *the Sermon is called ſimply*, Locutio. Hom. 5, 9, 14, & 22. *in* Ezekiel. [h] Vincent. Commonitor. cap. 40. Doctores, qui Tractatores nunc appellantur. [i] Vid. 1 Cor. 1. 21. It. 1 Cor. 14, 15. 2 Tim. 4. 17. Tit. 1. 3.

it is ſometimes uſed by Eccleſiaſtical Writers after him. But we muſt carefully note, that more commonly the Words κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα among the *Greeks*, as alſo *Prædicatio* and *Prædicare* among the *Latins*, ſignify a very different Thing, *viz.* That Part of the Deacon's Office, which he performed as the common κήρυξ or *Præco* of the Church, Dictating the uſual Forms of Prayer to the People, in which they were to joyn, and calling upon them as their Guide and Director in all other Parts of Divine-Service. This I have had Occaſion to ſpeak more largely of in a former Book [*], where we have particularly conſidered the ordinary Office of Deacons, and ſhewed, that they had no Authority in ordinary Caſes either to preach, or conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, or baptize, but whatever they did of this Kind, was either in Caſe of great Neceſſity, or by ſpecial Commiſſion and Direction. And therefore thoſe ancient Canons which ſpeak of their Predication [*k*], are not to be underſtood of their Preaching Sermons, but of their Proclaiming to the People ſuch Directions in Performing Divine Offices, as they were concerned to give them by Virtue of their Office, as the common Heralds and Cryers of the Church.

Sect. 2. *Preaching the proper Office of Biſhops and Presbyters in ordinary Caſes, and not of Deacons.*

THE Deacons indeed, in Caſes of Exigence, were allowed to read the *Homilies* of the Fathers, as they did the Leſſons of Scripture: Which is the Reaſon aſſigned by the Council of *Vaiſon* [*l*] for permitting them ſo to do, when the

[*] Book II. Chap. xx. n. 10, & 11. [*k*] Conc. Ancyran. Can. 2. Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 39. [*l*] Conc. Vaſens 2. Can. 2. Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare, ſanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni ſunt Diaconi, quæ Chriſtus in Evangelio

the Presbyter was ſick or infirm. For if Deacons were worthy to read what CHRIST has ſpoken in the *Goſpel*, why ſhould they be thought unworthy to rehearſe publickly the *Expoſitions* or *Homilies* of the Fathers? But excepting ſuch Caſes, we very rarely find any Permiſſion ſo much as to read an *Homily* granted them. For Preaching anciently was one of the chief Offices of a Biſhop: In ſo much that in the *African* Churches a Presbyter was never known to preach before a Biſhop in his Cathedral Church till St. *Auſtin*'s Time, but the Biſhop always diſcharged this Office himſelf, and St. *Auſtin* was the firſt Presbyter in that Part of the World, that ever was allowed to preach in the Preſence of his Biſhop, as has been ſhewed out of *Poſſidius* [*m*] the Writer of his Life, in a former [*] Book. 'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Churches Presbyters were ſometimes allowed to preach in the great Church before the Biſhop; but that was not to diſcharge him of the Duty; for ſtill he preached a Sermon at the ſame time after them, as we ſhall ſee from the Practice of *Chryſoſtom* and *Flavian* at *Antioch*, and other Examples hereafter.

IN the leſſer Churches of the City, and Country about, this Office was devolved upon Presbyters, as the Biſhop's proper Aſſiſtants; and the Deacons, except in the forementioned Caſes, were not authorized to perform it. So that this Office of Preaching the *Goſpel*, was then eſteemed the proper Office of Biſhops and Presbyters; the Biſhop diſcharging it Perſonally in his Cathedral Church, in Conjunction with his Presbyters, or alone without them; and Vicariouſly by his Presbyters, where he could not

gelio loquutus eſt, legere: Quare indigni judicentur, ſanctorum Patrum Expoſitiones publice recitare? [*m*] Poſſid. Vit. Auguſt. cap. 5. [*] Book II. Chap. iii. n. 4.

be preſent, in the leſſer Churches. There are a great many ſerious Paſſages in the ancient Records relating to this Matter, as well in the Imperial Laws, as the Canons of the Church, and the Writings of the moſt conſiderable Fathers, partly impreſſing this as a neceſſary Duty of the Epiſcopal and Paſtoral Function, and partly complaining of the Neglect of it, and partly threatning Cenſures and Puniſhments to the Offenders. St. *Chryſoſtom* [n] on thoſe Words to *Timothy*, *A Biſhop muſt be apt to teach*, διδακτικὸν, ſays, Other Qualifications, ſuch as thoſe, *He muſt be ſober, vigilant, of good Behaviour, given to Hoſpitality*, &c. may be in Subjects: But becauſe a Biſhop ought to have thoſe Qualifications that belong to Rulers, the Apoſtle therefore added, *He muſt be apt to teach*: For this is not required of Subjects; but is moſt eſpecially required of thoſe who have the Office of Governing committed to them. And again, on thoſe Words to *Titus*, *Holding faſt the faithful Word, as he hath been taught* (or, *which relates to Teaching*, τῆς κατ' διδαχὴν λόγου) *that he may be able by ſound Doctrine both to exhort and to convince the Gainſayers*, he ſays, St. *Paul* converted the World, not ſo much by his Miracles, as by his continual Preaching: and therefore a Biſhop muſt be able to exhort by ſound Doctrine, that is, to preſerve his Flock, and overthrow its Enemies. And unleſs he be ſuch an one, all is loſt. For he that knows not how to oppoſe the Enemy, and captivate every Thought to the Obedience of CHRIST, and pull down the vain Imaginations of Men, as he knows not how to teach according to ſound Doctrine, ſo he ought to be far [o] from the Teaching Throne, πόρρω ἔσω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ; where it is obſervable, that *Chryſoſtom* therefore calls the Biſhop's Throne,

[n] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. 3. p. 1569. [o] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in Tit. p. 1703.

Throne, the Throne of Doctrine, or Teaching Throne, becauſe Preaching ſound Doctrine was ſo neceſſary a Part of the Biſhop's Office, that he could not be without it. St. *Ambroſe* likewiſe deſcribing the Office of a Biſhop, does it chiefly by ſtyling it the Office of Teaching; complaining modeſtly of his own hard Fate, in being forced againſt his Will to take upon him the Office of the Prieſthood [p], that is, to be made a Biſhop; which obliged him to teach others, before he had well learned himſelf. For he was made Biſhop of a Catechumen. *Sidonius Apollinaris* makes the ſame deſcription of the Office of a Biſhop, complaining in the like modeſt Way with St. *Ambroſe*, of the Weight of the Profeſſion that was laid upon his Shoulders, when by being made a Biſhop againſt his Will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach Good to others, before he had done any himſelf: Like a barren Tree, when he had no Works to ſhew for Fruit, he was forced to ſcatter Words for Leaves: Meaning the Neceſſity of Preaching, that was laid upon him by taking the Office of a Biſhop. St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in like manner calls the Office of a Biſhop [r] ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικὸν, the Dignity or Honour of Teaching. And in the ſixth general Council, where *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* was degraded for his Hereſy, he is ſaid to be removed [s] from the Throne of Teaching, that

[p] Ambroſ. de Offic. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Titul. Capitis. Epiſcopi proprium munus docere populum. Item, Cum jam effugere non poſſimus Officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus impoſuit ſacerdotij neceſſitudo, &c. [q] Sidon. Lib. 5. Ep. 3. Indigniſſimo tantæ Profeſſionis pondus impactum eſt, qui miſer ante compulſus docere, quàm diſcere, & ante præſumens bonum prædicare, quàm facere, tanquam ſterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, ſpargo verba pro foliis.

[r] Cyril. Ep. ad Monachos in Conc. Epheſ. Part. 1. cap. 28.

[s] Conc. 6. Gener. Act. 12. p. 937. ἀδαμῶς ὁ θεῖος κανὼν παραδέχεται τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον, &c.

is, from the Epiſcopal Office, of which Preaching was a ſpecial Ingredient. The Rule of the *Apoſtolical Canons* is, That a Biſhop who neglects his Clergy or his People, and teaches them not [*t*] the Rules of Piety, ſhall be ſuſpended; and if he perſiſts in his Neglect, ſhall be depoſed. For it was his Office to teach the Clergy as well as the People, and to expound the Scriptures to them. Whence St. *Jerom* gives it as Part of the Character of *Gregory Nazianzen*, That he was an Eloquent Teacher, and the Maſter under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained [*u*] them. Some would have excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, They would teach the People by their Example. To which St. *Jerom* replies, [*x*], That a Biſhop's innocent Converſation without Preaching did as much Harm by its Silence, as it did Good by its Example. For the Barking of the Dogs is as neceſſary as the Shepherd's Staff, to terrify and beat off the Fury of the Wolves. *Athanaſius* [*y*] gives a very pathetical Exhortation to *Dracontius* a Biſhop newly ordained: Now that you are made Biſhop, ſays he, the People expect that you ſhould bring them Food from the Doctrine of the Scriptures: But if while they expect it, they ſuffer Want, and you only feed yourſelf; what Excuſe will you have, when the Lord JESUS ſhall come, and find his Sheep ſtarving for want of Food? St. *Auſtin*, in one of his *Homilies* [*z*] upon the Anniverſary of his Ordination, repreſents this Part of a Biſhop's Office with great Concern,

[*t*] Canon. Apoſt. c. 58. [*u*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 117. Vir eloquentiſſimus Præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici. [*x*] Id. Ep. 83. ad Oceanum. Sacerdotis innocens, ſed abſque ſermone Converſatio, quantum Exemplo prodeſt, tantum ſilentio nocet. Nam & latratu canum, baculoque Paſtoris luporum rabies deterrenda eſt. Vid. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

[*y*] Athan. Ep. ad Dracont. Tom 1. p. 954. [*z*] Aug. Serm. 25. ex 50. T. 10. p. 173.

cern, as a Matter in which he was deeply intereſted, and nearly affected. Firſt, he tells his People what a Burden was laid upon him by GOD in the Prophet *Ezekiel* Chap. xxxiii. which was the Leſſon appointed for that Solemnity, wherein were theſe Words ſo full of Terror: *I have made thee a Watchman. If I ſay to the Sinner, Thou ſhalt ſurely die, and thou holdeſt thy Peace, and he die in his Sins; he indeed dies juſtly, and according to his Deſert in his Sins: but his Blood will I require at thy Hands*, &c. Upon which he makes this Reflection with Regard to his own Office: I am a Steward: If I lay not out my Lord's Money, but keep it by me, the *Goſpel* terrifies me. I might ſay indeed, What have I to do to be troubleſome unto Men, to ſay to the Wicked, Do not thus; Do thus: Deſiſt from doing Evil? What have I to do to be thus troubleſome unto Men? I have received, how I ought to live myſelf, as I am enjoyned, as I am commanded. I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give Account of others? But the *Goſpel* terrifies me. There is nothing more pleaſant than to ſeek after the Divine Treaſure in Quiet. This is ſweet and good: But to preach, to reprove, to correct, to edify, to take the Care of every other Man upon myſelf, this is a great Burden, a great Weight, a great Labour. Who would not fly from ſuch a Labour? But the *Goſpel* terrifies me. There we read of a certain Servant, who ſaid to his Lord, *I knew thee to be an hard Man, reaping where thou haſt not ſowed, therefore I kept thy Money*, I would not lay it out, *Take that which is thine.* To whom the Lord anſwered, *Out of thine own Mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked Servant. Thou oughteſt to have given my Money to the Bank, that when I came, I might have received my own with Uſury.* The Curious Reader may find a great deal more to the

ſame Purpoſe in St. *Baſil's* Epiſtles [*a*] and *Gregory Nazianzen's* [*b*] Complaints, and thoſe of *Cyprian* [*c*], which I care not here to tranſcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is ſaid by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*d*] in his *Homily upon the Man, who was to account to God for Ten Thouſand Talents:* Where he thus repreſents the Account which Biſhops muſt make to GOD: Not only ſecular Magiſtrates, ſays he, but the Rulers of the Church, τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες, muſt render an Account of their Government and Adminiſtration; and they above all others ſhall ſuffer bitter and grievous Puniſhment. For they who are intruſted with the Miniſtry of the Word, ſhall be examined moſt ſtrictly and ſeverely in the next World, Whether they have not through Sloth or Envy neglected to ſpeak any Thing which they ought to have ſpoken; and whether they have demonſtrated by their Works and Labour, that they have delivered all Things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto Men. Again, He that has obtained the Office of a Biſhop, by how much he is exalted to greater Dignity, ſo much the more ample Account ſhall he be required to give, not only of his Doctrine or Teaching, and Care of the Poor, but alſo of his Examination and Tryal of thoſe who are ordained, with a thouſand other Things of the like Nature. Where it is evident, that Teaching is reckoned as neceſſary a Part of the Biſhop's Function, as Ordination: And as he proves the one from thoſe Words of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Mens Sins*; ſo he proves the other from thoſe Words of the ſame Apoſtle

[*a*] Baſil. Ep. 61, 69, 185, 293. [*b*] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga p. 15, &c. It. Tract de Epiſc. Latine. T. 2. p. 304. & Orat. 32 p. 519. [*c*] Cypr. de Lapſis. p. 123.
[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. Tom. 5. p. 9.

ſtle to the *Hebrews*, *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and ſubmit yourſelves unto them: for they watch for your Souls, as they that muſt give Account*, Heb. xiii. 17. Which, as he truly obſerves, is an Argument full of Terror. St. *Chryſoſtom* has Abundance more to the ſame Purpoſe in thoſe excellent Books of the Prieſthood, which were compoſed on Purpoſe to deſcribe the Offices and Duties of a Biſhop, among which he reckons the laborious Work of making continual *Homilies* [e] and ſet Diſcourſes to the People. And whereas ſome were ready to plead, That a good Life was the main Thing required, to excuſe their Want of Knowledge, and Study, and Preaching, and Diſputing, he anſwers, That both theſe Qualifications were required; They muſt not only do, but teach the Commands of CHRIST, and guide others [f] by their Word and Doctrine, as well as their Practice: Each of theſe had their Part in the Epiſcopal Office, and were neceſſary to aſſiſt one another, in order to conſummate Mens Edification. With much more to the ſame Purpoſe, which I here omit, becauſe I have more fully repreſented it in another Book [*] where I had Occaſion to treat of the general Duties of the Eccleſiaſtical Function.

WHAT is thus pathetically preſs'd by private Men, is more authoritatively enjoyned by the Laws of the Church and State, both concurring to enforce this Duty. The Council of *Laodicea* [g] ſpeaks of it as a cuſtomary Thing, for the Biſhop to make always a Sermon before the Catechumens were diſmiſſed. And the Council of *Valentia* in *Spain* does the ſame, when it orders, That Catechumens, and Penitents,

[e] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. Lib. 5. cap. 1. [f] Chryſ. ibid. Lib. 4. cap. 8. [*] Book VI. Chap. iii. n. 2. [g] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. δεῖ τὸ δεῖν, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ὑποσκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ὑπερλέγειν.

and even Heathens ſhould be allowed to hear the Biſhop's Sermon [*b*], becauſe they had experienced how that by this Means many Infidels had been brought over to the Faith. Theſe Councils do not ſo much enjoyn Biſhops to Preach, as preſuppoſe it to be their conſtant and general Practice. But the Council of *Trullo* [*i*] ſpeaks more expreſsly by Way of Injunction, That the Rulers of Churches, τὴν ἐκκλησιῶν προεδρεύοντας, ought every Day, but eſpecially on the Lord's Day, to teach all the Clergy and People the Words of Truth and Godlineſs, gathered out of the Holy Scriptures. And in the Imperial Laws, there are ſeveral Edicts of the Secular Power to the ſame Purpoſe. In the *Theodoſian Code*, there is one joyntly made by the three Emperors, *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, which bears this Title, *De munere ſeu Officio Epiſcoporum in prædicando Verbo Dei*, Of the Duty and Office of Biſhops in Preaching the Word of GOD. And the Body of the Edict [*k*] charges all thoſe with Sacrilege, who either confound the Sanctity of the Divine Law by Ignorance, or violate it by neglecting to preach it. And the ſame Law now ſtands inſerted [*l*] into the *Juſtinian Code* under the Charge of Sacrilege, both in the Title, and the Body of it alſo. In another Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* [*m*], Biſhops are ſtyled, the Men, who in

[*b*] Conc. Valentin. Can. 1. Sic enim Pontificum Prædicatione audita nonnullos attractos ad Fidem evidenter ſcimus,

[*i*] Conc. Trull. can. 19. *See alſo in* Conc. Nic. 2. can. 2. & Conc. Ticinenſe. can. 5. [*k*] Cod. Theod. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſcopis. Leg. 25. Qui divinæ Legis ſanctitatem, aut neſciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant & offendunt, Sacrilegium committunt. [*l*] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 9. Tit. 29. de Crimine Sacrilegij. Leg. 1. [*m*] Cod. Theod. Lib. 9. Tit. 40. de Pœnis. Leg. 16. Ad Epiſcoporum ſane culpam (ut cætera) redundabit, ſi quid forte in ea parte Regionis, in qua ipſi populo Chriſtianæ Religionis, Doctrinæ inſinuatione moderantur, ex his quæ fieri hac Lege jubemus, à Monachis perpetratum eſſe cognoverint, nec vindicaverint.

in their ſeveral Diſtricts are to govern the People, by inſtilling into them the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, and more eſpecially the Principles of Subjection and Obedience to Civil Magiſtrates, which were often violated by the tumultuous Practices of the Monks, who were under their Inſpection. And in another Law [*n*] of *Theodoſius*, all Hereticks are forbidden either to teach or hear their profane Doctrines in their unlawful Aſſemblies: More particularly they, who were called Biſhops among them, ſhould not preſume to teach the Faith, which they themſelves had not, nor ordain Miniſters, when they themſelves were really none. This ſuppoſes that the Offices of Ordination and Preaching were equally the Duties of Catholick Biſhops, and that the Pretence in Heretical Biſhops to perform them, was mere Uſurpation. And upon the whole it appears, That as Preaching was an Office originally inveſted in Biſhops, as ſupreme Paſtors of the Flock of CHRIST: So by all the Rules and Laws of Church and State, and all the Ties of Religion, they were obliged to perform this Duty with all Aſſiduity and Diligence, as we find they generally did out of the Senſe of the great Obligation that was laid upon them. And ſome in the *Romiſh* Church (where this Part of the Epiſcopal Function was for many Ages ſcandalouſly neglected) have earneſtly wiſhed and laboured for the Reſtoration and Revival of it. *Habertus* pleads hard for it, and ſays one Thing [*o*] particularly remarkable, to excite

[*n*] Cod. Theod. Lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis Leg. 24. Nuſquam profana præcepta vel docere vel diſcere: Ne Antiſtites eorundem audeant fidem inſinuare, quam non habent, & Miniſtros creare, quod non ſunt. [*o*] Habert. Archieratic. Part 5. Obſerv. 7. p. 91. Id ſcio expertuſque ſum, plus eſſe momenti in unius Epiſcopi ad populum, quam in ſexcentis aliorum quantumvis Orationibus atque elaboratis.

cite thoſe to whom he writes, That he could aver upon certain Experience in *France*, that there was more Weight in the Words of every Biſhop to the People, than in ſix Hundred of the moſt eloquent and elaborate Diſcourſes of other Men. But I return to the ancient Church.

Sect. 3. *The ſingular Practice of the Church of* Rome, *in having no Sermons for ſeveral Ages, noted out of* Sozomen *and* Caſſiodore.

IT being thus certain from what has been related, that the Work of Preaching was ordinarily performed by Biſhops themſelves in their own Church, either in Conjunction with their Presbyters, or without them: It is very wonderfully ſtrange, and even aſtoniſhing and ſurprizing to hear what *Sozomen* [*p*] relates of the Church of *Rome* in his Time, That they had no Sermons either by the Biſhop, or any other; which was contrary to the Cuſtom of all other Churches. For at *Alexandria*, the Biſhop alone preached without his Presbyters from the Time of *Arius*: And in other Churches it was done by the Biſhop and Presbyters together: But in the Church of *Rome* by neither the one nor the other. *Pagi* [*q*] and *Queſnel* [*r*] think *Sozomen* muſt needs be miſtaken, and that being a *Greek*, he took this Report up by uncertain Rumour; becauſe Pope *Leo*, in whoſe Time *Sozomen* lived, not only preached conſtantly to the People, but declared it his Duty ſo to do, profeſſing that he was afraid [*s*] it ſhould be imputed to him as a Crime, if he was wanting in this Part of his Office and Miniſtry. But *Valeſius* on the other hand, is very confident, that *Sozomen*'s Relation is true, becauſe *Caſſiodore*,

[*p*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 19. [*q*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 57. n. 3. [*r*] Queſnel. Differt. 6. de Jejunio Sabbati. & Differt. 1. de Vita Leonis. [*s*] Leo Serm. 3. de Epiphania. Ut noſtri nihil deſit Officij, &c.

Caſſiodore, who was a Senator and Conſul, and *Præfectus Prætorio* at *Rome*, has the ſame out of *Sozomen* in his *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, without any Correction; and he ſays farther, That no one can produce any Sermons preached to the People by any Biſhop of *Rome* before thoſe of *Leo*, which were not preached till after *Sozomen* wrote his Hiſtory. I will not pretend to decide this Controverſy among theſe Learned Men; but only ſay, That however it was in *Sozomen*'s Time, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe in the Days of *Juſtin Martyr*, when he preſented his Apology to *Antoninus Pius* and the Senate of *Rome*, where he lived and wrote at that Time: For there deſcribing the Buſineſs of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies on the Lord's Day, he expreſsly ſays, That after the Reading of the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets, the προεστὼς, the Biſhop or Preſident of the Aſſembly [*t*] made a Sermon to exhort and excite the People to the Imitation of the good Things they had heard read out of them. Where it muſt reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that writing at *Rome*, and to the *Roman* Senate, he ſpake at leaſt of the uſual Cuſtom and Practice of the *Roman* Church. And if it was otherwiſe in the Time of *Sozomen*, ſome Alteration muſt have happened in the Interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the the Cuſtom of Reading the *Homilies* of famous Writers among the Leſſons, or immediately after by the Deacon (as I have ſhewed before, they read in ſome Churches the *Homilies* of *Ephrem Syrus*, and the Books of *Clemens Romanus* and *Hermes Paſtor* [*]; and in the old *Lectionariums*, there are frequently Leſſons appointed out of the *Homilies* of St. *Auſtin*, St. *Ambroſe* and others, as it is now in the *Roman Breviary*) and this might ſupply the Place of a Sermon, till *Leo* brought up the ancient Way

[*t*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*] Chap. iii. n. 14.

Way of Preaching in the *Roman* Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five Hundred Years together, till *Pius Quintus*, like another *Leo*, revived the Practice, as we are told by *Surius* one of their own Writers [*u*].

Sect. 4. *Whether Laymen were ever allowed to preach in the ancient Church.*

BUT there is another Question must be resolved with Relation to the ancient Church, that is, Whether Laymen were ever allowed by Authority to make Sermons to the People? That they did it in a private Way as Catechists in their Catechetick Schools at *Alexandria* and other Places, there is no Question. For *Origen* read Lectures in the Catechetick School of *Alexandria*, before he was in Orders [*x*] by the Appointment of *Demetrius*, and St. *Jerom* says [*y*], There was a long Succession of famous Men in that School, who were called *Ecclesiastical Doctors* upon that Account. But this was a different Thing from their publick Preaching in the Church. Sometimes the Monks, who were only Laymen, took upon them to preach publickly in the Church: But this was opposed and censured as an Usurpation of an Office that did not belong to them. All Monks anciently, considered only as Monks, were no more than Laymen, as I have fully shewed [*] in another Place: And therefore, as Monks, they had no Title to any Part of the Ecclesiastical Office or Function. Particularly St. *Jerom* [*z*] says, The Office of a Monk was not to Teach, but to Mourn. And that the Case of the Monks and Clergy was very different from each

[*u*] Surius Hist. ap. Blondel. Apolog. pro Sentent. Hieronymi. p. 58. [*x*] Vid. Euseb. Lib. 6. cap. 3. [*y*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 36. [*] Book III. Chap. ii. n. 7.

[*z*] Hieron. Ep. 55. ad Riparium. Monachus non Docentis, sed plangentis habet Officium.

each other: The Clergy [†] are thoſe that feed the Sheep, the Monks are among thoſe that are fed. And therefore when ſome Monks in the *Eaſtern* Parts about *Antioch*, preſuming on their own Qualifications and Knowledge, took upon them to preach publickly in the Churches, Pope *Leo* wrote two Letters to *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* [*a*] and *Theodoret*, to ingage them to lay a Reſtraint upon them, telling them, That beſides the Prieſts of the LORD, none ought to preſume to take upon them the Power of Teaching or Preaching, whether he were Monk or Layman, whatever Knowledge he could pretend to. Yet in ſome Caſes, a ſpecial Commiſſion was given to a Layman to preach, and then he might do it by the Authority of the Biſhop's Commiſſion for that Time. Thus *Euſebius*'s [*b*] ſays, *Origen* was approved by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* and *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*, to preach and expound the Scriptures publickly in the Church, when he was only a Layman. And when *Demetrius* of *Alexandria* made a Remonſtrance againſt this, as an Innovation, that had never been ſeen or heard of before, That a Layman ſhould preach to the People in the Preſence of Biſhops; *Alexander* replied in a Letter, and told him, he was much miſtaken; for it was an uſual Thing in many Places, where Men were well-qualified to edify the Brethren, for Biſhops to intreat them to preach to the People. As *Euelpis*

[†] Id. Ep. 1. ad. Heliodor. Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia Clericorum: Clerici paſcunt oves, ego paſcor. [*a*] Leo Ep. 60. al. 62. ad Maximum Antioch. Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui ſunt Domini ſacerdotes, nullus ſibi jus Docendi & Prædicandi audeat vendicare, ſive ſit ille Monachus, ſive Laicus, qui alicujus Scientiæ nomine glorietur. It. Ep. 61. al. 63. ad Theodorit. [*b*] Euſeb. Lib. 6. c. 19. Epiphan. Hær. 64. *ſeems to ſay he was then a Presbyter: But it muſt be a Miſtake.*

Euelpis was requeſted by *Neon* at *Laranda*, and *Paulinus* by *Celſus* at *Iconium*, and *Theodorus* by *Atticus* at *Synada*. Theſe had all ſpecial Directions from their Biſhops to preach: And therefore whatever other Irregularity or Novelty there might be in the Thing, it was not liable to the Charge of Uſurpation. *Hallier*, a famous *Sorbon* Doctor, is of Opinion, That they might do it [c] by Permiſſion: and he thinks this may be deduced from that Canon of the fourth Council of *Carthage* [d] which forbids a Layman to teach in the Preſence of the Clergy, except they requeſt him to do it. If this relate to publick Teaching in the Church, it implies, that they might do it by ſpecial Indulgence and Conceſſion. The ancient Author of the *Comment* [e] *upon the Epiſtles*, under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, ſays, That in the Beginning of Chriſtianity, for the Augmentation and Increaſe of the Church, a general Commiſſion was granted unto all, both to preach the *Goſpel*, and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. But when the Church had ſpread itſelf into all Places, Buildings were erected, and Rulers and other Officers were appointed, that no one among the Clergy ſhould preſume to meddle with any Office, which he knew was not committed to his Truſt. And hence it was that Deacons in his Time

[c] Hallier. de Hierarch. Eccleſiaſt. Lib. 1. cap. 7. p 67. Laicis non niſi ex Indulgentia illud attingere debere. It. p 79. ibid.

[d] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 98. Laicus, præſentibus Clericis niſi ipſis rogantibus, docere non audeat. [e] Ambroſ. Com. in Epheſ. 4. p. 948. Ut creſceret Plebs & multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia conceſſum eſt & Evangelizare & Baptizare, & Scripturas in Eccleſia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa eſt Eccleſia, Conventicula conſtituta ſunt, & Rectores & cætera Officia in Eccleſiis ſunt ordinata, ut nullus de Clero auderet, qui ordinatus non eſſet, præſumere Officium, quod ſciret non ſibi creditum vel conceſſum. Hinc ergo eſt, unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel Laici baptizant.

Time did not preach to the People, nor the inferior Clergy or Laymen baptize. What he ſays of the Apoſtles Days, muſt reſt upon his Authority: If he means an unlimitted Commiſſion to all in general without previous Qualifications, and Examination of them, his Opinion is certainly ſingular. But if he means only, that all who had extraordinary Meaſures of ſpiritual Gifts, were allowed to exerciſe thoſe Gifts ſometimes in Preaching in publick Aſſemblies, without any external Ordination, beſides the Gift of the Spirit of Prophecy: That is no more than what the beſt Interpreters of thoſe Words of St *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. *Ye may all prophecy one by one*, commonly allow: That is, all who had the Gift of Prophecy, not every Chriſtian, might uſe the Word of Exhortation in the Church [*f*]. But then, as ſuch extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit of Prophecy were in a manner peculiar to the Apoſtolical Age, this could not be a Rule to the following Ages of the Church. And therefore when once theſe Gifts were ceaſed, the Church went prudently by another Rule, to allow none but ſuch as were called by an ordinary Commiſſion, to perform this Office, except where ſome extraordinary natural Endowments (ſuch as were in *Origen*) anſwering in ſome Meaſure to thoſe ſpiritual Gifts, made it proper to grant a Licence to Laymen to exerciſe their Talents for the Benefit of the Church. Or elſe when Neceſſity impoſed the Duty on Deacons to perform the Office of Preaching, when the Biſhop and Presbyters were by Sickneſs or other Means debarred from it. For the foreſaid Author plainly ſays, That Deacons in his Time did not ordinarily *Prædicare in Populo*, Preach to the People; as being an Office to which they had no ordinary Commiſſion. And the ſame is ſaid by the Author of

[*f*] Vide Bezam & Eſtium in Loc.

of the *Conſtitutions* [g] and many others. Therefore ſince Deacons were not allowed this Power, but only in ſome ſpecial Caſes, it is the leſs to be wonder'd that after the ceaſing of ſpiritual Gifts, it ſhould generally be denied to Laymen.

Sect. 5. *Women never allowed to preach.*

As to Women, whatever Gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publickly in the Church, either by the Apoſtles Rules, or thoſe of ſucceeding Ages. The Apoſtle ſays expreſsly, *Let your Women keep Silence in the Churches: for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak: but they are commanded to be under Obedience, as alſo ſaith the Law*, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. And, *if they will learn any Thing, let them ask their Husbands at home: for it is a Shame for Women to ſpeak in the Church.* And again, 1 *Tim.* ii. 11. *Let the Woman alſo learn in Silence with all Subjection. But I ſuffer not a Woman to teach, nor to uſurp Authority over the Man, but to be in Silence.* And this Rule was always ſtrictly obſerved in the ancient Church. The ſame Council of *Carthage*, which allows Laymen to teach by Permiſſion, expreſsly forbids Women to do it in any Caſe: Let not a Woman, however Learned [h] or Holy, preſume to teach Men in a Publick Aſſembly. But they might teach Women in private, as private Catechiſts, to prepare Catechumens for Baptiſm. For the ſame Council of *Carthage* requires [i] this as one Qualification

[g] Conſtit. Lib. 3. cap. 20. Vigil. Ep. ad Ruſticum. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 554. [h] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 99. Mulier, quamvis docta & ſancta, viros in conventu docere non præſumat. [i] Ibid. can. 12. Viduæ vel ſanctimoniales, quæ ad Miniſterium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam inſtructæ ſint ad Officium, ut poſſint apto & ſano Sermone docere imperitas & ruſticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ ſunt, qualiter Baptizatori interrogatæ reſpondeant, & qualiter, accepto baptiſmate, vivant.

lification in Deaconeſſes when they were ordained, that they ſhould be ſo well inſtructed and expert in their Office, as to be able to teach the ignorant and ruſtick Women, how to make their Reſponſes to the Interrogatories, which the Miniſter ſhould put to them in Baptiſm, and how to order their Converſation afterward. And the Author of the *Short Notes upon St.* Paul's *Epiſtles*, under the Name of St. *Jerom* [*k*] ſays, That Deaconeſſes were thus employed in all the *Eaſtern* Churches, both to miniſter to their own Sex in Baptiſm, and in the Miniſtry of the Word, to teach Women privately, but not in publick. This Matter was carried much farther in many Heretical Aſſemblies: For they ordained Women Prieſts, which the Author of the *Conſtitutions* calls an Heatheniſh [*l*] Practice: For the Chriſtian Law allowed of no ſuch Cuſtom. *Tertullian* ſays, They allowed [*m*] Women to teach and diſpute in their Aſſemblies, and to exorciſe Demoniacks, and adminiſter Baptiſm: All which was expreſsly, he ſays, [*n*] againſt the Rule of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 35. which is ſo far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask Queſtions or diſpute publickly in the Church. And whereas ſome pretended the Authority of St. *Paul* for this, from a Book called, *The Acts of* Paul *and* Thecla, he ſays, That was a ſpurious Book, and the Author of it was Convict, and confeſſed the Forgery, and was cenſured for it by the Church. The *Montaniſts* were a noted Sect for giving this Liberty to Women, under Pretence of Inſpiration by the Spirit: So that they

[*k*] Hieron. Com. in Rom. 16. 1. Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus Diaconiſſæ mulieres in ſuo Sexu miniſtrare videntur in Baptiſmo, ſive in Miniſterio Verbi, quia privatim docuiſſe feminas invenimus, &c. [*l*] Conſtit. Lib. 3. cap. 9. [*m*] Tertul. de Præſcript. cap. 41. [*n*] Idem de Baptiſmo. cap. 17. Vid. De Velandis Virgin. cap. 9.

had not only their Propheteſſes, ſuch as *Priſca* and *Maximilla*, the firſt Followers of *Montanus*, but alſo their Women Biſhops, and Women-Presbyters, as *Quintilla* and *Priſcilla*, who, as *Epiphanius* [o] and St. *Auſtin* [p] inform us, were dignified among the *Pepuzians* (a Sub-diviſion of the *Montaniſts*) with the higheſt Offices of the Prieſthood. *Epiphanius* brings [q] the ſame Charge againſt the *Collyridians*, ſo called from their offering *Collyria* or Cakes, in Sacrifice to the Virgin *Mary*, againſt whom he diſputes at large, not only for their Idolatry in offering Sacrifice to her, but alſo for their Preſumption in putting Women into the Prieſts Office; which was a Thing never done among the People of GOD from the Beginning of the World; and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtleſs have been granted to the Virgin *Mary*. *Firmilian* in his Letter to *Cyprian* [r], mentions another ſuch Woman among the *Cataphrygians*, who pretended by the Spirit of Prophecy, to preach, and pray, and baptize, and offer the *Euchariſt* in their publick Aſſemblies. So that this was a common Practice among the Hereticks, but always refuted and oppoſed by the Church of GOD, which always kept ſtrictly to the Apoſtle's Rule, not to ſuffer a Woman to teach publickly in the Church, whatever Sanctity or Learning ſhe could pretend to, but to reſerve this Office to Men, for whom it was originally appointed.

HAVING

[o] Epiphan. Hær. 49. Pepuzian. n. 2. [p] Aug. Hær. 27. Pepuzian. Tantum dantes mulieribus Principatum, ut Sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur. [q] Epiphan. Hær. 78. Antidicomarian. n. 23. Et Hær. 79. Collyridian. [r] Firmil. Ep. 75. ad Cypr. p. 223.

Sect. 6.
Two or three Sermons ſometimes in the ſame Aſſembly.

HAVING thus examined what Perſons were allowed to execute this Office, we are next to enquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may obſerve, That they had ſometimes two or three Sermons preached in the ſame Aſſembly, firſt by the Preſbyters, and then by the Biſhop, who uſually, when preſent, cloſed up this Part of the Service with his Paternal Exhortation. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [s] gives this Rule about it: When the *Goſpel* is read, let the Presbyters one by one, but not all, ſpeak the Word of Exhortation to the People, and laſt of all the Biſhop, who is the Governor or Pilot of the Ship. And that thus it was in the *Eaſtern* Churches, whoſe Cuſtoms that Author chiefly repreſents, appears evidently from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons, which he preached when he was Presbyter at *Antioch*. For in theſe he plainly ſpeaks of *Flavian* the Biſhop as deſigning to preach after him, whom he uſually complimented in ſome ſuch Form as this: It is now time [t] for me to keep Silence, that our Maſter may have time to ſpeak. And again [u], Let us remember theſe Things, and now attend to the more perfect Admonition of our good Maſter. It would be as endleſs, as it is needleſs, to relate all the Paſſages that [x] occur in *Chryſoſtom* or other Writers, ſuch as St. *Baſil*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Theodoret*, St. *Auſtin* [y] and St. *Jerom* [z], who particularly

[s] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 57. [t] Chryſ. Hom. 2. de Verbis Eſai. T. 3. p. 853. [u] Hom. 3. ibid. p. 864. [x] Hom. 31. de Philogonio. T. 1. p. 399. Hom. 48. de Romano. T. 1. p. 621. Hom. 53. de Pœnitentia. Tit. 1. p. 662. Hom. 59. de Babyla. p 721. Hom. 31. de Natali Chriſti. T. 5. p. 476. Hom. 47. & 66. ibid. Hom. in Pſal. 48. p. 813. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. [y] Baſil. Hom. 18. in Barlaam. Tom. 1. p. 443. Nyſſen. Orat. in ſui Ordinat. Tom. 2. p. 41. Theod. in 1 Cor. 14. 31. Aug. Ser. in Pſal. 94, & 95, & 131. [z] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

reflects upon the contrary Practice in ſome Churches, (meaning *Egypt* and *Africa*) where the Biſhops allowed none to preach but themſelves; which he thought was an indecent Contempt of their Presbyters, as if they either envied or diſdained to hear them; when yet the Apoſtolical Rule was, *If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his Peace: for ye may all prophecy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted,* 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31. When two or more Biſhops happened to be preſent in the ſame Aſſembly, it was uſual for ſeveral of them to preach one after another, reſerving the laſt Place for the moſt honourable Perſon; as St. *Jerom* [†] tells us, that *Epiphanius* and *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* preached together in the Church of *Jeruſalem*: And nothing was more common than this Practice at *Conſtantinople*, where a Multitude of Biſhops were often preſent to attend the Court, or adviſe with the Patriarch about the Affairs of the Church.

Sect. 7. *Sermons every Day in ſome Times and Places.*

IN ſome Places they had Sermons every Day, eſpecally in *Lent*, and the Feſtival Days of *Eaſter*. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s *Homilies* upon *Geneſis*, were preached in a running Courſe of two *Lents* one Day after another, as any one may perceive that peruſes them. His famous *Homilies de Statuis* were preached in *Lent* after the ſame manner. And it were eaſy to note ſome Scores of Paſſages in his other Sermons, eſpecially in his firſt, third and fifth Volumes [*a*] which make mention of their being preached ſucceſſively one Day after another.

St.

[†] Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. cap. 4. [*a*] Chryſ. T. 1. Hom. 9, 25, 32, 40, 42, 46, 49, 71. Tom. 3. in Pſal. 44, & 50. Hom. 1, 2, 4, & 5. de Verbis Eſaiæ. Tom. 5. Hom. 2. de Lazaro. Hom. 30, 34, 48, 56, 62, 63, &c.

St. *Jerom* [*b*] obſerves the ſame Practice among the Monks of *Egypt*, where it was cuſtomary every Day, after the Singing of the *Pſalms*, and Reading of the Scriptures, and Repeating of their Prayers, for the Father (that was the Title of the Presbyter that preſided over them) to make them a Sermon to elevate their Minds to the Contemplation of the Glory of the next World, which made every one of them, with a gentle Sigh, and Eyes liſt up to Heaven, to ſay within himſelf, *O that I had Wings like a Dove, for then would I flee away and be at Reſt! Pamphilus* in his Apology for *Origen*, relates the ſame Thing of him, that he was uſed to make Sermons *Extempore* almoſt every Day [*c*] to the People: And a Man cannot look into St. *Auſtin*'s *Homilies*, but he will find References made almoſt every where to the Sermon made *Heri, & Heſterno Die*, the Day before [*d*], which either denotes ſome Day in the weekly Courſe, or at leaſt ſome Feſtival of a Martyr. For the Feſtivals of the Martyrs were always kept with great Solemnity, and they never omitted to make a *Panegyrical Homily* upon thoſe Days, to excite the People to imitate the Virtue of the Martyrs. As appears from St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons *de Sanctis*, and Abundance throughout St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works upon ſuch [*e*] Occaſions. In *France* alſo *Cæſarius*

[*b*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap 15. Poſt horam nonam in commune concurritur, Pſalmi reſonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, &c.

[*c*] Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opera Orig. T. 1. p. 756. Tractatus pene Quotidie habebat in Eccleſia, &c. [*d*] Vid. Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 50. Serm. 2 in Pſal. 58. Serm. in Pſal. 63. Serm. 2, in Pſal. 68. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 70. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 90. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 101. & paſſim in Sermonibus de Tempore & de Sanctis.

[*e*] Chryſ. Tom. 1. Serm. 31. de Philogonio. Serm. 40. de Juventino. Et ſequentes de Pelagia, Ignatio, Romano, Melitio, Juliano, Luciano, Bernice, Euſtathio, &c. Aug. Serm. in Pſal. 81.

See alſo what has been obſerved before of their Preaching on Saturdays, *and the* Stationary Days, *in the former Book.*

ſarius the famous Biſhop of *Arles* preached almoſt every Day. For he is ſaid, by the Writer of [*f*] his Life, to have made *Homilies* to the People frequently both at Morning and Evening Prayer, that none of them might have the Excuſe of Ignorance to plead in their Behalf. And the Council of *Trullo* [*g*] has a Canon to promote this Practice.

Sect. 8. *Sermons twice a Day in many Places.*

AND this leads us to another Obſervation proper to be made in this Matter, which is, That in many Places they had Sermons twice a Day for the better Edification of the People. Mr. *Thorndike* [*h*] and *Hamon Leſtrange* [*i*], make a little Queſtion of this as to the Extent of the Practice. The former ſays, There are Examples of Preaching as well Evening as Morning in the ancient Church, but only at particular Times, and on particular Occaſions, and therefore he is not ſatisfied of any Rule or Cuſtom of the Church. The other ſays, The Cuſtom only prevailed at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where St. *Baſil* lived, and at *Cyprus*. St. *Baſil* preached ſome of his *Homilies* upon the *Hexameron* [*k*] at Evening Prayer. But he thinks *Socrates* [*l*] confines the Cuſtom to thoſe Places, becauſe he ſpeaks of it as a peculiar Uſage of thoſe Places to have Sermons made by Biſhops and Presbyters on *Saturdays* and *Sundays* at Candle-light in the Evening.

Biſhop

[*f*] Cyprian. Tolonenſis, Vit. Cæſarij. cap. 4. ap. Mabillon. de Curſu Gallicano. p. 404. Frequenter etiam ad Matutinos, & Lucernarium propter advenientes recitabat Homilias, ut nullus eſſet qui ſe de Ignorantia excuſaret. [*g*] Conc. Trullan. Can. 19. [*h*] Thorndike *of Religious Aſſemblies*, chap. 10. p. 405. [*i*] Leſtrange *of Divine Offices*, chap. 4. p. 98. [*k*] Vide Baſil. in Hexameron. Hom. 2. 7, 9. [*l*] Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 21.

Biſhop *Wettenhal* was of a different [*m*] Judgment: He thinks that in Cities and greater Churches, it was uſual for the Paſtors to preach on *Sundays* both Morning and Afternoon. And he ſupports his Opinion from ſeveral Teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtom*, who entitles one of his *Homilies* [*n*] *An Exhortation to thoſe who were aſhamed to come to Sermon after Dinner.* And in another [*o*] he inveighs againſt them who condemned his Uſage of Preaching after Dinner, as a new and ſtrange Cuſtom, telling them he had much more Reaſon to condemn that wicked Cuſtom then prevailing among ſome, to riſe from Table to ſleep. In another Place he defends his Practice from our SAVIOUR's long Sermon to his Diſciples after his laſt Supper [*p*]. And in another Homily preached to the People of *Antioch* [*q*], he highly commends them for coming to Church in the Afternoon in a full Audience. All theſe are cited by *Wettenhal*, to which may be added what he ſays in his *Homily of Satan's Temptations* [*r*], that the Biſhop attended his Sermons which he preached both Morning and Afternoon. For that Sermon was preached in the Afternoon the ſame Day that he had preached his Twenty-firſt Sermon to the newly Baptized, as he there expreſsly tells us. So again it appears that the fifteenth and nineteenth *Homilies* to the People of *Antioch* againſt Oaths, were preached on the ſame [*s*] Day. And his *Homily of bearing Reproof patiently*, was an Evening Sermon. For there [*t*] he thus addreſſes himſelf to the People. Be not weary, though the

[*m*] Wettenhal *Duty of Preaching*. chap. 3. p. 779. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 10. in Geneſ. [*o*] Hom. 1. de Lazaro. [*p*] Hom. 9. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 121. [*q*] Hom. 10. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 132. [*r*] Hom. 25. de Diabolo Tentatore. T. 1. p. 318, & 319. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 15. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 198. [*t*] Hom. 13. de ferendis Reprehen. T. 5. p. 194.

Evening now be come upon us. For all our Diſcourſe is in Defence of *Paul*, that *Paul*, who taught his Diſciples three Years Night and Day. In his *Homily* [*u*] upon *Elias and the Widow*, he ſays, One of his *Lent* Diſcourſes was broken off by the Evening coming upon them. And in one of his *Homilies* upon *Geneſis* [*x*], he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an Evening Sermon. For he makes this Apoſtrophe to the People: I am Expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your Eyes from me to the Lamps, and him that is lighting the Lamps. What Negligence is this, ſo to forſake me, and ſet your Minds on him? For I am lighting a Fire from the holy Scriptures, and in my Tongue is a burning Lamp of Doctrine. This is a greater and a better Light than that. For we do not ſet up a Light like that moiſtened with Oyl, but we inflame Souls that are watered with Piety, with a Deſire of Hearing. The whole Alluſion and Similitude ſhews, that he was Preaching an Evening Sermon, when Candles were lighting, which gave him the Hint to draw the Compariſon between the material Light of the Lamps, and the ſpiritual Light of the Scriptures. And in his third *Homily of Repentance* [*y*] to name no more, he ſays, He would continue his Diſcourſe to the Evening, ἕως ἑσπέρας, that he might finiſh the Subject he was then handling. From all which it is apparent, this was no occaſional Uſage in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Church, but his conſtant and ordinary Practice. And in the *Latin* Church we ſometimes meet with Examples of this Kind, though not ſo frequent. St. *Auſtin* not only preached every Day, but ſometimes twice on the ſame Day. As is evident from the

[*u*] Hom. 54, in Heliam & Viduam. T. 5. p. 722.
[*x*] Hom. 4. in Gen. T. 2. p. 902. [*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. de Pœnit. T. 4. p. 559.

the two Sermons on the lxxxviii[th] *Pſalm.* in the latter of which [z] he ſays, He had preached before in the Morning, and remained in their Debt for the Afternoon. *Gaudentius* alſo Biſhop of *Brixia* [a], ſpeaks of his having preached twice on the Vigil before *Eaſter.* And it is probable, the ſame Solemnity was obſerved in like manner in other Places. For at this Solemnity eſpecially they made a Diſtinction in their Sermons, Preaching one to the Catechumens, and another to the *Neophytes*, or Perſons newly baptized. As *Gaudentius* ſays in the ſame Place, that his ſecond Sermon was preached to the *Neophytes.* The like is ſaid by St. *Ambroſe* [b], and *Theodoret* [c], and St. *Auſtin* [d] as I have had Occaſion to ſhew in another Place in ſpeaking of the Diſtinction that was made [†] between the Catechumens and the Faithful: To the former they preached only upon moral Subjects, to the latter upon myſtical Points of Religion, and abſtruſer Articles of Faith. Therefore St. *Auſtin* [e] ſays in another Place, There were ſome Points which required more intent Auditors, and therefore the Preacher was not to haſten them, but defer them to another Opportunity. And in another *Homily* [f] upon *Eaſter Day*, he excuſes the

[z] Aug. Serm. 2. in Pſal. 88. Ad reliqua Pſalmi, de quo in Matutino locuti ſumus, animum intendite, & pium debitum exigite. [a] Gaudent. Tract. 4. Carnalem Judaicæ Paſchæ obſervantiam, ſpiritualibus Typis refertam, trino jam Tractatu docuimus; ſemel heſterno die, & bis in Vigiliis. It. Tract. 5. Oportebat in illa nocte Vigiliarum ſecundo Tractatu—— congrua Neophytis explanari. [b] Ambroſ. de iis qui Myſteriis initiantur. cap. 1. [c] Theod. Quæſt. 15. in Num. [d] Aug. Serm. 1. ad Neophytos. in Append. T. 10. p. 845. [†] Book I. Chap. iv. n. 8. [e] Aug. Tract. 62. in Joan. Intentior flagitatur auditor: Et ideo eum præcipitare non debet, ſed differre potius Diſputator. [f] Aug. Hom. 82. de Diverſis. Satis ſint vobis pauca iſta, quoniam & poſt laboraturi ſumus, & de Sacramentis altaris hodie Infantibus diſputandum eſt.

the Shortneſs of it, becauſe he was to preach again to the Infants, as they then called all Perſons newly baptized. *Cyril's Myſtical Catechiſms* were of this kind. And probably thoſe *Myſtical Homilies* of *Origen*, whereof he wrote two Books, mentioned by *Ruffin* [g] and St. *Jerom*, were of the ſame Nature. However, we have ſeen ſufficient Evidence otherwiſe for more Sermons than one upon the ſame Day upon many Occaſions.

Sect. 9. *Not ſo frequent in Country Villages.*

BUT this is chiefly to be underſtood of Cities and large Churches. For in the Country Pariſhes there was not ſuch frequent Preaching. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, They that lived in the City [h] enjoy'd continual Teaching; but they that dwelt in the Country, had not ſuch Plenty: Therefore God compenſated this Want of Teachers with a greater Abundance of Martyrs, and ſo ordered it, that more Martyrs lay buried in the Country, than in the City: Where though they could not hear the Tongues of their Teachers continually, yet they always heard the Voice of the Martyrs ſpeaking to them from their Graves, and that with greater Force of Eloquence and Perſuaſion, than living Teachers could do, as he there goes on after his manner to deſcribe it. There were ſometimes great Aſſemblies held at theſe Monuments of the Martyrs: For on their Anniverſary Feſtivals the whole City went forth to celebrate their Memorials in the Churches where they lay buried; as *Chryſoſtom* tells us both here and in other Places [i]: But at other Times their chief Reſort for Preaching was to the City-Churches. It was not till the Beginning of the ſixth Century, that Preaching

[g] Ruffin. Invect. 2. cont. Hieron. *cited by* Valeſius Not. in Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 24 [h] Chryſ. Hom. 65. de Martyribus. T. 5. p. 973. [i] Chryſ. Hom. 67. de S. Droſide. T. 5. p. 989, & 990.

Preaching was generally ſet up throughout the Country Pariſhes in the *French* Church: But about that Time an Order was made in the Council of *Vaiſon*, *An.* 529, That for the Edification of all the Churches, and the greater Benefit of the whole Body of the People, Presbyters ſhould have Power [*k*] to preach not only in the Cities, but in all the Country-Pariſhes: And if the Presbyter was infirm, a Deacon ſhould read one of the *Homilies* of the holy Fathers. So that in this Reſpect the State of the preſent Church may be reckoned happier than that of the ancient Church; ſince there is ſcarce a Country-Pariſh among us but has a Sermon preached every Lord's Day throughout the Year by a Presbyter or Deacon.

Sect. 10. *Of their different Ways of Preaching.*

THE next Thing to be obſerved, is, Their different Sorts of Sermons, and different Ways of Preaching. I I have already noted [*] ſome Difference to have been made between Sermons to the Catechumens, and Sermons to the Faithful; but that was chiefly in the Matter and Subject of them. What I obſerve here, relates more to the Manner and Method of Preaching, in which reſpect they were diſtinguiſhed into four Kinds. 1. Expoſitions of Scripture. 2. Panegyrical Diſcourſes upon the Saints and Martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular Times, Occaſions and Feſtivals. 4. Sermons upon particular Doctrines, and moral Subjects, to illuſtrate the Truth againſt Hereſy, and recommend the Practice of Virtue in Oppoſition to Immorality and Ungodlineſs. There

[*k*] Conc. Vaſenſ. 2. Can. 2. Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium Eccleſiarum, & pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non ſolum in Civitatibus, ſed etiam in omnibus Parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus Presbyteris poteſtatem, &c.

[*] *See before.* Num. 8.

There are Examples of all theſe Kinds in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s *Homilies*, the two great Standards and Patterns of Preaching in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. St. *Auſtin* has ſome *Homilies* upon whole Books of Scripture, as thoſe upon the *Pſalms*, and St. *Johns Goſpel*. He has others, ſtiled, *De Sanctis*, which are Panegyricks upon the Saints and Martyrs: Others, ſtiled, *De Tempore*, which are upon the Feſtivals and great Solemnities of the Church, ſuch as the *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Lent*, *Paſſion*, *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, and the *Lord's Days* throughout the Year; Others, ſtiled *De Diverſis*, which are a Miſcellany upon Doctrinal Points and Moral Subjects. So likewiſe in *Chryſoſtom*, we have his *Homilies* by Way of Expoſition on the whole Book of *Geneſis*, the *Pſalms*, the *Goſpels* of St. *Matthew* and St. *John*, and all St. *Paul's Epiſtles*. Then again, his Panegyricks upon the Saints and Martyrs; His *Homilies* upon the noted Feſtivals, *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, &c. and laſtly, his Moral and Doctrinal Diſcourſes upon various Subjects, Repentance, Faith, Charity, Humility, the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, the Divinity of CHRIST, and ſuch important Subjects, as the Occaſion of the Times, and the Oppoſition of *Jews*, *Gentiles* and *Hereticks* required him to Diſcourſe upon, in a plain and familiar Way to the People. His *Homilies* by Way of Expoſition of any Book of Scripture, uſually conſiſt but of two Parts, An Expoſition of ſome Portion of a Chapter, and an *Ethicon*, or Moral Concluſion upon ſome uſeful Subject, which the laſt Part of the Words expounded gave him the Hint or Occaſion to Diſcourſe upon. But his other *Homilies* are commonly introduced with an uſeful *Preface*, not relating always to the Subject that was to follow, but ſuch as the Occaſional Neceſſities of his Auditory, either in Matters of Reproof or Commendation ſeemed to require. But in both theſe Ways, he ſtill excelled

excelled in this, That he always expounded the Scripture in its moſt natural and genuine Senſe (not giving way to Tropological Deſcants, as too many others did) and made ſuch uſeful Obſervations and Reflections upon it, as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his Hearers with the ſtrongeſt Reaſoning, and utmoſt Force of divine Eloquence, becoming the Seriouſneſs and Gravity of a Chriſtian Orator. 'Tis a juſt Character, which a late Learned Critick [*l*] gives him, and therefore I think it not improper here to tranſcribe it for the Encouragement of all young Students to read him. "His Elo-
"quence is popular, and very proper for Preaching;
"his Stile is natural, eaſy and grave; he equally
"avoids Negligence and Affectation; he is neither
"too plain, nor too florid; He is Smooth, yet not
"Effeminate; he uſes all the Figures that are uſual
"to good Orators very properly, without employ-
"ing falſe Strokes of Wit; and he never introduces
"into his Diſcourſes any Notions of Poets or Pro-
"phane Authors; neither does he divert his Audi-
"tory with Jeſts. His Compoſition is noble, his
"Expreſſions elegant, his Method juſt, and his
"Thoughts Sublime; he ſpeaks like a good Father,
"and a good Paſtor; he often directs his Words to
"the People, and expreſſes them with a Tenderneſs
"and Charity becoming an holy Biſhop; he
"teaches the Principal Truths of Chriſtianity with
"a wonderful Clearneſs, and diverts with a marvel-
"lous Art, and an agreable Way of Ranging his
"Notions, and perſuades by the ſtrength and ſoli-
"dity of his Reaſons; his Inſtructions are eaſy,
"his Deſcriptions and Relations pleaſant; his In-
"ducements ſo meek and inſinuating, that one is
"pleaſed to be ſo perſuaded; his Diſcourſes, how
"long

[*l*] Du Pin Bibliothec. Vol. 3. p. 34.

" long ſoever, are not tedious, there are ſtill ſome " new Things that keep the Reader awake, and yet " he hath no falſe Beauties nor uſeleſs Figures; his " only Aim is to convert his Auditors, or to inſtruct " them in neceſſary Truths; he neglects all Re- " flections that have more of Subtilty than Profit; " he never buſies himſelf to reſolve hard Queſtions, " nor to give Myſtical Senſes, to make a ſhew of " his Wit or Eloquence; He ſearches not into My- " ſteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; " he is contented to propoſe, after an eaſy Way, " palpable and ſenſible Truths, which none can be " ignorant of without danger of failing of Salvation; " he particularly applies himſelf to Moral Heads, " and very ſeldom handleth Speculative Truths; " he affects not to appear Learned, and never boaſts " of his Erudition; and yet whatever the Subject " be, he ſpeaks with Terms ſo ſtrong, ſo proper, " and ſo well choſen, that one may eaſily perceive " he had a profound Knowledge of all ſorts of Mat- " ters, and particularly of true Divinity." This is the Character which that judicious Critick gives that famous and eloquent Preacher: and he that will diligently peruſe his *Homilies* (eſpecially thoſe of his Iſt. and Vth. Volumes, which contain his moſt elaborate Diſcourſes, as alſo thoſe on St. *Matthew*, St. *John*, and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, where he excels in his Moral Applications) will find his Sermons to anſwer the Character that is given of them, only making ſome Allowances for the different Way and Method then uſed, not ſo agreeable to the Model of Sermons in the preſent Age. I had once ſome Thoughts of Publiſhing a Volume of his ſelect Diſcourſes, which I tranſlated for my own Entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other Studies for a whole Year: but becauſe they are not altogether of the preſent Stamp, and many Men have

have a different Taſte and Reliſh of Things, I chuſe rather to encourage Men to read them in the Original, where they may ſelect what they find proper for their Uſe or Imitation. As for thoſe who can endure to read nothing but what is either Modern, or dreſſed up in the Modern Dreſs, I neither court them to read *Chryſoſtom*, nor any other ancient Father; but to others, who can be at Pains to peruſe, and judiciouſly ſelect the Beauties of Stile, the Strains of Piety, and the Flights of divine and manly Eloquence, that almoſt every where diſplay themſelves in this Author, I dare venture to ſay, they will never think their Time loſt, nor find themſelves wholly diſappointed in their Expectation. St. *Baſil*'s *Homilies* come the neareſt to St. *Chryſoſtoms* in ſolidity of Matter, beauty of Stile, ingenuity of Thought, and ſharpneſs and vivacity of Expreſſion. A Vein of Piety runs equally through them both, and by ſome St. *Baſil*'s are reckoned to come nearer to the Attick Purity and Perfection. Next after theſe, the two *Gregories*, *Nyſſen* and *Nazianzen*, are eſteemed the greateſt Maſters of divine Eloquence; though the latter is rather luxuriant and tedious by his too frequent and long Similitudes and Digreſſions. Thoſe of *Ephrem Syrus* were alſo of great Repute in the Ancient Church, having the Honour to be read as Leſſons after the reading of the Scriptures in many Churches, as has been noted before out of St. *Jerom* [*m*]. They are highly commended by *Sozomen* [*n*] and *Photius* [*o*] for the beauty of their Stile and ſublime Thoughts, which were not wholly loſt by being tranſlated out of *Syriack* into *Greek*. *Gregory Nyſſen* [*p*] is more copious in his Praiſe, and he particularly

[*m*] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115. [*n*] Sozom. Lib. 3. cap. 16. [*o*] Phot. Cod. 196. [*p*] Nyſſen. Vit. Ephrem Syri. T. 3. p. 603.

ticularly obſerves, that his Diſcourſes of Morality were ſo full of compaſſionate and affecting Expreſſions, that they were able to move the hardeſt Heart. For who that is proud, ſays he, would not become the humbleſt of Men, by reading his Diſcourſe of Humility? Who would not be inflamed with a divine Fire, by reading his Treatiſe of Charity? Who would not wiſh to be chaſte in Heart and Spirit by reading the Praiſes he has given to Virginity? Who would not be frighted, to hear the Diſcourſe he has made upon the laſt Judgment, wherein he has repreſented it ſo lively, that nothing can be added to it but the real Appearance of Judgment itſelf? This is a Character that would tempt any Man to look into them: 'tis diſputed now among the Criticks, Whether theſe *Homilies* that go under his Name, be his genuine Offſpring? Some utterly reject them, and they who ſay moſt in their Defence, own that they may have loſt ſomething of their native Beauty and Majeſty, by being tranſlated firſt out of *Syriack* into *Greek*, and then out of *Greek* into *Latin*. And therefore I will not ſo confidently aſſert, they deſerve the Character which *Gregory Nyſſen* gives of thoſe that were ſo much admired in his Time. As for thoſe of *Origen*, and others who followed him, though they have ſome Flights of Rhetorick, and a Vein of Piety in them, yet they are ſo full of Allegorical and Tropological Interpretations, that they are neither good *Expoſitions*, nor good *Homilies*, and fall far ſhort of the Majeſty and Simplicity of thoſe of *Chryſoſtom*. Among the *Latins*, thoſe few moral Diſcourſes we have of *Cyprian's*, whether *Homilies* or *Treatiſes*, are excellent in their Kind. And ſo are many of St. *Auſtin's*, and St. *Ambroſe*, and *Leo the Great*, and *Petrus Ravennas*, who for his Eloquence had the Name of *Chryſologus*, or the *Latin Chryſoſtom*; though his Eloquence is of a different

different Kind, being more like that of *Seneca*, than of *Tully* or *Demoſthenes*, whom *Chryſoſtom* copied after.

Sect. 11. *Of* Extempore *Diſcourſes frequent among the Ancients.*

BUT of all theſe we muſt obſerve another Diſtinction, That though many of them were ſtudied and elaborate Diſcourſes, penned and compoſed before hand, yet ſome were alſo *Extempore*, ſpoken without any previous Compoſition, and taken from their Mouths by the ταχυγεάφοι, or Men who underſtood the Art of writing Short-hand in the Church. *Origen* was the firſt that began this Way of Preaching in the Church. But *Euſebius* [q] ſays, he did it not till he was above ſixty Years old, at which Age, having got a confirmed Habit of Preaching by continual Uſe and Exerciſe, he ſuffered the ταχυγεάφοι, or Notaries, to take down his Sermons which he made to the People, which he would never allow before. *Pamphilus* in his Apology [r] for *Origen*, ſpeaks the Matter a little more plainly: For he makes it an Inſtance of his Sedulity in Studying and Preaching the Word of GOD, That he not only compoſed a great number of laborious Treatiſes upon it, but preached almoſt every Day *Extempore* Sermons in the Church, which were taken from his Mouth by the Notaries, and ſo conveyed to Poſterity by that Means only. The *Catechetical Diſcourſes* of St. *Cyril*, are ſuppoſed to

[q] Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 36. [r] Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opera Origen. T. 1. p. 756. Quod præ cæteris Verbo Dei & Doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non eſt & ex his quæ ad nos laboris & ſtudij ejus certiſſima deſignantur Indicia: Præcipue vero per eos Tractatus, quos pene Quotidie in Eccleſia habebat Extempore, quos & deſcribentes Notarij ad monimentum Poſteritatis tradebant. *Dr.* Cave *reckons his* Homilies *upon* Gen. Exod. Levit. *and* Numbers, *to be all* Extempore. Vid. Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. 1. p. 78.

be of this Kind: For at the Beginning of every one almoſt, it is ſaid in the Title to be, χεδιαδῆσα, which *Suidas* and other Criticks expound, *An Extempore Diſcourſe*. St. *Jerom* ſays, *Pierius* thus expounded the Scripture. [s] St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo ſometimes uſed this Way of Preaching, being of a ready Invention and fluent Tongue. *Sozomen* [t] ſays, After his Return from Baniſhment, the People were ſo deſirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up into the Epiſcopal Throne, and make an *Extempore* Diſcourſe to them, which is now extant [u] in his ſecond Tome in *Latin*. *Suidas* alſo gives him this Character [x], That he had a Tongue flowing like the Cataracts of *Nile*, whereby he ſpake many of his *Panegyricks* upon the Martyrs *Extempore*, without any Heſitation. And it appears from ſeveral of his Sermons, that he often took Occaſion in the Middle of a Diſcourſe from ſome accidental Hint that was caſually given, to turn his Eloquence from the Subject in hand, and make ſome *Extempore* Apoſtrophe to the People, either of Praiſe and Commendation, or of Reproof and Correction, as the Occaſion of the Thing required, as in that Sermon we have already mentioned, *n.* 8. where he takes Occaſion, from the Peoples turning their Eyes to ſee the lighting of the Candles, to reprove their Negligence [y] in turning away their Attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater Light from the Holy Scriptures. And there are many other ſuch Apoſtrophes and Occaſional Reflections throughout his *Homilies*, which muſt needs be *Extempore*, becauſe the Occaſion of them could not be foreſeen, being they

[s] Hieron. Procem. in Hoſea. [t] Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 18.
[u] Chryſ. Sermo poſt Reditum. T. 2. p. 49. in Appendice.
[x] Suidas, Voce, Joannes. T. 1. p. 1258. τὰς τῆς μυρίνης ἢ παιηγύρεις ἐπηύξησεν ἐν τῷ χεδιάζειν ἀνεμποδίσως, &c.
[y] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Gen. T. 2. p. 902.

they were pure Contingencies, and Things altogether accidental. But *Chryſoſtom* was not the only Man, whoſe Fluency inabled him to make *Extempore* Diſcourſes. For *Ruffin* ſpeaking in Praiſe of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Baſil*, ſays, There were ſeveral of their Sermons extant [z], which they ſpake *Extempore* in the Church, Twenty of which he himſelf had tranſlated into *Latin*. *Socrates* gives the ſame Account of *Atticus*, That though whilſt he was a Presbyter, he was uſed to preach compoſed and ſtudied Sermons, yet afterwards by Induſtry and continued Exerciſe having gained Confidence and a Freedom or Fluency of Speaking, he preached *Extempore* to the People [a]: And his Sermons were ſo well received by his Auditors, that they took them down in Writing. *Sozomen* indeed, gives a different Account of them: For he ſays [b], His Performances were ſo mean, that though they had a Mixture of heathen Learning in them, yet his Auditors did not think 'em worth Writing. However, they both ſeem to agree in this, That whatever Characters they bare, they were *Extempore* Diſcourſes. *Sidonius Apollinaris* [c] ſeems to give the like Account of *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez* in *France*: For he ſays [c], Some of his Diſcourſes were *Repentinæ*, and others *Elucubratæ*, that is, the one ſpoken off-hand, and the others elaborate and ſtudied. And there is nothing more certain, than that St. *Auſtin* did often uſe the *Extempore* Way. For he ſometimes preached upon

[z] Ruffin. Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 9. Extant quoque utriuſque ingenij monimenta magnifica Tractatuum, quos extempore in Eccleſiis declamabant, &c. [a] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 2.

[b] Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 27. [c] Sidon. Lib. 9. Ep 3. ad Fauſtum Regienſem. Licet Prædicationes tuas, nunc Repentinas, nunc, cum Ratio popoſcerit, Elucubratas, raucus plauſor audierim, &c. Gennadius de Scriptor. cap. 40. *gives the ſame Account of* Maximus Taurinenſis.

Places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the Church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither. Of which we have an undeniable Inſtance in one of his *Homilies* [*d*], where he tells us, he was determined to preach upon a certain *Pſalm* about Repentance, which he thought nothing of before the Reader chanced to read it of his own Accord in the Church. And in another Place he tells us [*e*], When he had appointed the Reader to read a certain *Pſalm*, upon which he intended to preach, the Reader in ſome Hurry read another in its Room; and this obliged him to preach an *Extempore* Sermon upon that *Pſalm* that was ſo accidentally read in the Church. *Poſſidius* alſo in his Life mentions a Sermon, wherein he left his Subject that he was diſcourſing upon, to diſpute againſt the *Manichees*, which he had no Thoughts [*f*] to have done when he firſt began to preach; But he reckoned it was the Providence of GOD that directed him ſo to do, to cure the Error of ſome latent *Manichee* in the Congregation. And it is very probable, that many of his Sermons upon the *Pſalms* were *Extempore*, becauſe he ſo often uſes the Phraſe, *Quantum Deus donaverit*, as GOD ſhould inable him to ſpeak: Which ſeems to imply, that he ſpake without any previous Study or Compoſition. It is evident his Sermon on the lxxxvi *Pſalm*, was of this Kind: For he ſays, he would explain it [*g*] as GOD ſhould inable him, ſeeing it was appointed by his holy Father the Biſhop then preſent: But ſuch a ſudden

[*d*] Aug. Serm. 27. ex 50. T. 10. p. 175. *See before* Book XIV. Chap. i. n. 6. [*e*] Aug. in Pſal. 138. p. 650. [*f*] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. cap. 15. [*g*] Aug. in Pſal. 86. p. 390. Hic nobis, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum veſtra Charitate tractandus modo eſt, propoſitus à Beatiſſimo præſente Patre noſtro. Repentina propoſitio me gravaret, niſi me continuò prodonentis ſublevaret Oratio.

ſudden Appointment would have been an Oppreſſion, were it not that the Prayers of the Proponent gave him continual Aſſiſtance. For indeed they looked upon it as ſo neceſſary a Work to preach continually, that when they had not Time to compoſe beforehand, they doubted not but that the Grace of GOD, and a peculiar Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, would concur with their honeſt Endeavours in ſuch ſudden Undertakings. Nay, *Gregory the Great*, who alſo uſed this Way in Explaining ſome of the moſt difficult Books of Scripture, as particularly *Ezekiel*, ſcruples [*b*] not to ſay, That he often found thoſe obſcure Places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private Study, to flow in upon his Underſtanding when he was Preaching in publick to his Brethren.

Sect. 12. *What meant by Preaching by the Spirit.*

AND in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, both in Compoſing and Preaching their Sermons. Thus *Chryſoſtom* [*i*] ſays in one of his Sermons, when he had the Happineſs to ſee a large Auditory and a Table well furniſhed with Gueſts, that then he expected the Grace of the Spirit to ſound in his Mind. In another [*k*], I do not think that I ſpake thoſe Words of myſelf, but GOD that Foreſaw what would happen, put thoſe Words into my Mind. And again [*l*], ſpeaking of the Preaching of *Flavian* his Biſhop, he ſays, It was

[*b*] Greg. magn. Hom. 14. in Ezek. p. 1144. Non hoc temeritate aggredior, ſed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa in ſacro Eloquio, quæ ſolus intelligere non potui, coram Fratribus meis poſitus intellexi, &c. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 23. de Verbis Apoſt. Habentes eandem Fidem, &c. T. 5. p. 331. προσδοκῶ τὴν τὸ πνεύματος χάριν ἐπιχῆσαι ἡμῶν τῇ διανοίᾳ.

[*k*] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 3.

[*l*] Hom. 2. de Verbis Eſaiæ. T. 2. p. 331.

not humane Thought that poured forth his Diſcourſe, but the Grace of the Holy Spirit: As it was not the Nature of the Vine, but the Power of CHRIST that made the Water Wine. St. *Auſtin* alſo often ſpeaks of ſuch Illapſes and Aſſiſtances of the Spirit in Preaching: Which he ſometimes calls the Gift of GOD [*m*], ſometimes the Revelation of the Spirit [*n*]; and ſometimes the Help of GOD, and his Divine Aſſiſtance. In one place more particularly, ſpeaking of his Unwillingneſs to preach before certain Biſhops when he was but young, he brings them in making this Anſwer: If thou art in Want of Words, *Aſk and it ſhall be given* [*o*] *thee: for it is not ye that ſpeak*, but ye miniſter what is given unto you. If a Man would diſingenuouſly interpret theſe and the like Expreſſions of the Ancients, he might make them ſeem to countenance that Preaching by the Spirit, which ſome ſo vainly boaſt of, as if they ſpake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the Apoſtles, by extraordinary Inſpiration. Which were to ſet every *Extempore*, as well as compoſed Diſcourſe upon the ſame Level of Infallibility with the *Goſpel*. Which Sort of Enthuſiaſm the Ancients never dream'd of. For notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit they ſpeak of, they always put a wide Difference between the Apoſtles Preaching and their own, ſtiling the one infallible and authentick, as we have heard before

[*m*] Aug. Serm. 17. de Verbis Apoſt. T. 10. p. 132. Donante illo, &c. Et paſſim Sermon. in Pſalmos, 34. 96. [*n*] Aug. Serm. 15. de Verb. Apoſt. Ut ea quæ ille nobis revelare dignatur, ad vos apte & ſalubriter proferre poſſimus. Vid. ibid. Serm. 14. & 15. [*o*] Aug. Serm. 46. de Tempore. T. 10. p. 240. Si Sermo deeſt, pete & accipies. Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini: Sed quod datur vobis, hoc miniſtratis nobis. It. de Doctrina Chriſti. Lib. 4. cap. 15. *he has more to the ſame Purpoſe.*

fore [p] out of St. *Auſtin* and others, and themſelves only fallible Expoſitors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary Aſſiſtance which Men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit with their honeſt Endeavours, as a Bleſſing upon their Studies and Labours; that whilſt they were piouſly ingaged in his Service, GOD would not be wanting to them in ſuch Aſſiſtance as was proper for their Work, eſpecially if they humbly asked it with Sincerity by fervent ſupplication and Prayer.

Sect. 13. *What ſort of Prayers they uſed before Sermons, and in, and after them.*

AND upon this Account it was uſual for the Preacher many times to uſher in his Diſcourſe with a ſhort Prayer for ſuch divine Aſſiſtance, and alſo to move the People to pray for him. St. *Auſtin* in the aforeſaid *Homily* having mentioned the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit, immediately adds, Whither ſhall I betake my ſelf, thus violently preſſed in theſe Straits, but to the Footſtool of Charity, or Grace of the Holy Spirit? And to That I make [q] now my Supplication, that he would grant me Ability to ſpeak ſomething worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my Miniſtry, and ſatisfy your Deſire. And in his Book of Inſtructions of the Chriſtian Orator [r], where he preſcribes

[p] Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. *See before in this Chap.* n. 1.

[q] Aug. Hom. 46. de Tempore. His coarctatus anguſtiis, quo me conferam, niſi ad ſancta Veſtigia Charitatis? Eamque deprecor, ut donet mihi aliquid dignum de ſe dicere, quo & meum Miniſterium, & Veſtrum ſatiem Deſiderium. Vid. Hom. 51. de Diverſis. [r] De Doctrin. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 15. Noſter Eloquens, orando pro ſe, ac pro illis quos eſt allocuturus, ſit Orator antequam Dictor. al. Doctor. Ipſa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priuſquam exerat proferentem Linguam, ad Deum levet animam ſitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. &c.

ſcribes many excellent Rules for Preaching, he lays down this among others, that the Chriſtian Orator ſhould pray both for himſelf and others before he begins to Teach; that he may be able to ſpeak thoſe Things that are Holy, Juſt, and Good; and that his Auditors may hear him with Underſtanding, with Willingneſs, and with an Obedient heart. To this End, before he looſes his Tongue to ſpeak, he ſhould lift up his thirſting Soul to GOD, that he may be able to diſcharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himſelf. And this the rather, becauſe both We and all our Words are in the Hand of GOD, who teaches us both what to ſpeak, and after what Manner to ſpeak. And therefore though Eccleſiaſtical Men ought to learn what they are to Teach, and to get the Faculty of Speaking; yet when the Hour of Speaking comes, they ſhould imagine that what Our LORD ſays [s], belongs to every good Soul: *Take no thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak, for it ſhall be given to you in that Hour what ye ſhall ſpeak: for it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father that ſpeaketh in you.* If therefore the Holy Spirit ſpeak in them, who are delivered up to Perſecutors for the Name of CHRIST, why ſhould he not alſo ſpeak in thoſe who preach CHRIST to them that are diſpoſed to learn him? I have related this Paſſage at length, both becauſe it ſhews us, to what Degree they depended on the Spirits Aſſiſtance in Preaching, and alſo what ſort of

[s] Ibid. Ad horam vero ipſius Dictionis illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire quod Dominus ait: Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini: Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed Spiritus Patris veſtri qui loquitur in vobis. Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus qui perſequentibes traduntur pro Chriſto, cur non & in eis qui tradunt diſcentibus Chriſtum?

of Prayers thoſe were which they commonly made before Sermon: *viz.* not the Common Prayers of the Church, (as ſome miſtake, who meaſure all Uſages of the ancient Church by the Cuſtoms of the preſent) but theſe ſhort Prayers for the Aſſiſtance and Conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the People in Speaking and Hearing. And wherever we meet with any mention of Prayer before Sermon, it is to be underſtood only of this ſhort ſort of Prayers, in ancient Writers. Such as that of St. *Auſtin*'s in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Pſalms*, which begins with theſe Words: Attend to the *Pſalm*, and the LORD [*t*] grant us Ability to open the Myſteries that are contained in it. He begins another thus: My Lords and Brethren, (meaning the Biſhops then preſent) and the LORD of all by them, have commanded me to diſcourſe upon this *Pſalm*, that you may underſtand it [*u*] ſo far as the LORD ſhall grant us Underſtanding. And may he by you Prayers aſſiſt me, that I may ſpeak ſuch Things as I ought to ſpeak, and ſuch as ye ought to hear: that the Word of GOD may be profitable to us all. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand St. *Chryſoſtom*, when he ſays, we muſt firſt [*x*] pray, and then preach. So St. *Paul* does, praying in the Prefaces of his Epiſtles, that the Light of Prayer, as the Light of a Candle, may lead the way to his Diſcourſes. Such is that Prayer, which

[*t*] Aug. in Pſal. 91. p. 417. Attendite ad Pſalmum: Det nobis Dominus aperire myſteria quæ hic continentur.

[*u*] In Pſal. 139. Juſſerunt Domini fratres, & in ipſis Dominus omnium, ut ipſum Pſalmum afferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus veſtris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere & vos audire: uti omnibus nobis ſit utilis ſermo divinus.

[*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 28. de Incomprehenſibili Dei Natura T. 1. p. 363. πρέπειον ἐυχὴ καὶ τότε λόγῳ, &c.

which St. *Ambroſe* [*y*] is ſaid to uſe before his Sermons: *I beſeech thee, O Lord, and earneſtly intreat thee, Give me an humble Knowledge, which may edify; Give me a meek and prudent Eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt it ſelf upon its own Worth and Endowments above its Brethren. Put into my Mouth, I beſeech thee, the Word of Conſolation, and Edification, and Exhortation, that I may be able to exhort thoſe that are Good to go on to greater Perfection, and reduce thoſe that walk perverſely to the Rule of thy Righteouſneſs, both by my Word and by my Example. Let the Words, which thou giveſt to thy Servant, be as the ſharpeſt Darts and burning Arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the Minds of my Hearers to thy Fear and Love.* But this ſeems rather to have been a private Prayer of St. *Ambroſe* between GOD and himſelf, as Biſhop *Wettenhal* [*z*] and Mr. *Thorndike* [†] underſtand it: Who yet are miſtaken in one Thing, when they ſuppoſe that the Common Prayers of the Church came before the Sermon, and that there were no other Prayers before Sermon but thoſe: For nothing is more certain, than that the Common Prayers did not begin till the Sermon was ended; and yet there were ſuch ſhort Prayers for Grace and Aſſiſtance, as we are ſpeaking of, peculiarly adapted to the Buſineſs of Preaching and Hearing, and not reſpecting any other Subject. And ſometimes the Peoples Prayers were required to be joyned with them, as appears

[*y*] Ambroſ. Orat. ap. Ferrarium de Concionib. Veter. Lib. 1. cap. 8. Obſecro Domine, & ſuppliciter rogo, da mihi ſemper humilem Scientiam, quæ ædificet, ad mitiſſimam ſapientem Eloquentiam, quæ neſciat inflari, & de ſuis bonis ſuper Fratres extolli, &c.

[*z*] Wettenhal. *Gift of Prayer.* Chap. 4. p. 116.

[†] Thorndike's *Juſt Weights and Meaſures*, Chap. 16.

pears from that of St. *Auſtin* [*a*] in one of his *Homilies* upon the *Pſalms*, where he deſires the People to aſſiſt him with their Prayers to the LORD, That He would grant him Ability to explain the latent Myſteries and Difficulties of the *Pſalms*, as well for their Sakes as his own. In *Origen*'s *Homilies* upon *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Kings*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel* and St. *Luke*, there are Abundance of ſuch ſhort Prayers, not only in the Beginning of his Diſcourſes, but ſometimes alſo in the Middle of them, when any more abſtruſe Paſſage of Scripture preſented itſelf to Conſideration; and generally in the Cloſe, he makes another ſuch ſhort Prayer in a few Words ſuitable to the Subject; ſometimes Praying for himſelf and the People, and ſometimes exhorting them to pray for themſelves and him. All which being produced at large in a noted Book of Mr. *Daille*'s [*b*], I ſhall not think it needful to tranſcribe them in this Place. But I cannot omit to obſerve, That as St. *Auſtin* often began his Sermon with a ſhort Prayer, ſo he uſually ended it with another of the like Nature. The Forms of which are ſome of them now to be found at the End of ſeveral of his *Homilies*. In ſome of them [*c*] we have this Form at length, *Let us now turn to the Lord God our Father, Almighty, with a pure Heart, and give him Thanks with all our Might, beſeeching his Singular Clemency, with our whole Soul, That of his good Pleaſure He would vouchſafe to hear our Prayers; That He would drive away the Enemy from all*

[*a*] Aug. in Pſal. 147. p. 699. Aſſit ergo nobis apud Dominum Deum noſtrum iſte affectus Precum veſtrarum: Etſi non propter nos, certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod hic abſconditum latet. Vid. Homil. 50. de Diverſis. Orate ut poſſimus, &c. [*b*] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Relig. Lib. 3. cap. 13. [*c*] Aug. Serm. 30. de Verb. Dom. T. 10. Et Serm. 102. de Diverſis. & 120. Et Serm. 18. ex editis a Sirmondo.

all our Thoughts and Actions by His Power; That He would increaſe our Faith, govern our Minds, grant us ſpiritual Thoughts, and conduct us to everlaſting Happineſs, through Jeſus Chriſt his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the Unity of the Holy Ghoſt, One God, World without End. Amen. And in many other *Homilies* this Prayer is referred to as a known Form [*d*] uſed frequently by him in the Cloſe of his Sermons. *Converſi ad Dominum*, &c. But he ſometimes varied and ſhortned this Form, as the Matter of his Sermon required. Thus in his long Sermon upon the Reſurrection [*e*], having ſaid, That the Saints in the next World will keep a perpetual Sabbath, and have nothing to do but to ſing *Allelujah*; and applying the Words of the *Pſalmiſt* to this Purpoſe, *Bleſſed are they that dwell in Thy Houſe, for they will be always praiſing Thee*; he concludes his Sermon with this Prayer: *Let us turn to the Lord, and beſeech Him for ourſelves, and all the People that ſtand with us in the Courts of his Houſe: Which Houſe may He vouchſafe to preſerve and protect, through Jeſus Chriſt his Son, our Lord, who liveth, and reigneth with Him, World without End.* Amen. In another of his *Homilies* (a Fragment of which is cited by *Sirmond* [*f*] as it is preſerved in *Eugippius*'s Collections out of St. *Auſtin*'s Works) he has another Form in theſe Words: *Let us turn to the Lord, and bleſs his Name, that we may have Grace to perſevere in his Commandments, to walk in the Way of his Inſtructions, and pleaſe Him in every good Work*, &c. From

[*d*] Aug. de Verb. Dom. 1. 5. 7. 8. 10. 14. 31. 32. 37. 40. & paſſim Homiliis de Diverſis. [*e*] De Diverſ. Ser. 121.

[*f*] Fragment. Homil. ex Eugippii Theſauro. Lib. 2. cap. 288. ap. Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Homil. 18. a ſe edit. Audiſtis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico, Converſi ad Dominum benedicamus nomen ejus, de nobis perſeverare in mandatis ſuis, ambulare in via Eruditionis ſuæ, placere illi in omni opere bono. &c. ne vos ſine cauſa Amen ſubſcribatis.

From all which it is manifeſt, they uſed ſuch ſhort Prayers both in the Beginning and Concluſion of their Sermons, and ſometimes, as Occaſion required, in the Middle of them alſo, and that theſe were diſtinct from the Common Prayers of the Church.

Sect. 14. *The Salutation,* Pax vobis, *The Lord be with you, commonly uſed before Sermons.*

BEFORE they began to preach, it was uſual alſo in many Places, to uſe the common Salutation, *Pax vobis, Peace be unto you,* or, *The Lord be with you,* which was the uſual Preface and Introduction to all holy Offices, to which the People anſwered, *And with thy Spirit.* This the Author of the *Conſtitutions* calls, *πρόσρησιν,* the *Salutation,* giving this Rule to the Biſhop newly ordained: After the Reading of the *Law,* and the *Prophets,* and the *Epiſtles,* and the *Acts,* and the *Goſpels,* let him [g] ſalute the Church, ſaying, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God the Father, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all:* And let all the People anſwer, *And with thy Spirit:* And after this Salutation, *μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν,* let him ſpeak to the People the Words of Exhortation. And that this Author did not impoſe any new Cuſtom upon the Church, appears from *Chryſoſtom,* who in ſeveral of his *Homilies* makes mention of it. In his third *Homily* upon the *Coloſſians,* he ſays, The Biſhop when he firſt entred the Church, ſaid, *Peace be unto you all;* and when he began [h] to preach, *Peace be unto you all.* And a little before he ſays, the Biſhops uſed it, *ἐν ταῖς πρῤῥήσεσι,* by which he means their Sermons, or at leaſt, the Form of Salutation itſelf uſhering in the Sermon, as we have ſeen the Author of the *Conſtitutions* underſtands it.

Chryſoſtom

[g] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 5. ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου. &c. [h] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338. ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, λέγει εἰρήνη πᾶσιν. &c.

Chryſoſtom [*i*] adds, That the People returned the Salutation of Peace to him that gave it, ſaying, *And with thy Spirit.* In another Place he ſays, Nothing is comparable to Peace and Unity: And for this Reaſon the Father, the Biſhop, when he enters the Church, before he goes up to his Throne, prays for Peace to all; and when he riſes up to preach, he does not begin to Diſcourſe [*k*] before he has given the Peace to all. In other Places he opens the Reaſon of this Practice by declaring the original Intent and Deſign of it. For, he ſays, it was an ancient Cuſtom in the Apoſtle's Days, when the Rulers of the Church had the Gift of Inſpiration, and ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt, for the People to ſay to the Preacher, *Peace be with thy Spirit*: Therefore now when we begin to preach [*l*], the People anſwer, *And with thy Spirit*: Shewing, that heretofore they ſpake not by their own Wiſdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit. And though this Gift of extraordinary Inſpiration was ceaſed, yet all Preachers ſtill were preſumed to be under the Conduct and Aſſiſtance of the Spirit in a lower Degree: And therefore he ſays [*m*] in another Place, That the Holy Ghoſt was in their common Father and Teacher, meaning the Biſhop, when he went up into the Epiſcopal Throne, and gave the Peace to them all, and they with one Voice anſwered, *And with thy Spirit.* And this, not only when he went into his Throne, but alſo when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he ſtood by the Holy Table to offer the Oblation. And by this we may underſtand

[*i*] Ibid. p. 1339. ἀνταδόντες τῷ δεδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην. &c.

[*k*] Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713. ἀναβὰς δὲ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπεύξηται. [*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. [*m*] Hom. 36. de Pentecoſt. T. 5. p. 553.

underſtand what *Sozomen* [*n*] and others ſay of *Chryſoſtom* after his Return from Baniſhment, that the People forced him againſt his Will, before he was Synodically re-inſtated, to go up into the Throne, and give them the Peace in the uſual Form, and preach to them. *Optatus* ſpeaks of the ſame Cuſtom in *Africk* both in the Beginning and End of their Sermons. For he ſays [*o*], they uſed a double Salutation: The Biſhop never began to ſpeak to the People, before he had firſt ſaluted them in the Name of GOD. Every Sermon in the Church began in the Name of God, and ended in the Name of the ſame GOD. And by this he proves, that *Macarius*, the Emperor's Officer, did not take upon him the Office of a Biſhop among the *Catholicks*, as the *Donatiſts* falſely objected againſt them. For though he ſpake to the People in the Church, yet it was upon ſome other Buſineſs, and not by Way of Preaching, which was the Office of Biſhops, which they always began and ended with this Salutation: But *Macarius* uſed no ſuch Salutation: And from thence he argues that he did not preach. *Bona* [*p*] cites alſo *Athanaſius*'s Epiſtle to *Euſtathius*, where he inveighs againſt the *Arian* Biſhops, who in the Beginning of their Sermons uſed that kind Word, *Peace be with you*, and yet were always haraſſing others, and tragically ingaged in War. But as there is no Epiſtle under that Title among *Athanaſius*'s Works, I let it reſt upon the Credit of our Author.

BUT

[*n*] Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 18. [*o*] Optat. Lib. 3. ad calcem. Lib. 7. p. 112. Epiſcopalis Tractatus probatur Salutatione geminata. Non enim aliquid incipit Epiſcopus ad populum dicere, niſi primò in nomine Dei populum Salutaverit. Similes ſunt Exitus Initiis. Omnis Tractatus in Eccleſia à nomine Dei incipitur, & ejuſdem Dei nomine terminatur, &c. It. Lib. 3. p. 73. Salutas de Pace, qui non amas. [*p*] Bona. Rerum Liturgic. Lib. 2. cap. 2. n. 1.

Sect. 15.
But the Uſe of Ave Maries *before Sermons, unknown to the Ancients.*

BUT I cannot but obſerve, That among all the ſhort Prayers uſed by the Ancients before their Sermons, there is never any mention of an *Ave Mary*, now ſo common in the Practice of the *Romiſh* Church. Their Addreſſes were all to GOD, and the Invocation of the holy Virgin for Grace and Aſſiſtance before Sermons was a Thing not thought of. They who are moſt concerned to prove its Uſe, can derive its Original no higher than the Beginning of the fifteenth Century. For *Ferrarius* [q] ingenuouſly confeſſes, that *Vincentius Ferrerius* was the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Writer, that ever uſed it before his Sermons. *Baronius* has not a Syllable of its Antiquity in all his Twelve Centuries; there being a perfect Silence both among the Ancients and all the Ritualiſts about it, till that *Dominican* Preacher in his abundant Zeal for the Worſhip of the Holy Virgin, began to uſe it before his Sermons; from whoſe Example (for he was a celebrated Preacher in the Age he lived) it gained ſuch Reputation and Authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their Sermons, but to be adapted and joyned with the *Lord's Prayer* in the *Roman Breviary*. *Ferrarius* ſays all he can to juſtify a Novelty; but nothing can clear this *Hyperdulia* of Idolatry; and he might have ſpared his Cenſure of *Eraſmus*, who ſays a witty Thing upon it, That their Preachers were uſed to invoke the Virgin Mother in the Beginning of their Diſcourſes, as the Heathen Poets were uſed to do their Muſes: For *Epiphanius* would have ſaid much ſeverer Things againſt it, had he had the like Occaſion given him to inveigh againſt this Idolatry, as he had to Cenſure that of the

[q] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. Lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 30.

the *Collyridians*: But then this Idolatry was confined to the weaker Sex, and had not yet made its way into the Pulpits, or any Part of the Liturgy of the ancient Church, when Preachers were uſed to pray for Grace and Aſſiſtance only from Him, who is the proper Donor of it.

Sect. 16. *Sometimes their Sermons were prefaced with a Benediction.*

I OBSERVE farther, That as their Sermons were thus uſually prefaced with a ſhort Prayer, ſo they were ſometimes introduced with a ſhort Form of Benediction. This ſeems to have been peculiar to Times of Calamity and Diſtreſs, or to happy Deliverances out of them. There are Inſtances of both Kinds in *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons to the People of *Antioch*, when they were under Apprehenſions of being deſtroyed by the Emperor's Diſpleaſure. His Fourth Sermon begins thus: Bleſſed be GOD, who hath comforted your ſorrowful Souls, and comforted your wavering Minds. His eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and twentieth *Homilies* begin much after the ſame manner. And his *Homily* after his return from Baniſhment [r] is thus prefaced: What ſhall I ſay? What ſhall I ſpeak? Bleſſed be God. This was the Word which I ſpake when I went away; and this I repeat now at my Return. And this he tells them, he did after the Example of *Job*, who in Adverſity, as well as Proſperity, ſaid always, *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord.*

Sect. 17. *Sometimes preached without any Text; and ſometimes upon more Texts than one.*

IT appears farther from thoſe *Homilies* [s] and ſeveral others both in him and other Writers, that they ſometimes preached without any Text; only treating of ſuch Matters as they thought moſt proper for the

[r] Chryſ. Homil. poſt Reditum. T. 2. 4, 5, 6. ad Popul. Antioch.

[s] Chryſ. Hom. 3.

Occaſion. But moſt commonly they took their Text out of ſome Paragraph of the *Pſalms* or Leſſons, as they were read. And ſometimes they ſo ordered the Matter, as to preach upon the *Pſalm*, the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel* all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own Appointment upon the ſame Subject. Thus St. *Auſtin* preached upon the Subject of Praiſe and Thankſgiving out of the *Epiſtle*, the *Pſalm*, and the *Goſpel* [*t*] together, becauſe they had all ſomething relating to his Subject. But they never ſhewed ſo little Reverence for Scripture, as to chuſe their Text out of *Ariſtotle's Ethicks*, as *Sixtinus Amama* [*u*] tells us one of the Romiſh Preachers did at *Paris* in the hearing of *Melancthon*.

Sect. 18. *Their Sermons always upon Important Subjects.*

NEITHER did they entertain their Auditory with light and ludicrous Matters, or fabulous and romantick Stories, ſuch as thoſe with which Preaching ſo much abounded in the Age before the Reformation; of which *Eraſmus* [*x*] and *Faber*, [*y*] and *Hottinger* [*z*] and many other Learned Men have made ſo great and ſo juſt Complaints. There is one Inſtance given by *Hottinger* out of one of their Authentick Books of *Homilies*, which for its ſingular Vanity, and to ſhew the Difference between the ancient and the modern Way of Edifying a Popular Auditory, I ſhall here tranſ-

[*t*] Aug de Verbis Apoſt. Serm. 10. T. 10. p. 112. Has tres Lectiones, quantum pro tempore poſſumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de ſingulis, & quantum conari poſſumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum immorantes, &c.

[*u*] Sixtin. Amama, Orat. de Barbarie. *Cited by Mr.* Seller, *Life of* Juſtin Martyr. p. 123. [*x*] Eraſm. Moriæ Encomium. p. 176, &c. [*y*] Joannes Faber, Declamat. de Humanæ Vitæ miſeria. ap. Hottinger. Hiſt. Eccl. Sæcul. 16. Part. 4. p. 1271. [*z*] Hotting. 16. Sæcul. Par. 3. p. 263, &c.

tranſcribe out of him, as he relates it in his Hiſtory. He ſays, in a Book of Sermons [a] compoſed by the *Theological Faculty* of *Vienna*, *An.* 1430. which was read in their Monaſteries and their Churches, this ridiculous Story is told, to recommend their Relicks to the People; That the 30 Pieces of Gold (though the Scripture calls them Silver) which *Judas* had for betraying his Maſter, were coined by *Terah Abraham*'s Father; who was a famous Artificer under King *Nimrod*; that he gave them to his Son *Abraham*; that *Abraham* therewith purchaſed the Field of *Ephron* the *Hittite*; from whence they came into the Hands of the *Iſhmaelites*, who therewith bought *Joſeph*, when his Brethren ſold him into *Egypt*; that *Joſeph*'s Brethren paid them to *Joſeph*, when they went to buy Corn in *Egypt*, and ſo they came into the King of *Egypt*'s Treaſury; that hence they were given to *Moſes*, when the King of *Egypt* ſent him with an Army to ſubdue *Ethiopia*; that *Moſes* upon this Occaſion gave them as a Dowry to the Queen of *Sheba*; and the *Ethiopian* Queen afterward made a Preſent of them to King *Solomon*; who put them into the Treaſury, where they continued, till *Nebuchadnezzar* among the Spoil ſeized them in the Devaſtation of *Jeruſalem*; *Nebuchadnezzar* having an *Arabian* King among his Auxiliaries, made a Preſent of them unto him; and of him ſprang one of thoſe *Eaſtern* Kings, who came to Worſhip CHRIST at his Birth, and made a Preſent of them to the Virgin *Mary*; and the Virgin, when ſhe preſented her Son in the Temple, made them an Offering for her Purification. So this very Silver

[a] Id. Sæcul. 15. p. 63. *St.* Bernard's *Cenſure of ſuch Trifles is*, Inter Seculares nugæ, nugæ ſunt: in ore Sacerdotis Blaſphemiæ. De Conſider. Lib. 2. cap. 13.

(which was Gold before) was the Price which *Judas* had for Betraying his Maſter. And theſe Silver Pieces are there ſaid to be diſperſed over all the World, and kept as ſacred Relicks, one of which in Gold as big as an *Engliſh Noble* is ſhewed at *Rome* in the Entrance of St. *Peter*'s Church. One would hardly believe, that ſuch abſurd and ridiculous Fictions ſhould have been authorized from the Pulpit among the Rules of Eternal Life, had not undeniable Proof been often made [*b*], that their *Breviaries* and *Legends*, as well as Sermons, before the Reformation, were ſtuffed with ſuch Fables; though, I believe, this Story out-does any in the *Golden Legend* (of which *Ludovicus Vives* [*c*] and *Melchior Canus* [*d*] ſo much complain) and *Jacobus de Voragine* was but an Aſs to theſe Men for Invention. Now let us ſee how the ancient Way of Preaching differed from this. *Juſtin Martyr* makes it a plain, but a very edifying Way of Inſtruction. For he ſays, When the Writings of the Apoſtles and Prophets were read, the Biſhop made a Diſcourſe to exhort and excite the People to imitate and tranſcribe into their Practice the good [*e*] Things they had heard read out of them. Their Subjects, as *Gregory Nazianzen* [*f*] deſcribes the Choice of them, were commonly ſuch as theſe, of the Worlds Creation, and the Soul of Man; of Angels, as well thoſe that kept, as thoſe that loſt their firſt Integrity; of Providence, and its wiſe Laws and Conſtitutions; of the Formation of Man and his Reſtoration; of

[*b*] *See* Patrick's *Devotions of the Rom. Church.* Lond. 1674. 8°.
[*c*] Lud. Vives de Tradend. Diſciplinis. Lib. 5. p. 360.
[*d*] Canus, Loci Theolog. Lib. 11. cap. 6. p. 533.
[*e*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98.
[*f*] Naz. Orat. 1. de Fuga. p. 15.

the two Covenants, the Types of the Old, and the Antitypes of the New; of CHRIST's firſt and ſecond Coming; of his Incarnation and Paſſion; of the general Reſurrection and End of the World; of the Day of Judgment, and the Rewards of the Juſt, and the Puniſhment of the Wicked; and above all of the Doctrine of the TRINITY, which was the principal Article of the Chriſtian Faith. In like manner *Chryſoſtom* puts his Auditors [g] in mind of what Matters he had uſed to preach to them, of the Nature of the Soul, of the Fabrick of the Body, of the State of Immortality, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell, of the Long-ſuffering of GOD, and the Methods of Pardon, of the Powers of Repentance, of Baptiſm, and the Forgiveneſs of Sins, of the Creation of the Superior and Inferior World, of the Nature of Men and Angels; of the Subtilty of Satan, and his Methods and Policies; of the different Opinions of the Chriſtian World; of the true Faith, and the Gangrene of Hereſies, and other ſuch Myſteries, which it behoves a Chriſtian to be acquainted with.

Sect. 19. *And delivered in a Way moſt affecting and ſuitable to the Capacities of their Hearers, with Perſpicuity, Pleaſure, and Force of Argument.*

AND as they were thus careful in the Choice of their Subjects, ſo they were no leſs careful to put their well-choſen Matter into the moſt uſeful and pleaſing Dreſs; that they might anſwer the true Ends of Chriſtian Oratory, and as the Wiſe Man words it, make their Apples of Gold appear the more beautiful by being ſet in Pictures of Silver. The Deſign of Chriſtian Oratory, as St. *Auſtin* [h] obſerves, is, either

[g] Chryſ. Hom. 24. de Baptiſmo Chriſti. T. 1. p. 309.
[h] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 4.

Either to inſtruct Men in the Truth, or to refute their Errors, or to perſuade them to the Practice of Holineſs and Vertue, and diſſuade them from the contrary Vices. The firſt of theſe requires plain Narration: The ſecond, Strength of Argument and Ratiocination: And the third, the Art and Power of moving the Mind and Affections. And in doing each of theſe, the Chriſtian Orator, as he never ſpeaks any Thing but what is holy, juſt, and good, ſo he endeavours to ſpeak theſe in ſuch a Manner, as that he may be heard with Underſtanding, with Pleaſure, and with Obedience [*i*], as the chief Thing of all. That he may be heard with Underſtanding, he ſpeaks every Thing with a natural Plainneſs and Perſpicuity, and alſo a Regard to Mens Capacities and Apprehenſions. He reckons the greateſt Oratory of no Uſe, if it cannot be underſtood: For what ſignifies a golden Key [*k*], if it cannot open what we intend? A wooden Key is of more Uſe, if it will anſwer the true Deſign of a Key, which is only to anſwer what is locked up and ſhut before. Therefore the Chriſtian Orator labours chiefly at Perſpicuity in his Speech, never thinking he has done Juſtice to any Truth by his Eloquence, unleſs he has alſo delivered it with a ſufficient Evidence to Men of reaſonable Capacities and comprehenſions. There are ſome Things, which are unintelligible in their own Nature, or not to be underſtood by the ordinary Sort of Men, though they

[*i*] Ibid. cap. 15. Agit noſter Eloquens, cum & juſta, & ſancta & bona dicit (neque enim alia debet dicere): Agit ergo quantum poteſt, cum iſta dicit, ut Intelligenter, ut Libenter, ut Obedienter audiatur.

[*k*] Ibid. cap. 11. Quid enim prodeſt clavis aurea, ſi aperire quod volumus non poteſt? Aut quid obeſt lignea, ſi hoc poteſt, quando nihil quærimus, niſi patere quod clauſum eſt?

they be ſpoken with never ſo much Plainneſs of the Orator: And therefore ſuch Things are ſeldom or never, without great Neceſſity, to be handled in a popular [*l*] Audience. For the ſame Reaſon, he that ſtudies Perſpicuity and Evidence, will ſometimes neglect rhetorical Expreſſions, and not regard how ſonorous, but how ſignificant his Words are, to intimate and declare his Senſe to the Minds of his Hearers. For there is a *diligens Negligentia*, an uſeful Negligence, proper in this Caſe to Eccleſiaſtical Teachers, who muſt ſometimes condeſcend to Improprieties of Speech, when they cannot ſpeak otherwiſe to the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar. As he notes, that they were uſed to ſay, *Oſſum.* inſtead of *Os*, to diſtinguiſh a Mouth from a Bone in *Africk*, to comply with the Underſtandings [*m*] of their Hearers. For what Advantage is there in Purity of Speech, when the Hearer underſtands it not, ſeeing there is no Occaſion at all of Speaking, if they, for whoſe Sake we ſpeak to be underſtood, apprehend not what we ſay? And for this Reaſon, I doubt not, there are ſo many Africaniſms, or Idioms of the *African* Tongue in St. *Auſtin*, becauſe he thought it more commendable ſometimes to deviate a little from the ſtrict Grammatical Purity and Propriety of the *Latin* Tongue, than not be underſtood by his Hearers. This was a laudable Condeſcenſion in every Reſpect, and much valued by the Ancients, who thought it the firſt Office of a Preacher, to ſpeak always to the Capacity and Underſtanding of his Hearers. 'Tis this, which *Nazianzen* [*n*] ſo highly commends in *Athanaſius*, That he tempered his

[*l*] Aug. ibid. Lib. 4. cap. 9. [*m*] Ibid. cap. 10. Cur Pietatis Doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem Oſſum potius quam os dicere, &c. [*n*] Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Athan. p. 396.

Stile according to the Difference of his Auditory: He condeſcended to ſpeak to mean Capacities in a lower Way, whilſt to the Acute, his Words and Notions were more ſublime. And there was but one Caſe in which they affected to ſpeak any thing darkly and obſcurely, and that was when they preached in a mixed Auditory, where the Catechumens were preſent, from whom they purpoſely intended to conceal ſome of the profounder Knowledge of the Chriſtian Myſteries for a Time, and therefore they uſually ſpake of them in a covert Way, with an ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, *the Initiated know what we mean*, as being well underſtood by them, though they ſpake only by Hints and dark Terms upon the Account of the Catechumens: Of the Reaſons of which Diſcipline and Practice, I have ſpoken largely heretofore [*], and therefore need ſay no more of it in this Place.

THE next Thing which St. *Auſtin* commends in his Chriſtian Orator, is, That he labours to be heard with Pleaſure. *Ut Intelligenter, ut Libenter.* For though a plain Declaration of Truth may ſatisfy thoſe, who regard nothing but Truth; yet the greater Part of Men love Sweetneſs and Ornament of Speech: And therefore if it be unpleaſant, the Benefit of it will reach but very Few, who are deſirous to hear what they ought to learn, though it be in a mean and uncomely [o] Dreſs: But the Generality of Men are not pleaſed with this: Some Similitude

[*] Book X. chap. v.

[o] Aug. de Doctrin. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 11. Si fiat inſuaviter, ad paucos quidem Studioſiſſimos ſuus pervenit fructus, qui ea quæ diſcenda ſunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, ſcire deſiderant.— Sed quoniam inter ſe habent nonnullam ſimilitudinem Veſcentes atque Dicentes, propter faſtidia plurimorum etiam ipſa ſine quibus vivi non poteſt, alimenta condienda ſunt.

tude between Eating and Speaking: And therefore becauſe weak Stomachs cannot reliſh their moſt neceſſary Food, without which they cannot live, their Food is to be ſeaſoned to make it pleaſant for them. Upon this Account he commends the Saying of an ancient Orator, who ſaid truly, That an Orator [p] ought ſo to ſpeak, as not only to teach and inſtruct, but alſo to delight and move. And ſome Hearers are to be induced to hear by the Pleaſure of a Diſcourſe, which ariſes from the Sweetneſs, and Beauties, and Ornaments of it. St. *Chryſoſtom* inculcates the ſame Rule, in deſcribing the Office of a Biſhop, whoſe Task, he ſays, was ſomething the more difficult upon this Account [q], becauſe Men had generally nice and delicate Palates, and were inclined to hear Sermons as they heard Plays, rather for Pleaſure than Profit: Which added to the Preacher's Study and Labour; who, though he was to contemn both popular Applauſe and Cenſure, yet was he alſo to have ſuch a Regard to his Auditory, as that they might hear him with Pleaſure to their Edification and Advantage. It was not required indeed, that every Preacher ſhould ſpeak with the Smoothneſs of *Iſocrates*, or the Loftineſs of *Demoſthenes*, or the Majeſty of *Thucydides*, or the Sublimity of *Plato*, as the ſame St. *Chryſoſtom* [r] words it: Lower Degrees of Eloquence, ſays St. *Auſtin*, would pleaſe a Chriſtian Auditory, provided he had a decent Regard to the common Rules of Eloquence, to ſay nothing *Obtuſè*, *Deformiter*, *Frigide*, nothing that was blunt, nothing that was indecent or unbecoming, nothing that

[p] Aug. ibid. cap. 12. Dixit ergo quidam Eloquens, & verum dixit, ita dicere debere Eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.— Ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus eſt Auditor: Et delectatur, ſi ſuaviter loquaris. [q] Chryſ. de Sacerdotio. Lib. 5. cap. 1. [r] Chryſ. ibid. Lib. 4. cap. 6.

that was cold or languid; but every thing *Acutè*, *Ornatè*, *Vehementer*, with Sharpneſs, and Handſomeneſs, and Force: Which are St. *Auſtin*'s Rules in this very Caſe [*s*]. Or if Men could not attain to this Perfection of exotick Eloquence, yet there was a manly and majeſtick Eloquence, an Art of Speaking wiſely, which no one could fail of, that would diligently ſtudy the Holy Scriptures. For there the Subject is not only great and divine, but the Diction alſo eloquent and beautiful, as St. *Auſtin* ſhews in ſeveral Inſtances out of the Apoſtles and Prophets; the Stile not glittering with Sallies, and Flaſhes of Juvenile Wit (which would not become a manly Eloquence) but altogether agreeable to the Dignity and Authority of the Perſons who were the inſpired Authors of it; who ſpake with an Eloquence becoming both themſelves and their Subjects; ſuch as is no ways inferior to the Eloquence many Times of the greateſt Maſters and Pretenders to it, and for its Wiſdom (which is the moſt true divine Eloquence) far exceeds them. They therefore who were well verſed both in the Phraſe and Senſe of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a proper Uſe and Application of them, could never want true Eloquence to recommend their Diſcourſes with Pleaſure to their Hearers. And indeed the very Cuſtom of Applauding the Preachers publickly in the Church (of which more by and by) is a certain Evidence that they were commonly heard with Pleaſure.

THE

[*s*] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 5. Cum alii faciant Obtuſe, Deformiter, Frigide; alii Acute, Ornate, Vehementer; illum ad hoc opus jam oportet accedere, qui poteſt diſputare vel dicere Sapienter, etiamſi non poteſt Eloquenter —— Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis ſanctis magis minuſve profecit.

[*t*] Ibid. cap. 6. & 7.

THE laſt Thing which St. *Auſtin* commends in the Chriſtian Orator, is, That he endeavours to be heard *Obedienter*; that is, ſpeaks to the Conviction and Perſuaſion of his Hearers; Convincing their Judgments by ſound and ſolid Reaſonings; and raiſing the Affections, and drawing them into Compliance, by ſuch Motives, and Methods, and Addreſſes, as are proper to work upon the ſeveral Paſſions of humane Nature, and bend and ſubdue the Will, and lead it Captive into the Obedience of Faith. When the ſacred Orator has done this, he is at his utmoſt Height: Then he leads his Hearers, as it were, willingly in Triumph, having gained a compleat and pleaſing Victory over them. For, as St. *Auſtin* again obſerves, till Men are wrought into Compliance and Obedience by the Orator, they are not properly conquered by him. For they may be taught [*u*] and pleaſed, and yet yield no Compliance or practical Aſſent; without which, the two former are of no Advantage: But when his Oratory has gained their Wills, it has then ſubdued all Oppoſition, and gotten a compleat Victory. Now this is done, as St. *Auſtin* there goes on to intimate, when the Orator can bring Men to love what he promiſes, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he commends, to ſorrow for what he aggravates as ſorrowful, to rejoyce at what he amplifies as Matter of Rejoycing, to commiſerate thoſe whom he repreſents before their Eyes as Objects of Compaſſion, to avoid and fly from thoſe whom he brands and ſtigmatizes as dangerous Perſons, and gives them terrible Apprehenſions of, as Men with whom it is not ſafe to converſe: And whatever elſe may be done by Force of

[*u*] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 12. Ideo autem Victoriæ eſt flectere, quia fieri poteſt ut doceatur, & delectetur, & non aſſentiatur. Quid autem illa duo proderint, ſi deſit hoc tertium?

of grand Eloquence, to move the Minds of the Hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their Duty to do. This he calls by the Name of, *Grandis Eloquentia, & gravis* [x] grand and grave Eloquence, and oppoſes it to what he calls *ſpumeus Verborum ambitus*, that light and frothy ſort of Eloquence, which conſiſts only in a jingling Multiplicity of Words, which does not become any Subject, much leſs the Gravity of a Chriſtian Diſcourſe upon the Weightieſt and moſt Serious of all Subjects, where nothing is ſaid but what is Great, as having no Regard to the Affairs of this temporal Life, but to the Things of eternal Happineſs and eternal Miſery. For, if a Chriſtian Orator ſpeaks of temporal Things, though they be ſmall in themſelves, yet they are great in his Way of Handling them; becauſe he treats of them with Reſpect to Juſtice, and Charity, and Piety in the Uſe of them, which are great Things in the ſmalleſt Matters. As when the Apoſtle ſpeaks of going to Law for pecuniary Matters, 1 *Cor.* vi. 1, *&c.* he uſes all the Force of grand Eloquence, raiſing his Indignation, Correcting, Upbraiding, Rebuking, Threatning, and ſhewing the Concern of his Soul by ſharpning his Stile into the utmoſt Keeneſs and Quickneſs of Expreſſion; not becauſe ſecular Affairs deſerved all this, but for the Sake of Juſtice, Charity and Piety, that were ſo deeply concerned in them. Thus he obſerves again [y], That a Cup of cold Water is but a ſmall Thing in itſelf, but it was great in our Lord's Mouth, when He ſaid, He that gives it to a Diſciple, ſhall not loſe his Reward. He adds, That he himſelf once ſpake ſo movingly and affectionately, by the Help of GOD, upon that Subject to the People,

[x] Ibid. cap. 13, & 14. [y] Aug. ibid. cap. 18.

People, that out of that cold Water there aroſe a Flame, which warmed the cold Hearts of Men, and inflamed them to do Works of Mercy in Hopes of an heavenly Reward. But he obſerves farther, That although a Preacher upon this Account ought never to ſpeak but of great Things, yet he is not always obliged to do this *Granditer*, in the Way of vehement and grand Eloquence, or the elated and lofty Stile; but when he ſpeaks only to inform the Judgment [z], the ſubmiſſe or low Stile is to be uſed, as more proper for doctrinal Inſtruction; and the temperate or middle Stile, when he ſpeaks to praiſe or diſpraiſe: But when any Thing is to be done, and they to whom he ſpeaks, are unwilling to do it, when they ought to do it, then thoſe Things which are Great in themſelves, are to be ſpoken *Granditer*, in a grand and vehement Stile, or in ſuch a Way as is proper to incline and bend the Wills of the Hearers. And ſometimes every one of theſe three Ways is uſed about the ſame Subject; The ſubmiſs Stile, when any Doctrine is delivered about it; The temperate Stile, when any Commendation is to be given to it; and the grand Stile, when the Mind that is averſe from its Duty, is to be converted and forcibly induced to practiſe it. Thus; if a Man is Diſcourſing concerning GOD: To ſhew the Unity of the TRINITY, he ought only to Reaſon in the ſubmiſs and plain Way, that what is difficult to be conceived, may be underſtood, as far as Men are capable of underſtanding it.

[z] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 19. Et tamen cum Doctor iſte debeat rerum Dictor eſſe magnarum, non ſemper eas debet Granditer dicere; ſed Submiſsè, cum aliquid docetur; Temperatè, cum aliquid vituperatur ſive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum eſt, & ad eos loquitur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quæ Magna ſunt, dicenda ſunt Granditer, & ad flectendos animos congruenter.

it. Here is no Ornament required, but only plain Documents and Inſtruction. But when GOD is to be praiſed, either in Himſelf or his Works, then there is a fair Occaſion for beautiful and ſplendid Oratory, to extol Him whom no Man can ſufficiently praiſe. And again, if his Worſhip be neglected, or other Things be taken in to rival Him in his Worſhip, whether they be Idols, or Devils, or any other Creature, then the Evil of the Practice is to be aggravated with all the Grandeur and Vehemence of Oratory, to diſſuade and turn Men from it. And he gives us ſeveral Inſtances of all the three Kinds, both out of Scripture and the ancient Writers, *Cyprian* and *Ambroſe*, aſſuring us in the End, That what he had ſaid of thoſe two, might be found in the Writings and Diſcourſes of other Eccleſiaſtical Men, who treated always of weighty Subjects in a proper Manner, that is, as the Matter required, with Perſpicuity and Acuteneſs, with Ornament and Beauty, with Ardency and Grandeur in their Applications. So that if we will take St. *Auſtin*'s Character of the ancient Preachers, it was in ſhort this; That their Diſcourſes were always upon Weighty and Heavenly Matters, and their Stile anſwerable to the Subject, that is, Plain, Elegant, Majeſtick and Nervous; fitly adapted to Inſtruct, to Delight and Charm, and to Convince and Perſuade their Hearers. And if their Method was different from ours, or not ſo exact, and viſible to the Hearers; that muſt be imputed to Cuſtom and the Times they lived in: For every Age

[a] Aug. ibid. cap. 21. In his autem, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, & in aliis Eccleſiaſticis Viris, & Bona & Bene, id eſt ſicut res poſtulat, Acute, *Ornate*, Ardenterque dicentibus, per multa eorum Scripta vel Dicta poſſunt hæc tria genera reperiri, & aſſidua Lectione vel Auditione, admixta etiam Exercitatione, Studentibus inoleſcere.

Age has its Peculiarities and proper Taſte of Things: And though I believe the modern Way of Methodizing Sermons to be moſt uſeful to the Hearers: yet if the Queſtion were to be determined by the Rules and Practice of the moſt famous Orators, Whether an Open or a Concealed Method were fitteſt to be choſen, the Judgment and Deciſion would fall upon the Side of the Ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other Excellencies, by their Perſpicuity and Clearneſs, their Elegancy and Fineneſs, their Sublimity of Thought and Expreſſion, and above all, by the flaming Piety of their Lives, correſponding to their Doctrine, and giving the greateſt Force and Energy to all their Diſcourſes. For, as St. *Auſtin* truly obſerves in the laſt Place, The Life of the Preacher has more Weight in it, than the greateſt Grandeur and Force of Eloquence, to induce his Hearers to Obedience: For he that preaches wiſely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify ſome, who are deſirous to learn and obſerve the Commands of CHRIST; as many will learn from the *Scribes* and the *Phariſees*, who ſit in *Moſes*'s Chair, and ſay, and do not; but he that lives as he ſpeaks, will advantage Abundance more. For Men are very apt to ask this Queſtion, *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipſe non facis?* Why doſt not thou do that which thou commandeſt me to do? And ſo it comes to paſs, that they will not obediently hear him, who does not hear himſelf, but contemn both the Word of GOD and the Preacher together. But he whoſe Life is unblameable, his very Example is grand Oratory, and his Form of Living, an eloquent Diſcourſe. *Copia dicendi Forma vivendi* [c]. And by theſe

[b] Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 27. Habet autem ut obedienter audiatur quantacunque granditate dictionis majus pondus Vita dicentis, &c. [c] Aug. ibid. cap. 29.

theſe Methods, what by their Oratory, what by their Example, the Ancients gained ſo much upon their Hearers, as often to receive their publick Acclamations, and hear their Groanings, and ſee their Tears, and what was moſt delightful of all, found the happy Effects of their Labour in their holy Obedience, and ſincere Converſion. But of theſe, more preſently, when we come to the Hearers, having made two or three Remarks more concerning the Preachers.

Sect. 20.
That it was no Part of the ancient Oratory to move the Paſſions by Geſticulations and vain Images of Things.

AND among theſe, I muſt obſerve one Thing Negatively, That it was no Part of the ancient Oratory to raiſe the Affections of their Hearers, either by Geſticulations, or the Uſe of external Shews and Repreſentations of Things in their Sermons, as is now very common in the *Romiſh* Church, eſpecially when they preach upon our SAVIOUR's Paſſion, to produce a Croſs, and the Image of CHRIST bound to a Pillar, and whip it to Death, and ſhew the Nails, and tear a Veil, and many other the like Things to create Sorrow in their Hearers. *Ferrarius* [*d*] owns, there was no ſuch Practice among the Ancients, and confeſſes, that except it be done very appoſitely and prudently, it is more apt to excite Laughter than Sorrow. And which of the two it oftner produces, is eaſy to gueſs, as well from the Nature of the Thing, as the Complaints of wiſe Men againſt it. What *Ferrarius* produces out of *Chryſoſtom* [*e*] bidding the People take St. *John Baptiſt*'s Head into their Hands, and carry it home with them, and hear it ſpeak, is nothing to the Purpoſe: For this is only a Rhetorical Scheme, made

[*d*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. Lib. 1. cap. 31. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 14. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 177.

made up of two uſual Figures among Orators, an *Hypotypoſis* and *Proſopopœia*, that is, a lively Deſcription of a Thing, and an Introduction of a Perſon ſpeaking; which are Figures that have a mighty Influence upon the Mind to raiſe in it a juſt Concern, but are no Precedents for ſuch Practices as rather incline Men to Ridicule and Laughter, of which there is no Footſtep in the ancient Oratory of the Church.

Sect. 21. *Of the Length of their Sermons.*

NEXT to the Matter and Stile of their Sermons, the Queſtion may be ask'd concerning the Length of 'em. *Ferrarius* [*f*] and ſome others are very poſitive, that they were generally an Hour long: But *Ferrarius* is at a Loſs to tell by what Inſtrument they meaſured their Hour; for he will not venture to affirm, that they preached as the old *Greek* and *Roman* Orators declaimed, by an Hour-Glaſs; which yet he might have ſaid with as much Truth, as that all their Sermons were an Hour long, from no better Proof, than their mentioning ſometimes the Hour of Preaching, which ſignifies no more than the Time in general, as, *the Hour of Temptation*, and *the Hour cometh*, and *my Hour is not yet come*, are often uſed in Scripture. It is a more juſt and pertinent Obſervation of Biſhop *Wettenhal*'s [*g*], That their Sermons were often very ſhort: There are many in St. *Auſtin*'s 10th Tome, which a Man may pronounce diſtinctly and deliver decently in eight Minutes, and ſome almoſt in half the Time: And ſuch are many of thoſe of *Leo*, *Chryſologus*, *Maximus*, *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* and other *Latin* Fathers. Some of St. *Auſtin*'s are much longer, and ſo are the greater Part of *Chryſoſtom*'s, *Nazianzen*'s, *Nyſſen*'s and *Baſil*'s; but ſcarce any of them would laſt an Hour, and many not

[*f*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. Lib. 1. cap. 33.
[*g*] Wettenhal's *Gift of Preaching*, chap. 2. p. 666.

half the Time: And when it is conſidered, that they had many times two or three Sermons at once, as I have ſhewed it was very uſual in *Chryſoſtom*'s Church, it would be abſurd to think, that each of them was an Hour long, when the whole Service laſted not above two Hours in the whole; as *Chryſoſtom* [*h*] often declares in his Sermons, making that an Argument to the People, why they ſhould cheerfully attend Divine-Service, ſince of ſeven Days in the Week GOD had only reſerved one to Himſelf, and on that Day, exacted no more than two Hours, like the Widow's two Mites, to be ſpent on His Service.

Sect. 22. *Whether every Man was obliged to preach his own Compoſition, or the* Homilies *and* Sermons *compoſed by others.*

IT may be enquired farther, Whether all Preachers were oblig'd to deliver their own Compoſitions, or were at Liberty to uſe the Compoſitions of others? To this, it has been already anſwered in ſome meaſure, That the *Homilies* of famous Preachers, ſuch as *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ephrem Cyrus*, were often read inſtead of other Sermons from the Pulpit in many Churches. And *Mabillon* ſays [*i*], Thoſe of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* were read in the *French* Churches; where alſo Deacons were authorized by the Council of *Vaiſon* [*k*] in Caſes of Neceſſity, when the Preaching-Presbyter was diſabled, to read the *Homilies* of the ancient Fathers in Country-Churches. Neither was this only the Practice of Deacons, but Biſhops ſometimes alſo did the ſame. For *Gennadius* [*l*] ſays, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*

[*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 48. de Inſcript. Altaris. T. 5. p. 648. Hom. 50. de Util. Lection. Script. ibid. p 676. Hom. 24. de Bapt. Chriſti. T. 1. p. 309. [*i*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. Lib. 2. p. 99. Conc. Vaſens. 2. Can. 2. [*l*] Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 57. Homilias etiam compoſuit plurimas, quæ ad declamandum Græciæ Epiſcopis commendantur.

Alexandria compoſed many *Homilies*, which the *Grecian* Biſhops committed to Memory, in order to preach them. He ſays the ſame of *Salvian* [*m*], the Eloquent Presbyter of *Marſeilles*, That he wrote many *Homilies* for Biſhops, *Homilias Epiſcopis factas multas*, which *Ferrarius* [*n*] and Dr. *Cave* underſtand, not of *Homilies* made before Biſhops, but for their Uſe: Whence he is alſo ſtiled by *Gennadius* in the ſame Place, *Epiſcoporum Magiſter*, the Teacher or Maſter of Biſhops, becauſe they preached the eloquent *Homilies*, which he compoſed. *Ferrarius* and *Sirmondus* [*o*] obſerve the ſame of ſome of the *Dictiones Sacræ*, or Sermons of *Ennodius*, which are ſaid to be written by him, and ſpoken by others: *Honoratus* Biſhop of *Novaria* is named for one. St. *Auſtin* more particularly conſiders this Queſtion, and makes a Caſe of Conſcience of it. For having laid down all the Rules of Chriſtian Oratory for thoſe who had Ability to compoſe, he at laſt confeſſes, there were ſome, who though they could ſpeak well, were not able to invent and compoſe an handſome Diſcourſe of their own: And he does not ſeverely condemn them, or with a magiſterial Air debar them from Preaching, but with a great deal of Tenderneſs ſays favourably in their Caſe [*p*], That if they take that which was elegantly and wiſely written by others, and commit it to Memory, and preach it to the People, if they are called to that Office, they are

[*m*] Gennad. ibid. cap. 67. [*n*] Ferrar. de Ritu Concion, Lib. 2. cap. 7. Cave Hiſt. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 346. Du Pin. Centur. 5. p. 146. [*o*] Sirmond. Not. in Ennodium. Dictio 2. miſſa Honorato in Dedicatione Baſilicæ, &c. [*p*] Aug. de Doctrin. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 29. Sunt ſane quidam, qui bene pronunciare poſſunt, quid autem pronuncient, excogitare non poſſunt. Quod ſi ab aliis ſumunt eloquenter ſapienterque conſcriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, ſi eam Perſonam gerunt, non improbe faciunt, &c.

not to be blamed as doing an ill Thing. For by this Means there are many Preachers of Truth, which is very uſeful, and not many Maſters, whilſt they all ſpeak Things of the one True Maſter, and there are no Schiſms among them. Neither ought ſuch Men to be deterred by the Words of the Prophet *Jeremy* (xxiii. 30.) by whom GOD rebukes thoſe who ſteal his Words every one from his Neighbour. For they which ſteal, take away that which they have no Right or Property in: Which cannot be ſaid of thoſe who obey the Word of GOD, but rather belongs to thoſe who ſpeak well, and live ill. From whence he concludes, it is very lawful for a Man to preach the Compoſition of other more eloquent Men, provided he compoſe his own Life anſwerable to GOD's Word, and earneſtly pray to GOD, That He would make his Word in his Mouth edifying to others.

Sect. 23. *Their Sermons always concluded with a Doxology to the Holy* TRINITY.

I MUST note alſo, That they always concluded their Sermons, as we now do, with a *Doxology* to the Holy TRINITY, as may be ſeen not only in the Sermons of St. *Auſtin*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, *Leo*, *Fulgentius*, and others who lived after *Arius* broach'd his Hereſy againſt the Divinity of our SAVIOUR; but alſo in thoſe of *Origen*, and others who lived before, ſuch as *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and the reſt that are mentioned by St. *Baſil*, who had ſeen their *Homilies*, out of which he wrote a Vindication [q] of that ancient Form againſt ſome, who pretended to charge him with Innovation for uſing a Form, which he ſays, the Ancients had always uſed before him.

THERE

[q] Baſil. de Spir. ſancto. cap. 29.

Sect. 24. *Sermons delivered by the Preacher ſitting, for the moſt part.*

THERE are ſome other incidental Things taken notice of by *Ferrarius*, which are either very minute in themſelves, or are more proper to be ſpoken of in other Places; ſuch as the Deacons causing Silence to be made before Sermons; and the Preacher's Reading his Text over again after the Readers; and his Appointing Leſſons to be read agreeable to his Subject; and giving Notice of them the Week before to the People; as alſo the Reading of the *Acts of the Martyrs* before Sermon upon their proper Feſtivals; the giving Notice of *Eaſter* and *Lent* on the Day of *Epiphany* in their Sermons; the Notification of Vigils, and Faſts, and Feſtivals; and Appointing Collections for the Poor; Preaching covertly of the Myſteries of Religion before the Catechumens; Complementing the Biſhops that were preſent in their Sermons; the Diſtinction of Places for the Hearers; the uſual Appellations of Love and Reſpect that were given them; the uſual Place of the Sermon, ſome Eminency in the Church, the *Ambo* or Reading-Desk, or elſe the Biſhop's Throne, or the Steps of the Altar; the uſual Days of Preaching, the Lord's-Day, the Saturday or Sabbath, the Vigils and Feſtivals, the Anniverſaries of Biſhops Conſecrations, and Dedication of Churches; with ſome other Things of the like Nature, ſome of which are ſo minute, that they are ſcarce worth the Reader's Notice; and others that are more material, are accounted for and explained in other Parts of this Work. I ſhall therefore ſpeak of one Thing more relating to the Preachers: Which is, of the Poſture, in which their Sermons were delivered. The general received Cuſtom now is for the Preacher to ſtand, and the People to ſit: But the ancient Cuſtom was uſually the Reverſe of this. For the Preacher com-

monly delivered his Sermon Sitting, and the People heard it Standing; though there was no certain Rule about this, but the Cuſtom varied in ſeveral Churches. In *Africk* the Preacher commonly ſat, as appears from that of *Optatus* [*r*] to the *Donatiſt* Biſhops: When GOD reproves a Sinner, and rebukes him that ſits, the Admonition is ſpecially directed unto you; for the People have not Liberty to ſit in the Church. He ſays this upon Occaſion of thoſe Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Thou ſatteſt and ſpakeſt againſt thine own Mother's Son.* St. *Auſtin* in like manner ſpeaks of his own Preaching Sitting: Why do I ſit here? Why do I live, but with this Intention [*s*], That I may live with CHRIST? And again [*t*], That I may not detain you, eſpecially conſidering that I ſpeak Sitting, and ye labour Standing. And he intimates, that in ſome [*u*] Churches Sitting was allowed both to the Preacher and the People. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo [*x*] ſpeaks of his own Sitting when he preached. And this he did uſually in the *Ambo* or Reading-Desk, where he ſat when he preached that famous Sermon upon *Eutropius*, when he fled to take Sanctuary in the Church [*y*], and lay Trembling before the Altar, as all the Hiſtorians inform us. *Gregory Nyſſen* ſpeaks alſo of himſelf as Sitting when he

[*r*] Optat. Lib. 4. p. 78. Dum peccatorem arguit, & ſedentem increpat Deus, ſpecialiter ad vos dictum eſſe conſtat, non ad Populum, qui in Eccleſia ſedendi non habent licentiam.

[*s*] Aug. Hom. 28. ex 50. T. 10. p. 179. Quare loquor? Quare hic ſedeo? Quare vivo, niſi hac intentione, ut cum Chriſto ſimul vivamus? [*t*] Hom. 49. de Diverſis. Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præſertim quia ego ſedens loquor, vos ſtando laboratis. [*u*] Aug. de Catechizandis Rudibus. cap. 13. Tom. 4. p. 300. Longe conſultius in quibuſdam Eccleſiis tranſmarinis non ſolum Antiſtites ſedentes loquuntur, ſed ipſi etiam populo ſedilia ſubjacent. [*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. de Pœnit. T. 1. p. 662. [*y*] Socrat. Lib 6. cap. 5. Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 5. Caſſiodor. Hiſt. Tripartita. Lib. 10. cap. 4. Reſidens ſuper Ambonem, &c.

he preached, and riſing up to Prayer [z] in the Concluſion. Which is alſo noted by *Juſtin Martyr* [a], and *Origen* [b], and *Athanaſius* [c], and *Chryſoſtom* [d], whom *Ferrarius* cites, and remarks upon them, That their Riſing up in the Cloſe of the Sermon to Prayer, implies that they preached Sitting before. Which is certainly a very juſt Obſervation. Yet, after all, he pretends to aſſert, That Standing to preach was the more common Poſture, and that they never uſed Sitting but only in Caſe of Infirmity or Old-Age. Which ſhews us only how far Prejudice will carry a Man, againſt the cleareſt Evidence, in Favour of a modern Cuſtom. The Obſervation made by the Author of the *Comments upon St.* Paul's *Epiſtles* [*] under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, has much more Truth and Solidity in it, That the Chriſtian Biſhops uſed to preach Sitting, and that this Cuſtom was taken from the Tradition of the Synagogue: Where *Ferrarius* himſelf owns, and proves it to have been the more uſual Cuſtom for the Scribes and Doctors of the Law to expound the Scriptures Sitting, though there may be ſome Inſtances to the contrary. *Matth.* xxiii. 2. it is ſaid, That the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* ſat in *Moſes*'s Chair. *Luke* ii. 46. Our SAVIOUR *was found Sitting and Diſputing among the Doctors in the Temple.* Again, *Chap.* iv. 20. *After he had ſtood up to read the Prophet* Eſaias, *he ſat down to teach the People.* And *Chap.* v. 3. *He ſat down and taught the People out of the Ship.* Joh. viii. 2. *He ſat down and taught the People in the Temple.* Matth. v. 1. *He ſat*

[z] Nyſſen. Hom. 5. de Orat. Dominica. T. 1. p. 761.
[a] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [b] Orig. Hom. 20. in Num. Hom. 3. in Eſai. Hom. 36. in Luc. Hom. 19. in Jerem.
[c] Athan. Hom. de Semente. [d] Chryſ. Hom. cont. Hæreticos. ap. Ferrarium. Lib. 2. cap. 9. [*] Ambroſ. Com. in 1 Cor. 14. 29. Hæc Traditio Synagogæ eſt, quam nos vult ſectari— ut ſedentes diſputent Seniores dignitate in Cathedris, &c.

and taught his Diſciples in the Mountain. And *Matth.* xxvi. 55. *I ſat daily with you teaching in the Temple.* This was according to the Cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Synagogue, which was generally followed by the Chriſtian Church. And the Inſtances which *Ferrarius* brings out of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s [*e*], and St. *Auſtin*'s *Homilies* [*f*] to the contrary, are rather Exceptions to a general Rule, than proper Evidences for his own Aſſertion. The Matter is not indeed great in itſelf, it being a very indifferent Thing, whether a Preacher delivers his Sermon Standing or Sitting: But when Men are repreſenting ancient Practices, they ought not to make every Thing conform to the Cuſtoms and Model of the preſent Age, but repreſent Things nakedly as they find them.

Sect. 25. *And heard by the Auditors Standing, in ſome Churches, but not in all.*

WE have hitherto conſidered what relates to the Preachers, and a few Things muſt be added concerning the Hearers. Of whom it has been already obſerved in the laſt Paragraph out of *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*, That in the *African* Churches the People had no Licenſe to ſit down, but were generally obliged to ſtand to hear the Sermon. *Ferrarius* [*g*] has collected a Multitude of Teſtimonies more out of St. *Auſtin* to the ſame Purpoſe, which it is needleſs to relate here. But we may obſerve, that the ſame Cuſtom prevailed alſo in many other Churches. *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſpeaks of it as the Uſage of the *Gallican* Church in thoſe Lines to *Fauſtus* Biſhop of *Riez*, where

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 16. ad Pop. Antioch. & Hom. 33. in Mat.

[*f*] Aug. Ser. 122. de Diverſis. Tract. 19. in Joan. & Ser. 2. in Pſalm. 32. ap. Ferrar. Lib. 2. cap. 9. [*g*] Ferrar. Lib. 2. cap. 15. ex Aug. Tract. 19, & 112. in Joan. Hom. 28. ex 50. Ser. 49, & 112. de Diverſis. Ser. 2. in Pſal. 32, & 147. Ser. 20. de Verb. Domini, &c.

where he ſpeaks of his Preaching from the Steps of the Altar, the People ſtanding about him [*h*]: *Seu te conſpicuis gradibus venerabilis Aræ Concionaturum Plebs ſedula circumſiſtit.* Which is farther confirmed by an *Homily*, that uſed to go under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [*i*], but is now more certainly determined by *Mabillon* and the *Benedictines* in their new Edition of St. *Auſtin's Works*, to belong to *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, where he grants an Indulgence to ſuch as were diſeaſed or infirm in their Feet, that they ſhould have Liberty to ſit, when the *Paſſions of the Martyrs*, or long Leſſons were read, or the Sermon was preached: But to all others, Women as well as Men, this Privilege is utterly denied. Which implies, that Standing was then the uſual Poſture of the Hearers in the *French* Churches. And that it was uſual alſo in ſome of the *Greek* Churches, may be inferred from that famous Story which *Euſebius* reports of *Conſtantine*, That when he made a Diſcourſe before him in his own Palace, he ſtood all the Time [*k*] with the reſt of the Hearers: And when *Euſebius* requeſted him to ſit down in the Throne that was prepared for him, he refuſed, ſaying, It was fit that Men ſhould ſtand to hear Diſcourſes of divine Things. But in the Churches of *Italy* the contrary Cuſtom prevailed: For St. *Auſtin* ſays, in the *Tranſmarine* Churches (by which he certainly means thoſe of *Italy*)

[*h*] Sidon. Carmen 16. ad Fauſtum Reienſem. [*i*] Aug. Ser. 26. ex 50. qui eſt 300. Novæ Editionis. Propter eos qui aut pedibus dolent, aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate ſolicitus conſilium dedi, & quodam modo ſupplicavi, ut quando aut Paſſiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ Lectiones longiores leguntur, qui Stare non poſſunt, humiliter & cum ſilentio ſedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. Ut quando aut Lectiones leguntur, aut Verbum Dei prædicatur, nulla (Fæmina) ſe in terram projiciat, niſi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit. [*k*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. Lib. 4. cap. 33.

Italy) it was prudently ordered, That not only the Biſhops ſat when they preached to the People, but that the People alſo had Seats to ſit upon, leſt any weak Perſon through Wearineſs grow remiſs in his Attention [*l*], or be forced to leave the Aſſembly. And he thinks it more adviſeable, that the ſame Indulgence ſhould be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the *African* Churches. That it was ſo in *Rome* in the Time of *Juſtin Martyr*, ſeems pretty plain from his *Second Apology*, where he ſays [*m*], That as ſoon as the Biſhop's Sermon was ended, they all roſe up to Prayer together. And the ſame Thing being noted by *Origen* [*n*] and *Athanaſius* [*o*], makes it probable, that the ſame Cuſtom prevailed in many of the *Eaſtern* Churches. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſays expreſsly [*p*], That the People heard his Diſcourſes Sitting. Conſider, ſays he, how many ſit here now, how many Souls are preſent; and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the Midſt of us, and ſees our Behaviour, and diſcerns our Hearts and Conſciences, and what we ſpeak, and what we think. And the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*q*] who chiefly relates the Cuſtoms of the *Eaſtern* Churches, repreſents the People as Sitting alſo to hear the Sermon. And ſo *Caſſian* [*r*] and St. *Jerom* [*s*] ſay, it was in all the Monaſteries

[*l*] Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 13. Sine dubitatione melius fiat, ubi decenter fieri poteſt, ut à principio ſedens audiat. Longeque conſultius in quibuſdam Eccleſiis Tranſmarinis non ſolum Antiſtites ſedentes loquuntur, ſed ipſi etiam populo ſedilia ſubjacent, &c. [*m*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. [*n*] Orig. Hom. 3. in Eſai. Hom. 19. in Jerem. [*o*] Athan. Hom. de ſemente. [*p*] Cyril. Catech. 16. n. 11. λόγισαι πόσοι καθέξεσθε νῦν, &c. [*q*] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 58. [*r*] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 12. [*s*] Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. Completis Orationibus, cunctiſque reſidentibus, medius quem Patrem vocant, incipit diſputare, &c.

ries of *Egypt*, where they ſat not only at Sermon, but at the Reading of the *Pſalms* and other Leſſons out of Scripture. So that this muſt be reckon'd among thoſe indifferent Rites and Cuſtoms, about which there was no general Rule of the Univerſal Church; but every one followed the Cuſtom of the Place where he lived, and every Church appointed what She judged moſt proper for the Edification of the People.

Sect. 26. *A peculiar Cuſtom of the* African *Church to quicken the Attention of the Hearers.*

It was a peculiar Cuſtom in the *African* Church, when the Preacher chanced to cite ſome remarkable Text of Scripture in the Middle of his Sermon, for the People to joyn with him in Repeating the Cloſe of it. St. *Auſtin* takes Notice of this in one of his Sermons [*t*], where having begun thoſe Words of St. *Paul*, *The End of the Commandment is* —— before he would proceed any farther, he called to the People to repeat the Remainder of the Verſe with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, *Charity out of a pure Heart*. By which, he ſays, they ſhewed that they had not been unprofitable Hearers. And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the People to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures, that they might be able upon Occaſion to repeat ſuch uſeful Portions of them, having then Liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their Mother-Tongue. Whether this was a Cuſtom in any other Place, I cannot ſay; having met with it only in St. *Auſtin*: For which Reaſon I have ſpoken of it only

[*t*] Aug. 36. ex editis à Sirmondo. T. 10. p. 837. Finis præcepti eſt (Jam vos dicite mecum: A populo acclamatum eſt) Caritas de corde puro. Omnes dixiſtis, quod non infructuoſe ſemper audiſtis. Vid. Ser. 13. de Verbis Dom. Ser. 2. de Verb. Apoſt.

only as a particular Cuſtom of the *African* Church, deſigned to quicken the Attention of the Hearers, and ſhew that they read and remembred the Holy Scriptures.

Sect. 27. *How the People were uſed to give publick Applauſes and Acclamations to the Preacher in the Church.*

IT was a much more general Cuſtom for the People to teſtify their Eſteem for the Preacher, and expreſs their Admiration of his Eloquence, or Approbation of his Doctrine by publick Applauſes and Acclamations in the Church. This was done ſometimes in expreſs Words, and ſometimes by other Signs and Indications of their Conſent and Approbation. The *Greeks* commonly call it κρότος, which denotes both Kinds of Approbation, as well by Clapping of Hands, as by Vocal and Verbal Acclamations. The firſt Uſe of it, as *Suicerus* [*u*] obſerves out of *Caſaubon* [*x*], was only in the Theatres. From thence it came into the Senate; and in proceſs of Time, into the Acts of the Councils, and the ordinary Aſſemblies of the Church. We are not concerned at preſent to enquire after Synodical Acclamations, but only ſuch as were uſed toward the Preachers in the Church. This was ſometimes done in Words of Commendation, as we find in one of the *Homilies* of *Paulus Emiſenus* [*y*] ſpoken in the Preſence of *Cyril* at *Alexandria*, where when *Paul* had uſed this Expreſſion, agreeing with *Cyril*'s Doctrine that had been preached before, *Mary*, the Mother of God, brought forth *Emanuel*; the People immediately cried out, O

[*u*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce, κρότος, Vol. 2. p. 173.
[*x*] Caſaub. Notis in Vulcatium Gallican. Vit. Avidij Caſſii. p. 89. [*y*] Paul. Emiſen. Hom. de Incarnat. Conc. Tom. 3. p. 1096. in Actis Concilij Epheſ. Par. 3. cap. 31.

O Orthodox *Cyril*, the Gift of GOD, the Faith is the ſame, this is what we deſired to hear, if any Man ſpeak otherwiſe, let him be *Anathema*. Sometimes they added other Indications of their Applauſe, as Clapping of their Hands, *&c.* Thus St. *Jerom* tells *Vigilantius*, The Time was [z] when he himſelf had applauded him with his Hands and Feet, leaping by his Side, and crying out, *Orthodox*, for his Sermon upon the Reſurrection. And ſo *George* of *Alexandria* tells us [a], The People applauded the Sermons of St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſome by toſſing their thin Garments, others moving their Plumes, others laying their Hands upon their Swords, and others waving their Handkerchiefs, and crying out, Thou art worthy of the Prieſthood, thou art the thirteenth Apoſtle, CHRIST hath ſent thee to ſave our Souls, *&c.* In like manner, *Gregory* repreſents in his Dream [b], how the People were uſed to applaud him when he preached, ſome by their Praiſes, and others by their ſilent Admiration, ſome in their Words, and ſome in their Minds, and others moving their Bodies as the Waves of the Sea raiſed by the Wind. St. *Jerom* refers to this, when he tells us [c], how *Gregory Nazianzen*

[z] Hieron. Ep. 75. cont. Vigilant. Recordare quæſo illius diei, quando, me de Reſurrectione & Veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere ſubſultabas, & plaudebas manu, & applodebas pede, & Orthodoxum conclamabas. [a] Georg. Alex. Vit. Chryſ. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum. Lib. 2. cap. 20.

[b] Naz. Somnium de Templo Anaſtaſiæ. T. 2. p. 78.

[c] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus rogatus à me, ut exponeret, quid ſibi vellet in Luca Sabbatum δευτεροπρωτον, eleganter luſit, Docebo te, inquiens, ſuper hac re in Eccleſia; in qua, mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus ſcire quod neſcis; aut certe, ſi ſolus tacueris, ſolus ab omnibus Stultitiæ condemnaberis.

Nazianzen, his Maſter, once anſwered a difficult Queſtion, which he put to him concerning the *Sabbatum*, δευτεροπρωτον, the ſecond *Sunday* after the firſt, mentioned *Luke* vi. I will inform you, ſays he, of this Matter in the Church, where when all the People are applauding me, you ſhall be forced to confeſs, you underſtand what you do not; or if you alone be ſilent, you ſhall be condemned of Folly by all the reſt. The ſame Cuſtom is often hinted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*d*], and *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* [*e*], and in Abundance of Places of St. *Auſtin* [*f*] and St. *Chryſoſtom* cited at length by *Ferrarius* [*g*] which after what has been ſaid, I think it needleſs to recite in this Place. The Curious Reader may either conſult *Ferrarius*, or the Paſſages referred to in their Authors. To which he may add many other Paſſages of *Chryſoſtom* [*h*], and *Socrates* [*i*], and *Proſper* [*k*], not mentioned by that diligent Writer, though he ſpends four whole Chapters upon this Subject.

I THINK

[*d*] Sidon. Lib. 9. Ep. 3. [*e*] Iſiid. Lib. 3. Ep. 343; & 382. [*f*] Aug. Serm. 5. de Verb. Domini Serm. 19, & 28. de Verb. Apoſtoli. Serm. 25. ex Quinquaginta. Serm. 45. de Tempore. Tract. 57. in Joan. Serm. 27. de Diverſis. Serm. in Pſal. 147. De Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 13. De Doctr. Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 26. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 1, 4, & 54. in Geneſ. Hom 2, 5, 6. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2. in Lazar. Hom. 2. in Joan. Hom. 3, & 5. De Incomprehenſib. Hom. 30, in Act. ap Ferrar. Lib. 2. cap. 18. [*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 1. De Verbis Eſai. T. 3. p. 910. Hom. 6. in Gen. p. 918. Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. Hom. 1. cont. Judæos. T. 1. p. 433. Hom. 16. in illud, Si eſurierit inimicus. T. 5. p. 220. Hom. 56. Quod non ſit deſperandum. T. 5. p. 742 [*i*] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 13. [*k*] Proſper. de Vita Contemplativa. Lib. 1. cap. 23.

Sect. 28.
But more Chriſtian-like expreſs their Approbation by Tears and Groans, and Compunction and Obedience.

I THINK it more material to obſerve out of the chief of thoſe Paſſages, that though the Ancients did not utterly refuſe or diſallow thoſe ſorts of Applauſes, but received them with Humility and Thankfulneſs to GOD, as good Indications of a towardly Diſpoſition in their Hearers; yet for as much as they were often but fallacious Signs, they neither much commended thoſe that gave them, nor thoſe Preachers that barely by their Eloquence obtained them; much leſs thoſe that out of a worldly Spirit, and a popular and vain Ambition laboured at nothing elſe but to court and affect them: But what they chiefly deſired to effect by their grand Eloquence, was to warm their Hearts, and melt them into Tears, to work them into Groans, and Sorrow, and Compunction for Sin, to bring them to Reſolutions of Obedience, and Compliance with the Holy Rules they preached to them, to work in them a Contempt of earthly Things, and raiſe their Souls, by all the Arts of moving the Affections, to a longing Deſire and Aſpiration after the Things of another World. This was their grand Aim in all their elaborate, and all their free and fluent Diſcourſes, and this they valued far above all the popular Applauſes that could be given them. This they reckoned their grand Eloquence, and rejoyced in nothing more, than when they could triumph in the Conviction and Converſion of their Hearers. To this Purpoſe, St. *Jerom* [*l*] in his Directions to *Nepotian*, lays it down as a Rule, That in Preaching, he ſhould labour to excite the Groans of the People, rather

[*l*] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Docente te in Eccleſia, non Clamor populi, ſed Gemitus ſuſcitetur; Lachrymæ auditorum Laudes tuæ ſint.

rather than their Applauſes; and let the Tears of the Hearers be the Commendation of the Preacher. And ſo he obſerves [*m*] it was in Fact among the Fathers of *Egypt*; when they diſcourſed of the Kingdom of CHRIST and the Glories of the World to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle Sigh, and Eyes lift up to Heaven, ſay within himſelf, *Oh that I had Wings like a Dove, for then I would flee away, and be at reſt!* In like manner *Proſper* [*n*] bids the Preacher, not place his Confidence in the Splendor of his Words, but in the Power of their Operation; nor be delighted with the Acclamations of the People, but their Tears; nor ſtudy to obtain their Applauſes, but their Groans. St. *Auſtin* did not refuſe theſe Acclamations of the People, yet he always takes Care to remind them rather to repay him with the Fruit of their Lives and Actions. You praiſe the Preacher [*o*] of the Word, ſays he, but I deſire the Doer of it. Thoſe Praiſes [*p*] are but the Leaves of the Tree, I deſire the Fruit of it. I would not be praiſed by ill Livers [*p*], I abhor it, I deteſt it; it a Grief to me, and not a Pleaſure. But if I ſay, I would not be praiſed by good Livers, I ſhould tell a lye; if I ſhould ſay, I deſire it, I am afraid of ſeeming deſirous more of Vanity than Solidity. Therefore what ſhall I ſay? I neither perfectly deſire it, nor perfectly refuſe it.

I

[*m*] Ep. 22. ad Euſtoch. cap. 15. [*n*] Proſper de Vita Contemplativa, Lib. 1. cap. 23. Non in verborum ſplendore, ſed in operum virtute totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; Non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis ſibi, ſed Fletibus: nec Plauſum à populo ſtudeat expectare, ſed Gemitum.

[*o*] Aug. Serm. 19. de Verbis Apoſtoli. Tu laudas tractantem: Ego quæro facientem. [*p*] Serm. 5. De Verbis Domini. Laudes iſtæ folia ſunt arborum, fructus quæritur.

[*q*] Hom. 25. ex 50. Laudari à male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, deteſtor, dolori mihi eſt, non voluptati, &c.

I do not deſire it abſolutely, for fear I ſhould be inſnared by humane Praiſe; I do not utterly refuſe it, for fear I ſhould be ungrateful to thoſe, to whom I preach. In his Book of *Chriſtian Doctrine* [r] where he ſpeaks of that ſort of Eccleſiaſtical *Rhetorick*, which is called *Grand Eloquence*, he ſays, A Man ſhould not think he had attained to it, becauſe he frequently received the loud Acclamations of the People: For thoſe were often gained by the Acumens and Ornaments of the ſubmiſs and moderate Stile; and the grand Eloquence did often ſuppreſs thoſe Acclamations by its Weight, and extort Tears in their Room. He gives there a remarkable Inſtance of his own Preaching once an Occaſional Sermon with ſuch Effect to the People of *Cæſarea* in *Mauritania*. It ſeems, in that Place a very barbarous and unnatural Cuſtom had for a long time prevailed, That at a certain Seaſon of the Year for ſome whole Days together, the whole City dividing themſelves into two Parties, were uſed to maintain a bloody Fight by throwing Stones at one another; and this without any Regard to Kindred or Relation: For ſometimes a Man ſlew his Brother, or a Father his Son, or a Son his Father. Now, ſays St. *Auſtin*, I ſet myſelf with all the Force of grand Eloquence to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate Evil out of their Hearts and Practice: Yet I did not take myſelf to have made any Impreſſion to Purpoſe upon them, whilſt I heard their Acclamations, but when I ſaw their Tears. For they ſhewed indeed by their Acclamations, that they were inſtructed and pleaſed; but by their Tears, that they were ſenſibly affected,

[r] De Doctrina Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 24. Non ſane, ſi dicenti crebrius & vehementius acclametur, ideo Granditer putandus eſt dicere: Grande autem genus plerumque pondere ſuo voces premit, ſed Lachrymas exprimit.

and really converted. Which when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the Victory over that barbarous Cuſtom, which had ſo long by Tradition from their Anceſtors poſſeſſed their Souls; before I ſaw any more viſible Proof in their Actions. Whereupon, as ſoon as Sermon was ended, I turned both their Mouths and Hearts to give GOD Thanks for it. And ſo, by the Help of CHRIST, there are now almoſt eight Years paſs'd, ſince any Thing of this Kind was ever attempted among them. He adds, That he had made many other Experiments of the like Nature, by which he had learned, that Men ordinarily ſhewed what Impreſſions the Force of wiſe and powerful *Rhetorick* made upon them, not ſo much by their Acclamations as by their Groans, and ſometimes by their Tears, and finally by their real Change of Life and ſincere Converſion. So that in the Judgment of this pious Father, the beſt Praiſe of a Sermon, and its *Rhetorick*, is the Compunction of its Hearers, and melting them into Tears, and ſubduing their Minds by Bending them to Obedience, which far exceeds the Honour of the greateſt Acclamations and Applauſes. After the ſame manner the great Orator of the *Eaſt*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, often tells his Hearers, he rejoyced not in their Applauſes, but in the Effects which his Diſcourſes had on their Minds, in making them become new Men. He ſays in one Place [*s*], They had made him happy in receiving his Diſcourſes about Prayer with a ready Mind. For happy is the Man that ſpeaks to an obedient Ear. And he judged of their Obedience, not ſo much from their Acclamations and Praiſes, as from what he had obſerved in their Actions. For when he had uſed this Argument, why they ſhould not pray

[*s*] Chryſ. 56. Quod non ſit deſperandum. T. 5. p. 742.

pray againſt their Enemies, Becauſe it was a Provocation of GOD, and ſetting up a new Law in Oppoſition to his Law: (For GOD ſays, *Pray for your Enemies*; but they that pray againſt them, do in Effect pray GOD to diſanul his own Law:) he ſays, upon his mentioning this and the like Arguments, he had obſerved many of them to ſmite upon their Face and Breaſt, and mourn bitterly, and lift up their Hands to Heaven, and ask GOD Pardon for ſuch unlawful Prayers. Which made him at the ſame time lift up his own Eyes to Heaven, and give GOD Thanks, that the Word of his Doctrine had ſo quickly produced Fruit in them. In another Place [*t*], ſays he, What do your Praiſes advantage me, when I ſee not your Progreſs in Vertue? Or what Harm ſhall I receive from the Silence of my Auditors, when I behold the Increaſe of their Piety? The Praiſe of the Speaker is not the κρότος, the Acclamations of his Hearers, but their Zeal for Piety and Religion; not their making a great Stir in Time of Hearing, but ſhewing Diligence at all other Times. Applauſe, as ſoon as it is out of the Mouth, is diſperſed into the Air, and vaniſhes; but when the Hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal Reward both to the Speaker and the Hearers. The Praiſe of your Acclamations may render the Orator more illuſtrious here, but the Piety of your Souls will give him great Confidence before the Tribunal of CHRIST. Therefore if any one love the Preacher (or if any Preacher love his People) let him not be enamoured with Applauſe, but with the Benefit of the Hearers. It were eaſy to tranſcribe many other ſuch Paſſages out of *Chryſoſtom*, where he ſhews a great Contempt of ſuch popular Applauſes,

[*t*] Hom. 16. Ibid. p. 220.

in Compariſon of their Obedience. I will only relate one Paſſage more, where he gives a ſevere Rebuke to all Preachers, who made this the only Aim of their Diſcourſes. Many, ſays he [*u*], appear in publick, and labour hard, and make long Sermons to gain the Applauſe of the People, in which they rejoyce as much as if they had gained a Kingdom; but if their Sermon ends in Silence, they are more tormented about that Silence, than about the Pains of Hell. This is the Ruin of the Church, that ye ſeek to hear ſuch Sermons, as are apt not to move Compunction, but Pleaſure, Hearing them as you would hear a Muſician or a Singer, with a tinckling Sound, and Compoſition of Words. And we act miſerably and coldly, whilſt we indulge our own Affections, which we ought to diſcard. We curiouſly ſeek after Flowers of *Rhetorick* and Compoſition and Harmony, that we may ſing to Men, and not profit them; that we may be had in Admiration by them, and not teach them; that we may raiſe Delight, and not godly Sorrow; that we may go off with Applauſe and Praiſe, and no ways edify them in their Morals. Believe me, for I would not otherwiſe ſay it, when I raiſe Applauſe in Preaching, I am then ſubject to human Infirmity (for why ſhould not a Man confeſs the Truth?) I am then raviſhed and highly pleaſed. But when I go Home and conſider, that my Applauders are gone away without Fruit, though they might have done otherwiſe, I weep, and wail, and lament that they periſh in their Acclamations and Praiſes, and that I have preached all in vain: And I reaſon thus with myſelf, What Profit is there in all my Labours, if my Hearers reap no Fruit from my Words? I have

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 30. in Act.

have often thought of making it a Law to forbid ſuch Acclamations, and to perſuade you to hear in Silence. By this it appears, that St. *Chryſoſtom* could rather have wiſhed to have had this Cuſtom wholly baniſhed out of the Church, becauſe it was ſo frequently abuſed by vain and ambitious Spirits, who regarded nothing elſe but to gain the Applauſe of their Hearers: To which Purpoſe they ſometimes ſuborned Men to applaud them in the Church, as is complained of *Paulus Samoſatenſis* by the Council of *Antioch* [x]: And ſometimes affected to preach in ſuch a manner upon abſtruſe Subjects, as neither the People, nor themſelves underſtood, only to be admired by the ignorant Multitude, who, as St. *Jerom* complains [y] in this very Caſe, are commonly moſt prone to admire what they do not underſtand. For which Reaſon, it was the Care of all pious Preachers, to ſhew a tender Regard to the Underſtandings of Men; and, whether it gained Applauſe or not, to ſpeak uſefully, and as far as might be, to the Capacities and Apprehenſions of their Hearers; and by all the Powers of divine Eloquence, and proper Arts of Edification and Perſuaſion, incline them to Obedience and an heavenly Temper. Without which they imagined the Succeſs and Event of their Preaching, however eloquent and pleaſing to the Ear, was no better received than that of the Prophet, complained of *Ezek.* xxxiii. 32. *Thou art unto them as a very lovely Song of one that hath a very pleaſant Voice, and can play well on an Inſtrument: for they hear thy Words, but they will not do them.*

[x] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 30.

[y] Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

Sect. 28. *Sermons anciently penned by the Hearers.*

THERE is one Thing more muſt be taken Notice of with Relation to to the Hearers, becauſe it expreſſed a great deal of Zeal and Diligence in their Attention: Which is, that many of them learned the Art of Notaries, (the *Greeks* call them ὀξυγεάφοι and ταχυγεάφοι, *ready Writers*) that they might be able to take down in Writing the Sermons of famous Preachers, Word for Word, as they delivered them. By this Means ſome of their *Extempore* Diſcourſes were handed down to Poſterity, which otherwiſe muſt have died with the Speaking. As has been obſerved before [*a*] out of *Euſebius* concerning ſome of *Origen*'s, which he preached in his latter Years. St. *Auſtin* makes the ſame Obſervation [*b*] concerning his own Sermons upon the *Pſalms*, That it pleaſed the Brethren not only to receive them with their Ears and Heart, but with their Pens likewiſe: So that he was to have Regard not only to his Auditors, but his Readers alſo. [*c*] *Socrates* ſays the ſame of *Chryſoſtom*'s Sermons, that ſome of them were publiſhed by himſelf, and others by Notaries, who took them from his Mouth as he ſpake them. But they did not thus honour all Preachers, but only thoſe that were moſt celebrated and renowned. For *Sozomen* [*d*] obſerves of the Sermons of *Atticus*, That they were ſo mean after he gave himſelf to preach *Extempore* when he was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that the Notaries did not think fit to write them. Theſe Notaries were ſome of

[*a*] Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 36. & Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. *cited before* n. 11. [*b*] Aug. in Pſal. 51. p. 201. Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure & corde, ſed & ſtylo excipienda quæ dicimus: Ut non Auditorem tantum, ſed & Lectorem cogitare debeamus. [*c*] Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 4. [*d*] Sozom. Lib. 8. cap. 27.

of them allowed by the Preacher himſelf, and were therefore a Sort of publick Notaries appointed for this Purpoſe: But others did it privately according to their Inclination and Diſcretion. This Difference is hinted by *Euſebius*, when he ſays, *Origen* allowed no Notaries to take his Sermons, till he was ſixty Years old; and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Farewel Sermon, where he thus takes his Leave of his Church, Farewel ye Lovers of my Sermons, and ye Pens [e] both publick and private. In which he plainly alludes to the two Sorts of Notaries that wrote his Sermons in the Church. The publick Notaries were generally allowed by the Author's Conſent to publiſh what they wrote: In which Caſe, it was uſual for the Preacher to review his own Dictates, and correct ſuch Miſtakes, and ſupply ſuch Deficiencies, as might be occaſioned by the Haſte of the Scribe, or ſome Things not ſo accurately ſpoken by themſelves in ſudden and *Extempore* Diſcourſes. This is evident from what *Gregory the Great* [f] ſays of his *Preface* to his *Homilies* upon *Ezekiel*, That thoſe *Homilies* were firſt taken from his Mouth, as he ſpake them to the People, and after eight Years he collected them from the Papers of the Notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them. So again, in his *Preface* upon *Job*, he ſays, Some of his *Homilies* were compoſed by himſelf, and others taken by the Notaries; and thoſe which were taken by the Notaries, when he had Time, he reviewed, adding ſome

[e] Naz. Orat. 32. p. 528. Χαίρεσε γεγραφίδες φανερῶι καὶ λανθάνουσαι.

[f] Greg. Præfat. in Ezek. Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezekielem Prophetam, ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ ſunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed poſt annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum Schedulas requirere ſtudui, eaſque favente Domino tranſcurrens, in quantum ab anguſtiis tribulationum licuit, emendavi, &c.

[g] Things, and rejecting others, and leaving many Things as he found them, and with ſuch Emendations he compoſed them into Books, and publiſhed them. But many times the Notaries publiſhed what they had written, without the Author's Knowledge or Conſent. In which Caſe, we ſometimes find them remonſtrating againſt this as a clandeſtine Practice [*b*]. Thus *Gaudentius* ſays, He did not own thoſe *Homilies*, which were firſt taken by the Notaries latently and by ſtealth, and then publiſhed by others imperfectly, and only by Halves, with great Chaſms and Interruptions in them. He would not acknowledge them for his Diſcourſes, which the Notaries had written in extreme Haſte, and publiſhed, without giving him any Opportunity to ſuperviſe and correct them. And probably, there may be Reaſon for the ſame Complaint in other Writers. However, it ſhews a great Diligence and Attention in the Hearers of thoſe Days, and a great Reſpect and Honour paid to their Teachers, that they would be at ſo much Pains to treaſure up and preſerve their pious Inſtructions.

Sect. 29. *Two Reflections made by the Ancients upon ſome of their corrupt Auditors.* 1. *The negligent and prophane Hearers.*

THESE Things may be juſtly ſpoken to their Honour, and it is no Reflection on them, or Diminution of their good Character, that there were ſome others in thoſe Times (as there will be in all Times) who deſerved a contrary Character, either for their Deficiency and Want

[g] Id. Præfat. in Job. Cumque mihi ſpatia largiora ſuppeterent, multa augens, pauca ſubtrahens, atque ita ut inventa ſunt nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta ſub oculis fuerant, per Libros emendando compoſui, &c. [*b*] Gaudent. Præfat. ad Benevolum. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 3. De illis vero Tractatibus, quos Notariis, ut comperi, latenter adpoſitis, proculdubio interruptos & ſemiplenos otioſa quorundam ſtudia colligere præſumpſerunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non ſunt, quæ conſtat præcipiti Excipientium feſtinatione eſſe conſcripta,

Want of Zeal in this Matter, or for their indiſcreet and intemperate Zeal, in placing all Religion in a Sermon, and ſpeaking contemptuouſly of Prayer, or other Parts of Divine-Service without it. The two Errors in the contrary Extremes, the one in Exceſs, the other in Defect, the Ancients had ſometimes occaſion to rebuke, and they did it with a becoming Sharpneſs. Though St. *Chryſoſtom* was ſo much admired, that the People generally ſaid, when he was ſent into Baniſhment, That it was better [*i*] the Sun ſhould withdraw its Rays, than his Mouth be ſhut up in Silence; yet he was often forced with Grief to complain of ſome for their abſtaining from religious Aſſemblies [*k*], where they were ſcarce ſeen once a Year; of others, that they ſpent their Time there in nothing but idle Diſcourſe, or Laughing and Jeſting, or tranſacting worldly Buſineſs [*l*], laying themſelves open to the aſſaults of the wicked Spirit, who found their Houſe fit for his Reception, empty, ſwept and garniſhed; of others, that they turned the Church into a Theatre [*m*], and ſought for nothing there, but to pleaſe their Ears without any other Advantage; and finally, of others, who extolled his Diſcourſes by great Applauſe in Words, but diſgrac'd them by the Diſobedience of their Lives and Actions; of whom we have heard ſo much before. In one Place he more particularly reproaches them that abſented from Church, with the Example of the *Jews*, who could abſtain from Work, for Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Days together, without Contradiction [*n*], at the Command of their Prieſts, and neither open their

[*i*] Chryſ. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. [*k*] Hom. 46. in Lucian. Martyr. T. 1. p. 597. Hom 48. In Inſcript. Altaris. T. 5. p. 648.
[*l*] Hom. 4. De Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 374.
[*m*] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 31. [*n*] Hom. 48. De Inſcript. Altaris. T. 5. p. 648.

their Doors, nor light a Fire, nor carry in Water for any neceſſary Uſe, which yet they ſubmitted to, though it was an intolerable corporal Slavery; whereas Chriſtians were only required to ſet apart one Day in ſeven, and only two Hours of the Day for religious Aſſemblies, to obtain the greateſt ſpiritual Advantages to the Soul; and yet they neglected ſuch Opportuuities, and choſe any Meetings rather than the Church. St. *Ambroſe* in like manner upbraids thoſe, who ſpent their Time in Talking in the Church, from the Example of the Heathen [*o*], who reverenced their Idols by their Silence, whilſt Chriſtians even drowned the Voice of the Divine Oracles, and the Declaration of them, by their confuſed Noiſe and Confabulations in the Church. This, *Cæſarius* tells them [*p*], was in effect to offer Men Poyſon or a Sword. For ſuch an one neither heard the Word of GOD himſelf, nor ſuffered others to hear it: And ſuch muſt expect not only to give Account of their own, but other Mens Deſtruction at the Day of Judgment. *Origen* [*q*], and ſome others tell theſe Men, their own Practice, in another Caſe, would riſe up in Judgment againſt them: For they themſelves ſhewed a great Reverence to the Body of CHRIST in the *Euchariſt*; and yet it was no leſs a Piacular Crime, to ſhew Contempt to the Word of GOD, than to his Body; and they would be held guilty for a Diſreſpect in the one Caſe as well as the other. Thus they ſhewed Men, what Reverence was

[*o*] Ambroſ. de Virgin. Lib. 3. An quicquam eſt indignius, quam Oracula divina circumſtrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur? circumſonare Sacramenta confuſis vocibus, cum Gentiles Idolis ſuis Reverentiam tacendo deferant?

[*p*] Cæſar. Arelat. Hom. 34. [*q*] Orig. Hom 13. in Exod. T. 1. p. 102. Quomodo putatis minoris eſſe Piaculi, Verbum Dei neglexiſſe, quam Corpus ejus? Vid. Aug. Hom. 26, ex 50.

was due to the Preaching of the Word of GOD, by ſetting before them the Sin and Danger of thoſe Abuſes ſome were apt to run into, by an Error in Defect and Want of a juſt Reverence to it.

Sect. 30. *And ſecondly, the Intemperate Zealots, who placed all Religion in a Sermon.*

ON the other hand, They were no leſs careful to guard Men againſt Superſtition in the other Extreme. For there was an Error in Exceſs, as well as in Defect of Reverence for Preaching. Some were ſo over-run with an indiſcreet Bigotry and intemperate Zeal for Preaching, as to reckon all other Parts of Divine-Service uſeleſs and inſignificant, if they were not accompanied with a Sermon. Theſe Men had their Arguments to plead in their own Behalf, which are thus propoſed and anſwered by St. *Chryſoſtom* [r]: Why ſhould I go to Church, ſaid they, if I cannot hear a Preacher? This one Thing, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, has ruined and deſtroyed all Religion. For what Neceſſity is there of a Preacher? That Neceſſity ariſes only from our Sloath and Negligence. For why otherwiſe ſhould there be any Need of an *Homily*? All things are clear and open in the Holy Scriptures; all Things neceſſary are plainly revealed. But becauſe ye are Hearers that ſtudy only to delight your Ears and Fancy, therefore ye deſire theſe Things. Tell me, I pray, with what Pomp of Words did St. *Paul* preach? And yet he converted the World. What Pomp did the illiterate *Peter* uſe? But, ſay they, we cannot underſtand the things that are written in Scripture. Why ſo? Are they ſpoken in *Hebrew*, or *Latin*, or any other ſtrange Tongue? Are they not ſpoken in *Greek*, to you that underſtand the *Greek* Tongue? Yea, but they are ſpoken

[r] Chryſ. Hom 3. in 2 Theſ. p. 1502.

ſpoken darkly. How darkly? What Difficulties do the Hiſtories contain? You underſtand the plain Places, that you may take Pains and enquire about the reſt. There are a thouſand Hiſtories in the Bible: Tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of theſe. Therefore all this is mere Pretence and Words. Oh but, ſay they, we have the ſame Things read to us every Day out of Scripture. And do you not hear the ſame Things every Day in the Theatre? Have you not the ſame Sight at the Horſe-race? Are not all Things the ſame? Does not the ſame Sun riſe every Morning? Do you not eat the ſame Meat every Day? I would ask you, ſeeing you ſay you hear the ſame Things every Day, What Portion of the Prophets, what Apoſtle, what Epiſtle was read? But you cannot tell: They are perfectly new and ſtrange to you. When therefore you are diſpoſed to be idle, you pretend the ſame Things are read: But when you are asked concerning them, you are as Men that never heard them. If they are the ſame, you ſhould have known them: But you know nothing of them. This is a Thing to be lamented, that the Workman labours in vain. For this Reaſon you ought to attend, becauſe they are the ſame, becauſe we bring nothing ſtrange or new to your Ears. What then, becauſe ye ſay the Scriptures are always the ſame, but what we preach are not ſo, but always contain ſomething new, do ye attend to to them? In no wiſe. And if we ask you, Why do you not remember them? Ye anſwer, How ſhould we, ſeeing we hear them but once? If we ſay, Why do you not remember the Scriptures? Ye anſwer, They are always the ſame. Theſe are nothing but Pretences for Idleneſs, and mere Indications of a ſceptical Temper. Thus that holy Father rebukes that intemperate Zeal, which ſet up Preaching in Oppoſition to Reading of the Scriptures, under various

various Pretences of their being obſcure, or tedious Repetitions of the ſame Things, when in Truth a fanatical Affectation of Novelty, and a fantaſtical Scepticiſm, and a vicious Deſire of being freed from all the Burden of Attending upon religious Aſſemblies, was really at the Bottom of all their Objections.

Sect. 31. *How Men were treated, who thought their Sermons too long.*

THERE is but one Thing more to be obſerved upon this Head: which is, That as there were ſome who complained, that their Sermons were not frequent enough, or too ſhort; ſo there were others that complained, they were too long, and were diſpoſed to leave the Aſſemhly before Sermon was ended. Some Canons are pretty ſevere upon ſuch Auditors. The fourth Council of *Carthage*, Orders them to be proceeded againſt [*s*] with Excommunication. But others uſed a more gentle Way, contenting themſelves to admoniſh their Auditors of their Duty, and ſometimes uſing ingenious Stratagems, and feign'd Apologues to detain them; and ſometimes ordering the Doors of the Church to be kept ſhut, till all was ended. Which is particularly remarked of *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* by the Author of his Life [*t*]. St. *Chryſoſtom* conſiders the Matter with ſome Diſtinction. He makes ſome Allowance for the Weakneſs of ſuch as were unable to hold out the whole Time at a long Sermon: And for as much as many were more deſirous of long Sermons than ſhort ones, he thinks the Matter was ſo

[*s*] Conc. Carth. 4. Can. 24. Sacerdote Verbum faciente in Eccleſia, qui egreſſus de Auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

[*t*] Cyprian. Vit. Cæſar. cap. 12. Sæpiſſime oſtia, lectis Evangeliis, occludi juſſit; donec propitio Deo ipſi gratularentur, ea coercitione ſe profeciſſe, qui ſolebant eſſe fugitivi. Vid. Cæſar. Hom. 12.

ſo to be ordered, as to accommodate both. Seeing there are ſome, ſays he, in ſo great a Multitude, who cannot [*u*] bear a long Diſcourſe, my Advice to ſuch is, That when they have heard as much as they can contain, and as much as ſuffices them, they ſhould depart, (for no one hinders them, or compels them to ſtay longer than their Strength is able to bear) that they may not impoſe a Neceſſity on us of making an End before the proper Time. For thou art ſatisfied, but thy Brother is yet an hungry: Thou haſt drunk thy Fill of what is ſpoken, but thy Brother is yet athirſt. Therefore neither let him burden thy Weakneſs, by compelling thee to receive more than thy Strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his Deſire of Hearing, by hindring him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For ſo it is at a common Table, ſome are filled ſooner, ſome later, and neither do theſe accuſe thoſe, nor they condemn the other. But there is a Commendation to depart quickly; but here to depart quickly is not commendable, but only pardonable. To ſtay long at a carnal Feaſt, is a Matter worthy of Reproof, becauſe it proceeds from an intemperate Appetite: But to ſtay long at a ſpiritual Feaſt, deſerves the higheſt Praiſe and Commendation, becauſe it proceeds from a ſpiritual Deſire and holy Appetite, and argues Patience and Conſtancy in giving Attention. Thus that holy Father decides the Controverſy about long and ſhort Sermons, and prudently divides the Matter between Strong and Week Hearers; commending the one, without condemning the other; and making ſome Apology for the Length of his Sermons, without Offence to either Party. I ſhall make the ſame Apology to my Readers

[*u*] Chryſ. 60. Dæmones non gubernare Mundum, T. 5. p. 784.

Readers for the Length of this Chapter: If there be any whoſe Curioſity leads them to know all that relates to the Preaching of the Ancients, they may read the whole, and perhaps will not think it too long; but they whoſe Appetite is not ſo ſharp, may ſhorten it as they pleaſe, and accommodate it to their own Uſe, by ſelecting ſuch Parts as are moſt agreeable to their own Taſte, and proper for their own Inſtruction. And ſo I end the Diſcourſe about Preaching in the ancient Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the PRAYERS *for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes or Candidates of Baptiſm, and the Penitents.*

Sect. 1. *That Prayers in the ancient Church were not before, but after the Sermon.*

AS ſoon as the Sermon was ended, the publick Prayers of the Church began, and not before. For anciently the Order of Divine-Service was a little different in its Method from what it is uſually now in the Church. For anciently the greateſt Part of the publick Prayers came after Sermon. This is expreſsly ſaid by *Juſtin Martyr* in his *Apology*, where he is giving an Account of the Chriſtian Worſhip on the Lord's Day. He ſays, They firſt read the Scriptures, then the Preſident or Biſhop made a Diſcourſe or Exhortation; after which they roſe up all together and made their Common [a] Prayers: And then when theſe were ended, the Biſhop prayed again,

[a] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. ὁ προεστὼς τὴν νουθεσίαν ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. &c.

again, and gave Thanks for the Conſecration of the Bread and Wine in the *Euchariſt*, the People anſwering, *Amen*. And ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* affirms alſo, ſaying in one Place [*b*], The Exhortation comes firſt, and then immediately Prayer. And in another [*c*] Place, You need both Advice and Prayer: Therefore we adviſe you firſt, meaning in the Sermon, and then we make Prayers for you. They that are initiated know what I ſay. So that when *Chryſoſtom*, or any others ſay, Prayer went before Sermon, they are to be underſtood either of that ſhort Salutation, which the Miniſter uſed at the Entrance upon every Office, *The Lord be with you*, the People anſwering, *And with thy Spirit:* Or of ſome ſhort Prayer of the Preacher; or of the private Prayers of People intermingled with the Pſalmody; and not of the Common Prayers of the Church. For many Orders of Men might be preſent at the Sermon, and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not joyn in Prayers with the Faithful; and for that Reaſon the Sermon and Reading of the Scriptures went before, that ſuch Perſons might have the Benefit of them, who were to be diſmiſſed when the Prayers begun, becauſe they had as yet no Title to communicate in them.

Sect. 2. *Who might, or might not be preſent at theſe Prayers. Infidels and mere Hearers obliged to withdraw.*

THESE Prayers were of two Sorts: Prayers peculiar to the Faithful or Communicants only, at which neither Catechumens, nor Penitents, nor Energumens, nor any Perſons yet unbaptized might be preſent: And Prayers made particularly for theſe

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 28. quæ eſt 3. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 365. μετὰ τὴν προαίνεσιν εὐθέως εὐχή.

[*c*] Id. Hom. 11. in 1 Theſ. p. 1480. πρότερον συμβουλεύοντες, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημμένοι.

for these several Orders, at which therefore they were allowed to be present, and both hear the Prayers, and pray for themselves But even from these Prayers some were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be present at Sermons for their Instruction. Such were all *Jews* and Infidels, and such of the Catechumens and Penitents as were known by the distinct Name of ἀκροώμενοι among the *Greeks*, and *Audientes* among the *Latins*, that is, Hearers only. Therefore as soon as Sermon was ended, before any of these Prayers began in the Service of the Catechumens, a Deacon was used to make Proclamation from some Eminency in the Church, *Ne quis Audientium, Ne quis Infidelium, Let none of the Hearers, Let none of the Unbelievers be present*, as it is worded in the *Constitutions* [d].

Sect. 3. *Of the Prayers for the Catechumens. The genuine Forms of them out of St.* Chrysostom *and the* Constitutions.

THIS said, and Silence being made, the Deacon cried again, *Pray, ye Catechumens:* And, *Let all the Faithful with Attention pray for them, saying, Lord have mercy upon them.* Then the Deacon began a Prayer for them, which in the *Constitutions* is called προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, a Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens, because it was both an Exhortation and Direction how they were to pray for them. We have two ancient Forms of this Prayer still remaining, one in St. *Chrysostom*, and another in the *Constitutions*. That in the *Constitutions* is in these Words [e]: *Let us all beseech God for the Catechumens; That He who is Gracious, and a Lover of Mankind, would mercifully hearken to their Supplications and Prayers, and accepting their Petitions would help them, and grant them the Requests of*

[d] Constit. Apost. Lib. 8. c. 5. [e] Constit. Lib. 8. c. 6.

their Souls according to what is expedient for them; That He would reveal the Goſpel of Chriſt to them; That He would enlighten and inſtruct them, and teach them the Knowledge of God and divine Things; That He would inſtruct them in his Precepts and Judgments; That He would open the Ears of their Hearts to be occupied in his Law Day and Night; That He would confirm them in Religion; That He would unite them to, and number them with his holy Flock, vouchſafing them the Laver of Regeneration, with the Garment of Incorruption, and true Life; That He would deliver them from all Impiety, and give no place to the Adverſary to get Advantage againſt them; but that He would cleanſe them from all Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by his Chriſt; That He would bleſs their going out and their coming in, and direct all their Deſigns and Purpoſes to their Advantage. Farther yet, Let us earneſtly pray for them, That they may have Remiſſion of Sins by the Initiation of Baptiſm, and be thought worthy of the holy Myſteries, and remain among his Saints.

THEN the Deacon addreſſing himſelf to the Catechumens themſelves, ſaid, *Catechumens ariſe. Pray for the Peace of God, that this Day, and all the Time of your Life may paſs in Quietneſs and without Sin; that you may make a Chriſtian End, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain Remiſſion of your Sins. Commend yourſelves to the only Unbegotten God by his Chriſt.*

TO every Petition of this Bidding Prayer, the People, and eſpecially Children, are appointed to ſubjoyn, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon them.*

AFTER this the Deacon bids them bow down, and receive the Biſhops Benediction; which is in the following Form of direct Invocation.

O Almighty God, who art without Original and Inacceſſible, the only true God, thou God and Father of Chriſt

Chriſt thy only-begotten Son, God of the Comforter [*], *and Lord of all things; who by Chriſt didſt make Learners become Teachers for the Propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge; Look down now upon theſe Thy Servants, who are Learning the Inſtructions of the Goſpel of Thy Chriſt: And give them a new Heart, and renew a right Spirit within them, that they may know and do Thy Will with a perfect Heart and a willing Mind. Vouchſafe them Thy Holy Baptiſm, and unite them to Thy Holy Church, and make them Partakers of Thy Holy Myſteries, through Chriſt our Hope, who died for them, by whom be Glory*

[*] *This Phraſe,* ὁ Θεὸς τῦ παρακλήτυ, *and a like Phraſe, which occurs in the Prayer of this Author in the Daily Evening Service,* Lib. 8. cap. 37. *where the Father is ſtiled,* ὁ τῦ πνεύματος κύριος, *the Lord of the Spirit, are harſh Expreſſions, and not very uſual in Catholick Writers; which makes ſome ſuſpect this Author, as if he were tainted with the* Macedonian *Hereſy, which denies the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and makes him a mere Creature. But this ſeems not to have been the Intent of our Author, who no where denies the true Divinity of the Son or Holy Ghoſt, but only gives ſuch Titles of Preeminence to the Father, as* Juſtin Martyr *did before him, in regard to the Father's being the Fountain of the Deity, and the Origin of Exiſtence in the Son and Holy Spirit, not as Creatures, but as his Eternal Son and Eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him in all Eſſential Perfections, but only deriving thoſe Divine Perfections from him, as the Author and Fountain of their Being, as God of God, and Light of Light, by eternal Generation and Proceſſion. In this ſenſe, Biſhop* Bull *has obſerved, that* Juſtin Martyr *in his Dialogue with* Tryphon, p. 358. *uſes the very ſame Expreſſion, in ſpeaking of the Son, as our Author does of the Spirit: For he ſays, The Father is* Κυρίος Κύριος ὡς πατὴρ καὶ Θεὸς, αἴτιός τε ἀυτῷ τῦ εἶναι, καὶ δυνατῷ, καὶ κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῷ, *The Lord of the Lord, as Father and God, and Cauſe of his Being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is Omnipotent and Lord and God. Where Biſhop* Bull *rightly obſerves, That God the Father is ſaid to be God and Lord of his Son, not as he is Lord of the Creatures, but* quatenus eſt Fons Divinitatis & Cauſa Filio, ut ſit, *As he is the Fountain of the Deity and Cauſe of his Son's Exiſtence: Which does not make the Son a Creature, but the True, Conſubſtantial, and Eeernal Son of God; or as our Authour expreſſes himſelf accurately elſewhere, he is hereby* Θεὸς μονογενὴς, *God the Only-begotten; that is, the true Son of the Father, who is ſtiled Lord of the Son, not as a Creator, but as a Father.*

and Worſhip unto Thee, World without End. Amen. After this, let the Deacon ſay, *Catechumens, depart in Peace.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* in one of his *Homilies* gives us a like Form of the Deacons Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens. The Law [g] of the Church, ſays he, moves the Faithful to pray for thoſe who are yet unbaptized. For when the Deacon ſays, *Let us pray fervently for the Catechumens*, he does nothing elſe but excite the whole Multitude of the Faithful to pray for them. For the Catechumens are as yet Aliens: They are not yet engrafted into the Body of CHRIST, nor made Partakers of the Holy Myſteries, but remain divided from the ſpiritual Flock. And for that Reaſon he ſays, *Let us pray fervently*; that you may not reject them as Aliens, that you may not diſown them as Strangers. For they are not yet allowed to uſe the Prayer that was introduced and eſtabliſhed by the Law of CHRIST. He means the *Lord's Prayer.* They have not yet Liberty or Confidence enough to pray for themſelves, but need the Help of thoſe that are already initiated. For they ſtand without the Royal Gates, and at a Diſtance from the holy Rails. And for that Reaſon are ſent away when the tremendous Prayers are offered at the Altar. Upon this Account the Deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made Members, and be no longer Foreigners and Aliens. For that Word, *Let us pray*, is not ſpoken to the Prieſts only, but alſo to the People. For when he ſays, σῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν, *Let us ſtand decently, Let us pray*, he exhorts all to pray. And then he begins the Prayer in theſe Words:

That the Merciful and Gracious God would vouchſafe to hear their Prayers; That He would open the Ears of their

[g] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

their Hearts; that they may hear what Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it entred into the Heart of Man; *That He would inſtil into them the Word of His Truth; That He would ſow the Word of His Truth in their Hearts; and confirm His Faith in their Minds; That He would reveal unto them the Goſpel of Righteouſneſs; That He would give them a divine and heavenly Mind, pure and holy Thoughts, and a vertuous Converſation; always to mind, always to regard, and meditate upon the Things that belong to Him, and to be occupied in His Law Day and Night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, That He would deliver them from all evil and abſurd Employments, from all Diabolical Sin, and all the Circumventions of the Adverſary; That he would vouchſafe to bring them in due time to the Laver of Regeneration, and grant them Remiſſion of Sins, and the Clothing of Incorruption; That He would, during their whole Lives, bleſs their Going out and their Coming in, their Houſes and Families; That He would encreaſe and bleſs their Children, and bring them to the Meaſure of perfect Age with the Inſtruction of Wiſdom; And that He would direct all their Purpoſes to their Advantage.*

AFTER this, the Deacon bids them riſe up and pray for themſelves, dictating what they were to pray for: *Pray, ye Catechumens, for the Angel of Peace; that all your Purpoſes may be peaceably directed: Pray, that this preſent Day and all the Days of your Lives may be ſpent in Peace, and that you may make a Chriſtian End. Commend yourſelves to the Living God and to his Chriſt.*

THIS being done, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, we bid them bow their Heads, and receive the Benediction of GOD, as a Sign that their Prayers are heard. For it is not Man that bleſſes them, but by his Hands and Tongue we preſent their Heads, as they ſtand there, to the Heavenly King; and then all the Congregation with a loud Voice cry out, *Amen.*

HERE is a plain Account of the ſecond Prayer that was made for the Catechumens by the Biſhop, which is ſtiled here, as it is alſo in the *Conſtitutions*, the *Biſhop's Commendation* or *Benediction.*

LEARNED Men think this *Homily* was preached by *Chryſoſtom* when he was Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* And if ſo, we muſt conclude that theſe Prayers were the Forms that were uſed then in the *Liturgy* of *Conſtantinople.*

Sect. 4.
What meant by their Praying for the Angel of Peace in this Form of Prayer.

AND I the rather incline to this Opinion, becauſe there is ſome little Difference between this Form of *Chryſoſtom's* and that in the *Conſtitutions.* For in this of *Chryſoſtom's* the Catechumens are bid to pray for the Angel of Peace, which is not mentioned in the Form of the *Conſtitutions*; though it be in another Place [*h*] where Directions are given for the Ordinary Morning and Evening Service. St. *Chryſoſtom* often mentions this ſame Petition for the Angel of Peace in his other *Homilies.* As in his Third *Homily* upon the *Coloſſians*, where he ſays, every Man has Angels attending him, and alſo the Devil very buiſy about him. Therefore we pray [*i*] and make our Supplications for the Angel of Peace. And ſo in his Sermon [*k*] upon the Aſcenſion: Speaking of the Air being filled with good and bad Angels, the one always raiſing War and Diſcord in the World, and the other inclining Men to Peace, he tells his Auditory, they

[*h*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 36. & 37. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338. διὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμεθα, καὶ λέγομεν αἰτούμενοι τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης. [*k*] Hom. 35. in Aſcenſion. Domini. T. 5. p. 535. ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἄκουσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσασθε.

they might know there were Angels of Peace, by hearing the Deacons always in the Prayers bidding Men pray for the Angel of Peace. This undoubtedly refers to the forementioned Form of Prayer, wherein the Catechumens are directed to ask of GOD the Protection of the Angel of Peace. In like manner in another [*l*] Place, When the Deacon bids Men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the reſt of their Petitions, To pray for the Angel of Peace, and that all their Purpoſes may be Peaceably directed. Which are the very Words of the Catechumens Prayer aboveſaid.

THE Deſign of all which was, not to teach their Catechumens to pray to their Guardian Angels (according to the Modern Way of inſtructing in the Romiſh Church [*m*]; though this had been a very proper Seaſon to have admoniſhed the Catechumens of it, had there been any ſuch Practice in the Ancient Church;) but it was to teach them to pray to the God of Angels: That he who makes his Angels to encamp about his Servants, would by their Miniſtry defend them from the Incurſions of Wicked Spirits, thoſe Fomenters of War and Diviſion and Enmity among Men, and ſo keep them and all their Purpoſes in a Courſe of perpetual and uninterrupted Peace, that they might finally make a Chriſtian and a Peaceable End.

Sect. 5.
Children in ſome Churches appointed to ſay this Prayer with the reſt of the People.

ANOTHER Thing wherein the Form in the *Conſtitutions* differs from that in St. *Chryſoſtom*, is, That it appoints the Children of the Church particularly and more eſpecially to join in this Common-Prayer for

[*l*] Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713. ὁ διάκονος ὁ κελεύων εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν, αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά. [*m*] Vid. Drexel. de Cultu Cœlitum. Lib. 2. cap. 3.

the Catechumens; whereas the Form uſed in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Church mentions no ſuch Thing: And *Chryſoſtom* himſelf in another Place [*n*] ſays plainly, That Children were not called upon to join in the Prayers for the Energumens and Penitents (which were of the ſame Sort with theſe for the Catechumens) but only in the Prayers for the Communicants at the Altar. As theſe Differences prove the two Forms not to belong to the *Liturgy* of one and the ſame Church; ſo they make it probable, that St. *Chryſoſtom* gives us the Form uſed in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* the Form that was uſed at *Antioch*, or ſome other eminent Church, whoſe Rituals he tranſcribed and put together.

Sect. 6. *What Notice we have of this Prayer in other ancient Writings.*

Now by having fixed this Prayer in its proper Place, we may interpret all other Paſſages in the ancient Writers, which ſpeak of Praying over the Catechumens, or Praying with them. As that of the Council of *Nice*, which orders, that if any of thoſe, who were Catechumens properly ſo called, that is, of that Rank who had theſe Prayers ſaid over them, became Lapſers, then they ſhould for Three Years be thruſt down to the Rank of Hearers only, and after that be admitted [*o*] to pray with the Catechumens again. And that Canon of the Council of *Neocæſarea* [*p*], which orders, that if any ſuch Catechumens, as were called γόνυ κλίνοντες, that is, Proſtrators or Kneelers, who bowed down to have theſe Prayers ſaid over them, ſhould fall into any ſcandalous Sin, then they ſhould be excluded from the Prayers,

[*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. in Mat. p. 624. [*o*] Conc. Nicen. can. 14. [*p*] Conc. Neocæſar. can. 6.

Prayers, and be ranked among the Hearers only: And if they fell again when they were Hearers, they ſhould be excluded from the very Entrance of the Church.

Sect. 7.
Of the Prayers for the Energumens, or Perſons poſſeſſed by evil Spirits. The Forms of theſe Prayers.

THE next Sort of Perſons for whom Prayers were now made, were the Energumens, that is, ſuch Perſons as were ſeized or poſſeſſed by an evil Spirit. For though theſe were under the peculiar Care of the Exorciſts, an Order ſet apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been ſhewed more fully in a former [*] Book; yet their Caſe being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an Act of becoming Mercy and Charity to let them have the publick Prayers of the Church, and grant them Liberty to be preſent at ſuch Prayers as immediately reſpected their Condition. Therefore as ſoon as the Deacon had diſmiſſed the Catechumens, with the uſual Form, *Catechumens depart in Peace:* He ſaid again, *Pray ye Energumens, who are vexed with unclean Spirits.* And exhorting the Congregation alſo, he ſaid, *Let us ardently pray for them,* (as the Form of this Bidding-Prayer runs in the *Conſtitutions)* [q] *That the Merciful God, through Chriſt, would rebuke the unclean and evil Spirits, and deliver His Supplicants from the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of the Adverſary; That He who rebuked the Legion of Devils, and the Prince of Devils, the Fountain of Evil, would now rebuke theſe Apoſtates from Piety, and deliver the Works of his own Hands from the Moleſtations and Agitations of Satan, and cleanſe them which He hath created in great Wiſdom. Let us farther moſt ardently pray for them. Save them, and raiſe them up, O God, by thy Power.*

THEN

[*] Book III. Chap. iv. n. 6, and 7.

[q] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 6.

THEN he bids them bow down their Heads, and receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is in the following Form of Words, immediately addreſſed to CHRIST.

O Thou Onely-begotten God, the Son of the Great Father; Thou that bindeſt the ſtrong one, and ſpoileſt his Goods; That giveſt Power unto us to tread on Serpents Scorpions, and over all the Power of the Enemy: that haſt delivered up the murdering Serpent unto us a Priſoner, as a Sparrow unto Children; Thou, before whom all Things ſhake and tremble at the Preſence of Thy Power; That makeſt Satan to fall from Heaven to the Earth as Lightning, not by a local Fall, but by a Fall from Honour to Diſgrace, becauſe of his voluntary Malice; Thou whoſe Looks dry up the Deep, and Threatnings make the Mountains melt, whoſe Truth endures for ever; whom Infants praiſe, and Sucklings bleſs, and Angels celebrate and adore; That lookeſt upon the Earth, and makeſt it tremble; That toucheſt the Mountains, and they ſmoke; That rebukeſt the Sea, and drieſt it up, and turneſt the Rivers into a Wilderneſs; That makeſt the Clouds to be the Duſt of Thy Feet, and walkeſt upon the Sea as upon a Pavement: Rebuke the evil Spirits, and deliver the Works of Thy Hands from the Vexation of the adverſe Spirit: For to Thee belongs Glory, Honour, and Adoration, and by Thee to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, World without End. Amen.

Sect. 8.

An Account of theſe Prayers out of St. Chryſoſtom *and others.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* has not this whole Form, but he often refers to it as one of the publick Prayers of the Church. Common Prayers, ſays he, are made by the Prieſts [r] and People together for the Energumens,

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μελαγχολίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται εὐχαὶ. καὶ πάντες λέγουσι μίαν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέους γέμουσαν.

mens, and for the Penitents; we all ſay one and the ſame Prayers, the Prayer that is ſo full of Mercy. And again, For this Reaſon [s] the Deacon at this time, brings thoſe that are vexed with evil Spirits, and commands them to bow down their Heads only, and in that Poſture of Body make their Supplications. For they may not pray with the whole Congregation of the Brethren. And for this Reaſon he preſents them before you, that you having Mercy on them, both in regard of their Vexation, and their Diſability to ſpeak for themſelves, may by your Freedom of Acceſs give them Patronage and Aſſiſtance. In another Place [t] he more fully explains the Reaſon why this Prayer for the Demoniacks came before the Oblation of the *Euchariſt*, and why at that time the Deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their Heads. Their being poſſeſſed of the Devil, ſays he, is a cruel and grievous Chain, a Chain harder than any Iron. As therefore when a Judge is about to come forth, and ſit upon the Judgment-ſeat, the Keepers of the Priſon bring forth all the Priſoners, and place them before the Rails and Curtains of the Tribunal, in all their Filth and Naſtineſs, with their Hair undreſſed, and clothed in Rags: So our Forefathers appointed, that when CHRIST was in a little time about to ſit as it were upon his high Throne, and ſhortly to appear in the holy Myſteries, then the Demoniacks ſhould be brought forth as ſo many Priſoners in Chains, not to be condemned or ſuffer Puniſhment for their Sins, as other Priſoners; but that when the People and whole City are preſent together in the Church, Common

[s] Id. Hom. 3. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 365. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ ἐνεργουμένους καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἵστησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, &c: [t] Chryſt. Hom. 4. de Incomprehenſ. T. 1. p. 374.

Common Prayer might be made for them, whilſt they all with one Conſent beſought the Common LORD for them, and with loud Voices entreated Him to ſhew Mercy on them. Here though he does not ſpecify the whole Form, yet he plainly intimates both the Time, and Subject Matter of the Prayer, and alſo the manner of the Addreſs; that it was a Prayer ſent up by the Common Voice of the People, ſometime before the Appearance of CHRIRT in the *Euchariſt*, and that as an Addreſs to GOD to implore his Mercy on thoſe pitiable Objects that lay in that forlorn Condition before Him. In which reſpect he elſewhere ſtiles it [*u*] the firſt Prayer of Mercy, ſaying, The firſt Prayer is full of Mercy, when we pray for the Energumens. The ſecond alſo, wherein we pray for the Penitents, ſues equally for Mercy. And the third, when we pray for ourſelves, preſents the Children of the People before GOD, crying out to Him for Mercy. Where by the firſt Prayer, he does not abſolutely mean the firſt Prayer that was made in this Part of Divine Service; for it is plain, the Prayer for the Catechumens came before it: But becauſe the Enurgumens were in a more miſerable Condition than the Catechumens, and greater Objects of Pity than they were, he therefore ſtiles the Prayer for them the firſt Prayer of Mercy, as he does the Prayer for the Penitents, the ſecond Prayer for Mercy, though it was in order the fourth; and the Prayer for the Faithful, the third Prayer for Mercy, though it belonged to another Part of the Service, of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the firſt Chapter of the next Book.

THE

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. al. 72. in Mat. p. 624.

Sect. 9. *Of the third ſort of Prayers for the Competentes or Candidates of Baptiſm.*

THE third Prayer that came in the ordinary Courſe of this Part of the Service, was the Prayer for the Competentes, or Candidates of Baptiſm, that is, ſuch as had now given in their Names, and expreſſed their Deſire of receiving Baptiſm at the next approaching Feſtival. This, I conceive, was but an occaſional Prayer, appropriated to certain Seaſons, as the Time between *Mid-Lent* and *Eaſter-Day*, or other ſolemn Times of Baptiſm, when Men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themſelves for the Reception of that ſacred Myſtery. The Forms of theſe kind of Prayers we have alſo in the *Conſtitutions* [x], where, as ſoon as the Deacon has diſmiſſed the Energumens, he is appointed to cry out, εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, *Pray, ye Candidates of Baptiſm: And we that are already Believers, let us ardently pray for them; That the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the Death of Chriſt, and to riſe again with Him, and to be made Members of his Kingdom, and Partakers of his Myſteries; That He would unite them to his Holy Church, and number them with thoſe that ſhall be ſaved therein. Save them, and raiſe them up by Thy Grace.*

THEN they are ordered to bow down their Heads, and receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is expreſſed in the following Words:

O God, who didſt by the Prediction of Thy holy Prophets, ſay to them that are to be initiated, Waſh ye, make you clean; and by Chriſt didſt appoint a ſpiritual Regeneration: Look down now upon theſe Perſons, who are to be baptized; Bleſs and ſanctify them; Fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of Thy ſpiritual Gift, and the true Adoption of Sons, and Thy ſpiritual Myſteries, and

[x] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 7.

and be deſervedly numbred among thoſe that are ſaved, by Chriſt our Saviour, through whom be all Glory, Honour, and Adoration unto Thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, World without End. Amen.

I HAVE nothing farther to remark concerning theſe Prayers, becauſe neither *Chryſoſtom* nor any other ancient Writer, as far as I know, have ſaid any thing particularly about them. Only this Authour in another place [*y*] makes them Part of the Daily Morning and Evening Service, as has been noted before in ſpeaking of That, under a former Head. 'Tis probable in many Churches they were included in the Forms for the Catechumens in general. For the Council of *Laodicea* [*z*] which ſettles the Order of the Divine-Service in the Church, and appoints in what Method it ſhould proceed, ſpeaks of the Prayers of the Catechumens, as immediately following the Sermon, and then the Prayers for the Penitents, and after thoſe the Prayers for the Faithful, which began the Communion-Service; but makes no mention of any Prayers for the Candidates of Baptiſm, as diſtinct from thoſe of the Catechumens. And this might be one Reaſon, why other Writers make no mention of them. In other Churches they were but occaſional Prayers, for the particular Times of Baptiſm, and therefore it is a little Wonder that other Authors paſs them over without the leaſt Notice taken of them. However, that the Author of the *Conſtitutions* found them diſtinct in the Rituals of ſome Churches, is not at all unlikely, becauſe ſuch Forms for the Candidates of Baptiſm are now in Uſe in the *Greek* Church, as may be ſeen in *Goar* [*a*]; and Cardinal *Bona* [*b*] has obſerved the like in a very

[*y*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 35, & 37. [*z*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 19. [*a*] Goar Eucholog. p. 339. [*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 12. n. 4. p. 630.

very ancient *Ordo Sacramentorum*, lately in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Sweden*, where in the Office for the third Sunday in *Lent* there is a ſpecial Prayer inſerted for thoſe who were then examined and elected to receive Baptiſm at *Eaſter*. But I proceed with the Service of the ancient Church.

Sect. 10. *Of the laſt Sort of Prayers for the Penitents.*

THE laſt Sort of Prayers in this Part of the Service were thoſe which were made for the Penitents, who were under the Diſcipline and Cenſures of the Church. Some of theſe, called Hearers only, were ſent away with that Order of Catechumens, which were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Denomination of Hearers: But others of them, call'd Kneelers or Proſtrators, were permitted to ſtay longer, to receive the Prayers of the Church and the Biſhop's Benediction. Therefore as ſoon as the Candidates of Baptiſm were diſmiſſed, the Deacon cryed out, *Orate Pœnitentes*, ye that are under Penance, make your Prayers: And let us ardently pray for our Brethren that are doing Penance; *That the God of Mercy* [c] *would ſhew them the way of Repentance; that he would admit their Recantation and Confeſſion; that he would ſhortly bruiſe Satan under their feet, and deliver them from the Snare of the Devil, and the Incurſion of evil Spirits, and preſerve them from all evil Words, all abſurd Practices, and all impure Thoughts; that he would grant them Pardon of all their Sins, Voluntary and Involuntary, and blot out the Hand writing that is againſt them, and write them in the Book of Life; that he would cleanſe them from all Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, and unite and reſtore them to his Holy Flock; for he knows our Frame; for*

[c] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. cap. 8.

for who can glory that he has a clean Heart? Or who can ſay, that he is pure from Sin? For we are all liable to Puniſhment. Let us ſtill pray more ardently for them, becauſe there is Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth; that they may turn from every evil Work, and accuſtom themſelves to all that is good; that the merciful God receiving them kindly, may reſtore to them the Joy of his Salvation, and confirm them with his Principal Spirit, that they may never fall or be ſhaken again; that they may Communicate in his holy Solemnities, and be Partakers of his ſacred Myſteries; that being made worthy of the Adoption of Sons, they may obtain Eternal Life. Let us all farther ſay for them, Lord have Mercy upon them: Save them, O God, and raiſe them up by thy Mercy.

THIS ſaid, the Deacon bids them riſe up, and bow their Heads to receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is ſtiled alſo Impoſition of Hands and Prayer for the Penitents, and is conceived in the following Words. [*d*]

O Almighty and Eternal God, the Lord of the whole World, the Maker and Governour of all Things, who haſt made Man to be an Ornament of the World, through Chriſt, and haſt given him both a Natural and a Written Law, that he might live by the Rules thereof, as a Rational Creature; that haſt alſo, when he hath ſinned, given him a Motive and Encouragement to repent, even thy own Goodneſs: Look down now upon thoſe Men, who bow the Necks of their Souls and Bodies unto Thee; for thou deſireſt not the Death of a Sinner, but his Repentance, that he ſhould turn from his evil way, and live. Thou that acceptedſt the Repentance of the Ninivites; *that wouldſt have all Men to be ſaved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth; that receivedſt again the Prodigal*

[*d*] Ibid. cap 9.

digal Son, who had ſpent his Subſtance in riotous Living, with the Compaſſionate Bowels of a Father becauſe of his Repentance: Accept now the Repentance of theſe Thy Supplicants; for there is no Man that ſinneth not againſt Thee: If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiſs, O Lord, who may abide it? For there is Mercy and Propitiation with Thee. Reſtore them to thy Holy Church, in their former Dignity and Honour, through Chriſt our God and Saviour; by whom be Glory and Adoration unto Thee, in the Holy Ghoſt, world without End. Amen.

Sect. 11. *What Notice we have of theſe Prayers in* Chryſoſtom *and other Writers.*

St. *Chryſoſtom* does no where give us theſe Prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then uſed in the Church in this Part of Divine-Service. We have heard him ſay before [*e*], that Common Prayers were made by the Prieſt and the People jointly together, as well for the Penitents as the Energumens; and that they all ſaid one and the ſame Prayer, the Prayer full of Mercy. In another Place [*f*], The firſt Prayer is full of Mercy, when we pray for the Energumens: The ſecond Prayer likewiſe, wherein we pray for the Penitents, makes Interceſſion for Mercy. I have given the Reaſon already why both theſe Prayers were ſtiled Prayers for Mercy by *Chryſoſtom*, and I need here only obſerve, that they were uſed before the Prayers for the Faithful or Communicants, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays expreſsly in the ſame Place; and that they were by a certain Form, becauſe they were offered by the Common Voice both of Miniſter and People. The Council of *Laodicea* [*g*] alſo mentions this Prayer for the Penitents, as coming after the Sermon next to the Prayers for the

[*e*] Chryſ Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. *cited above.* n. 8. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 71 in Mat. p. 624. [*g*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19.

Faithful. And in all ancient Canons [*h*] wherever we meet with the Names of γόνυ κλίνοντες, ὑποπίπτοντες & *Proſtrati*, Kneelers or Proſtrators, we are to underſtand this Order of Penitents, who in this Part of the Service bowed down to receive the Churches Prayers and the Biſhops Benediction.

Sect. 12. *In what Part of the Church theſe Prayers were made.*

As to the *Greek* Church then, it is demonſtrated beyond all Contradiction, that there was a particular Service of Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents, diſtinct from the Communion-Service, in which they were again prayed for, though abſent, among all other States and Conditions of Men. But there remain two Queſtions, which have a little more Difficulty in them. 1. In what Part of the Church theſe Prayers were made? 2. Whether there were any ſuch Prayers at all in Uſe in the *Latin* Church? As to the firſt Queſtion, ſome Learned Perſons [*i*] are of Opinion, that not only the Oblations were made at the Altar, and the Communion received there, but that all the Prayers of the Church were made at the Altar likewiſe. Which is certainly true of all the Prayers in the Communion-Service, but not ſo certain of theſe Prayers in the Service of the Catechumens. For Firſt the ſeveral Orders for whom theſe Prayers were made, and over whom they were made with Impoſition of Hands alſo, had their Station in a different Part of the Church; and we do not read that they were ever called up to the Altar to receive their Benediction; but in ſome Canons are

[*h*] Vid. Conc. Nic. can. 11. Conc. Ancyran. can. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, & 25. Conc. Neocæſar. can. 6. Baſil. Epiſt. Canon. can. 75. [*i*] Stillingfl. *Unreaſon. of Separat.* Part III. Sect 9. p. 250.

are expreſsly ordered [*k*] to receive Impoſition of Hands even in Abſolution before the *Apſis*, or Reading-Desk, in Caſe of ſcandalous Offences; though Abſolution was uſually given in ordinary Caſes at the Altar. Now if the Prayer of Abſolution, which was their Reconcilement to the Altar, was ſometimes made before the Reading-desk, there is little Queſtion, but that the other Prayers, which were but the Introduction to their Reconcilement, were made there alſo. 2. This Service of the Catechumens and Penitents was altogether a diſtinct Service from that of the *Fideles* or Communicants, and a final Diſmiſſion of them was always made before the latter Service began. 3. There is an expreſs Order in the Third Council of *Carthage*, that all Prayers made at the Altar ſhould be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son [*l*]: And yet it is evident, that the Prayer for the Energumens was directed to the Son, as we have ſeen before in the Form cited [*m*] out of the *Conſtitutions*. So that either the Diſcipline of the *Eaſtern* Churches differed very much from thoſe of the *Weſt*; or elſe we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that theſe Prayers, ſome of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the Altar.

Sect. 13. *Whether there were any ſuch diſtinct Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in the* Latin *Church.*

BUT it may be ſaid, The Prayers in the *Latin* Church were never directed to the Son: Or perhaps they had no ſuch Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in particular, as they had in the Ori-

[*k*] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 32. Cujuſcunque Pœnitentis publicum & vulgatiſſimum crimen eſt, quod univerſam Eccleſiam commoverit, ante Apſidem manus ei imponatur.

[*l*] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 23. Ut nemo in Precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet: Et cum ad altare aſſiſtitur, ſemper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio.

[*m*] *See before*, n. 7.

ental Liturgies, distinct from those which were made for all Orders of Men both before and after Consecration in the Communion-Service. The Matter indeed is not so clear, I confess, in the *Latin* Church, as I have shewed it to be in the *Eastern*: And that which increases the Difficulty, is, that some Authors seem to intimate, that as soon as the Sermon was ended, the Catechumens were dismissed, and then the Communicants betook themselves to Prayers at the Altar. Behold, says St. *Austin*, after the Sermon the Catechumens have their Dismission: But the Faithful abide still, and come [*n*] to the place of Prayer, meaning the Altar, where the *Lord's-Prayer* was according to Custom to be repeated by the Communicants only. And St. *Ambrose*, [*o*] speaking of the same Matter, says, When the Sermon was done, he dismissed the Catechumens, and rehearsed the Creed to some Candidates of Baptism in the Baptistery of the Church. But these do not amount to a Proof, that the Communion-Service succeeded immediately after the Sermon, and that no other Prayers or Business came between them. For this very Place of St. *Ambrose* shews, that at least some times the Repetition of the *Creed* to the Candidates of Baptism was in the Interval. And one of the forecited Canons of the Council of *Carthage* makes it evident, that at other Times the Prayer for the Absolution and Reconcilement of a scandalous Offender was made in the *Apsis* or Reading-desk, before the Communion-

[*n*] Aug. Hom. 237. de Tempore Tom. 10. p. 385. Ecce post Sermonem fit Missa Catechumenis. Manebunt Fideles, venietur ad locum Orationis. Scitis quo accessuri sumus, quid prius Deo dicturi sumus? Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. [*o*] Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellinam Sororem. Post Lectiones & Tractatum, dimissis Catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus Competentibus in Baptisteriis tradebam Ecclesiæ.

munion-Service likewiſe. And the other Canon as plainly intimates, that ſome Prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the Prohibition that is made of not changing the Name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son. Which Prohibition had been needleſs, had there been no Prayers directed to the Son. Now admitting there were ſome Prayers directed to the Son, theſe muſt be made before the Communion-Service, ſince at that Time by the ſame Canon all Prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only. For theſe Reaſons I conclude, that the Practice of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches was the ſame, and that there were Prayers in both for the Catechumens, Energumens and Penitents in their Preſence, diſtinct from thoſe which were afterwards made for them in their Abſence at the Altar. And ſo I have done with the firſt Part of Divine Worſhip, which the Ancient Church called her *Miſſa Catechumenorum*, or Ante-Communion-Service.

The End of the Fourteenth Book.



ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Christian Church.

BOOK XV.

OF THE PRAYERS, OR CHURCH-OFFICES, OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.



HEN the several Orders of the Catechumens, Penitents, and Energumens were dismissed, which is properly called Missa Fidelium, or Communion-service, because none but Communicants (or at least such of the Penitents as had gone through all the Stages of Repentance, and were now waiting for Absolution) stayed thereafter

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE Chriſtian Church.

BOOK XV.

Of the *Miſſa Fidelium*; or COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAP. I.

Of the PRAYERS *preceding the* OBLATION.

Sect. 1. *Of the Prayer called, διὰ σιωπῆς, or ſilent Prayer.*

WHEN the ſeveral Orders of the Catechumens, Penitents, and Energumens were diſmiſſed, which was the Completion of the *Miſſa Catechumenorum*; then immediately began that Part of the Service, which is properly called *Miſſa Fidelium*, or Communion-Service, becauſe none but Communicants (or at leaſt ſuch of the Penitents as had gone through all the Stages of Repentance, and were now waiting for Abſolution, called therefore συνιστάμενοι,

or Co-ſtanders) might be preſent at it. The Entrance on this Service was made by a Mental or ſilent Prayer, made by the People in private, and thence called εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς, the ſilent Prayer, and εὐχὴ κατ' διάνοιαν, the Mental Prayer. This we learn from a Canon of *Laodicea*, which gives a ſummary Account of the whole Order of the Service of the Church: And therefore for our clearer Proceeding in this Matter, I think it not improper to put it down entire in this place, as being one of the moſt Remarkable Canons in the whole *Code*, and that which will give great Light to the ſubſequent Diſcourſe. The Words of the Canon are theſe: That after the *Homily* of the Biſhop [a] firſt the Prayer of the Catechumens is to be made; and after the Catechumens are gone forth, then the Prayer for the Penitents; and when they have received their Benediction by Impoſition of Hands, and are withdrawn, then the three Prayers of the Faithful are to be made; the firſt of which is to be performed in Silence, the Second and Third by the Bidding and Direction [of the Deacon.] After theſe the Kiſs of Peace is to be given; Presbyters ſaluting the Biſhop, and Laymen one another: And then the holy Oblation ſhall be celebrated; thoſe of the Clergy only communicating in the Chancel.

SOME Learned Perſons take the Prayer *in Silence* here to mean no more than Prayers made over the Communicants by the Miniſter alone, the People not

[a] Conc. Laodic. Can. 19. Περὶ τῶν δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προστελθόντων τοῦ χεῖρα, καὶ τοῦ χωρησάντων, ἔτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πλησκῶς. εἶθ' ἔτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. &c.

not making any Reſponſes; and by the Prayers called εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, they underſtand Prayers made by Way of Reſponſes, the Miniſter and People mutually anſwering one another. But this Explication does not come up to the Senſe of this Canon. For by the Prayer in Silence we are here to underſtand ſuch private Prayers as each particular Perſon made by himſelf; and by the Prayers διὰ προσφωνήσεως, ſuch Prayers as the whole Church made in Common by the Call and Admonition of the Deacon, who repeated the ſeveral Forms, directing them what Things they were to pray for, to each of which Petitions they ſubjoined their κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have Mercy, and grant the Petitions we ask*; and then the Biſhop added the ἐπίκλησις, or Invocation, which was alſo called *Collecta*, the Collect, becauſe it was a Collection or Repetition of all the Prayers of the People. That there were theſe three Sorts of Prayers in the Ancient Church, is evident from the Accounts that are given of each of them. And firſt that there were ſuch private Prayers of every particular Perſon by himſelf, appears not only from this Canon, but from ſeveral ancient Writers. St. *Chryſoſtom* [b] takes Notice that ſome in theſe private Prayers ſpent their Time in nothing elſe but praying for Revenge upon their Enemies. Many Men, ſays he, fall proſtrate upon the Ground, and beat the Earth with their Foreheads, and ſhed Abundance of Tears, and groan bitterly within themſelves, ſtretching forth their Hands, and ſhewing great Zeal, and yet uſe all this Fervour and Earneſtneſs only againſt their own Salvation. For they pray to GOD, not for their own Offences, they do not beſeech him to pardon their

[b] Chryſoſtom. 57. De non evulgandis Peccatis. Tom. 5. p. 762.

their own Sins, but they ſpend all this Labour againſt their Enemies. Which is the ſame Thing, as if a Man ſhould whet his Sword, and then not Uſe it againſt his Adverſaries, but thruſt it into his own Throat. For ſo theſe Men Uſe their Prayers, not to obtain Pardon of their own Sins, but to accelerate the Puniſhment of their Enemies: Which in Effect is to run the Sword into their own Bowels. A little after he tells us the very Words of their Prayers, which were theſe: *Revenge me of my Enemies, O Lord, and ſhew them that I have a God.* By all which it appears, that theſe were the private Prayers of the People, which they might abuſe, and not the publick Prayers of the Church: For the Church never taught her Children to curſe their Enemies, but to bleſs and pray for them. But in theſe private Prayers, which were deſigned for Confeſſion of Sins and Deprecation of GOD's Judgments, Evil Men took Liberty to tranſgreſs all Rules, and gratify their Paſſions by asking Revenge upon their Enemies. Now though this was a grand Abuſe of theſe private Prayers, yet it ſerves to ſhew us both what the Cuſtom was in the Churches Allowance of ſuch Prayers, and what in her Deſignation was the true Uſe of them. St. *Baſil* ſpeaking of their Vigils or Night Aſſemblies [*c*], intimates as plainly, that they were ſpent in ſuch private Prayers intermingled with divers Sorts of Pſalmody. And *Caſſian* gives the ſame Account of them both in the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches, as I have ſhewed at large in ſpeaking of the Daily Morning and Evening Service, which began with private Confeſſion in the *Eaſtern* Churches mentioned by St. *Baſil*, and ended with publick Confeſſion made in the words of the LI. *Pſalm*, which was

[*c*] Baſil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæſar. T. 3. p. 96.

was thence called the *Pſalm of Confeſſion*, or the *Penitential Pſalm* [*] for the Morning Service. But as to the private Confeſſions, we are now ſpeaking of, with which the Communion Service here began, we are to note farther, that they were not only made by the People in ſilence by themſelves, but by the Miniſter in private alſo. And the Footſteps of this Practice remain in ſome of the oldeſt *Liturgies* of ſeveral Churches, quite different from the preſent Confeſſions in the *Roman Miſſal*: For whereas now in the *Roman Miſſal* the Confeſſion of Sins is made to Saints and Angels, as well as GOD, all the Offices for at leaſt a Thouſand Years after CHRIST had their Confeſſions only to GOD. Thus it is in the Forms of Confeſſion in *Gregory's Sacramentarium*, and others publiſh'd by *Menardus*. And this is that *Manuſcript*, which Cardinal *Bona* ſo much magnifies in the Queen of *Swedens* Library, as containing the Offices of the old *Gallican Liturgy*. To ſhew that theſe Confeſſions were made only to GOD, and not to any Saints or Angels, and withal that they were particular Confeſſions made by the Prieſt only in private, διὰ σιωπῆς, as the *Laodicean* Canon words it, I will here tranſcribe that which *Bona* gives us out of that Ancient *MS.* as the Confeſſion of the *Gallican* Office. It is there called *Apologia* [d] *Sacerdotis*, The Apology of the Prieſt, or the Confeſſion of his Sins, and it runs in theſe Words.

O *Thou moſt admirable Majeſty, and great God, Almighty Father, who art of Infinite Goodneſs and Power, I who am a moſt vile Sinner, and condemned by the Teſtimony of my own Conſcience, do approach Thee, and preſent my ſelf in the ſight of Thy Greatneſs, before the Eyes of*

[*] *See* Book XIII. cap. 10. n. 13.
[d] Bona. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 1. n. 1.

of thine ineffable Majesty, before thy holy Face, not without due Reverence, yet with great Unworthiness and Neglect of Duty. I do not excuse, but accuse my self unto Thee. I confess, I say I confess the Unrighteousness of my Impiety, that thou mayst forgive the wickedness of my Sin. I confess, that if thou dost not forgive, thou mayst punish me. I confess my self a Criminal before Thee, and yet I know my Amendment is only in Words. In Words I endeavour to appease thee, but in Works I offend thee. I am sensible of my Faults, and yet I defer the Amendment. Assist me therefore, assist me, O thou ineffable Goodness. Pardon me, pardon me, O most adorable Trinity. Spare me, spare me, spare me, I beseech thee, O merciful God. Hear me, hear me, hear me, I beseech thee, when I cry in the Words of that Prodigal Son, O Father, Eternal God, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee: I am no more worthy to be call'd thy Son, make me as one of thy hired Servants. And now, merciful Father, I fly to the only Refuge and Haven of thy Mercy under the Protection of Christ, that what is vile in me, thou mayst favourably vouchsafe to accept in him, who liveſt and reigneſt for ever and ever. Amen.

IT is plain here, that as there is no Address to either Saint or Angel in this Prayer, so it is a private Prayer of the Priest alone for himself, whilst the People were likewise employed in making their private Confessions to GOD: Which shews us the meaning of that silent Prayer spoken of in the Council of *Laodicea*, which is called the first Prayer in the Entrance of the Communion Service.

ALL I shall add farther here concerning these private Prayers, is to make an Observation upon two ancient Forms of Speech, which have some Relation to this Matter, and help to confirm it: That is, the Forms, *Silentium indicere, & Orationem dare*, both which are used to denote the Custom of bidding the People fall to their private Devotions. Sometimes

times the Biſhop was uſed to give the Signal, by ſaying, *Oremus*, Let us pray, and then the People betook themſelves to their private Devotions, after which the Biſhop ſummed up their Prayers in a ſhort Collect by Way of ſolemn Invocation. Thus *Uranius* [e] deſcribes the Rite in the Life of *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, when he tells us, how a certain Biſhop went into his Throne, and there ſaluting the People, and being ſaluted by them again, he then according to Cuſtom gave the ſignal for Prayer, and afterward ſummed up their Prayers in a Collect, and ſo breathed out his Laſt. Sometimes the Deacon gave the Signal, and this was called *Silentium indicere*. Thus it was in the *Gallican* Churches, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has obſerved out of *Gregory* [f] of *Tours*; and the Prieſt did it by the *Mozarabick Liturgy*. Where he rightly concludes, that this Phraſe, *Silentium indicere*, does not barely ſignify making the People attentive, but there was a farther meaning in it, that they were for a Time there to attend to their own private Prayers. Which he thinks not improbable on theſe Conſiderations. " 1. *Gregory Turonenſis* ſaith, " in the place beforementioned, That the King took " that Time to ſpeak to the People, who immedia- " tely brake forth into a Prayer for the King; not " that any Collect was then read for him, for that " was not the proper Time for it; but it being a " Time of ſecret Prayers, they were ſo moved with " what the King ſaid, that they all prayed for him. " 2. Among the Heathens, when they were bidden " *favere linguis*, yet then *Briſſonius* [g] ſaith, They " made

[e] Uran. Vit. Paulini. Ad Eccleſiam proceſſit, & aſcenſo Tribunali populum ex more ſalutavit, reſalutatuſque a populo Orationem dedit, & collecta Oratione Spiritum exhalavit.

[f] Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. cap. 4. p. 223. ex Greg. Turon. Lib. 7. c. 8. [g] Briſſon. de Formulis. p. 9, 10.

" made their private Prayers; and as the Deacons
" commanding Silence ſeems to be much of the
" ſame Nature, it is not probable that the Chriſtians
" ſhould fall ſhort of their Devotions. 3. The great
" Argument, ſays he, to me, is the ſmall number of
" Collects in the ancient Churches; for the Chriſti-
" ans ſpent a great deal of Time in the publick Ser-
" vice, on the *Lord's-Day*, and the Stationary-Days
" (I add alſo their Vigils;) but all other Offices could
" not take up that Time, there being no long *Ex-*
" *temporary* Prayers, nor ſuch a Multitude of tedious
" Ceremonies in all parts, as the Roman *Breviary*
" and *Miſſal* introduced; and the Collects of great-
" eſt Antiquity being very few and ſhort, it ſeems
" moſt probable, that a competent part of the Time
" was ſpent in private Devotions. A Remainder
" whereof is ſtill preſerved in the Office of Ordina-
" tion of Prieſts in our Church, whereby Silence
" is commanded to be kept for a Time, for the
" Peoples ſecret Prayers. And the ſame Cuſtom was
" obſerved at the Bidding of Prayers, which was a
" Direction for the People what to pray for in their
" private Devotions. [*b*].

Sect. 2.
Of the Prayers called, διὰ προσφωνήσεως, *or Bidding Prayers.*

AND this leads us in the next place to conſider the ſecond Sort of Prayers mentioned in the *Laodicean* Canon, which are there ſtiled εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, which we may *Engliſh*, Bidding Prayers. For they were not only a Call to the People to pray, but a Direction what particulars they were to pray for. We have a Form of this Sort of Prayer in the Apoſtolical *Conſtitutions*, immediately after the Diſmiſſion of Catechumens and Penitents, where it is called προσφώνησις τῆς τάξεως, a Direction or Bid-

ding-

[*b*] Vid. Mat. Parker Concion. in Obt. Buceri.

ding-Prayer for the Communicants or Believers. It is there uſhered [i] in with theſe Words: Let no one of thoſe that are not allowed, come near. As many as are Believers, let us fall upon our Knees. Let us pray to GOD through his Chriſt. Let us all intenſely beſeech GOD through his Chriſt. Then follow the ſeveral Petitions in this Order.

Let us pray for the Peace and Tranquillity of the World and the holy Churches; that the God of the whole World would grant us his perpetual and laſting Peace; and keep us perſevering to the End in all the Fulneſs of Piety and Vertue.

Let us pray for the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church from one End of the Earth to the other; that the Lord would keep it unſhaken and undiſturbed with Storms and Tempeſts, founded on a Rock to the End of the World.

Let us pray for the Holy Church (παροικίας) *in this Place; that the Lord of all would grant us Grace to purſue his heavenly Hope without ceaſing; and that we may render him the continual Debt and Tribute of our Prayers.*

Let us pray for the whole Epiſcopate or Company of Biſhops under Heaven, that rightly divide the Word of Truth. And let us pray for James *our Biſhop and his Churches:*

Let us pray for Clemens *our Biſhop and his Churches:*

Let us pray for Euodius *our Biſhop and his Churches: That the merciful God would preſerve them in Safety, Honour, and length of Days for the Benefit of his Holy Churches; and grant them a venerable old Age in all Piety and Righteouſneſs.*

Let us likewiſe pray for our Presbyters, that God would deliver

[i] Conſtit. Apoſt. Lib. 8. c. 9, & 10. Vid. Lib. 2. cap. 57.

deliver them from every abſurd and wicked thing, and preſerve them ſafe and honourable in their Presbytery.

Let us pray for the whole Order of Deacons and Subdeacons in Chriſt; that the Lord would keep them unblameable in their Miniſtry.

Let us pray for the Readers, Singers, Widows and Orphans.

Let us pray for thoſe that live in Matrimony and Procreation or Education of Children, that God would have Mercy upon them all.

Let us pray for the Eunuchs that walk in Holineſs.

Let us pray for thoſe that live in Continency or Virginity, and lead a Pious Life.

Let us pray for thoſe that make Oblations in the holy Church, and give Alms to the Poor.

Let us pray for thoſe that offer their Sacrifices and Firſtfruits to the Lord our God; that the moſt gracious God would reward them with heavenly Gifts, and reſtore them an hundred fold in this World, and grant them everlaſting Life in the World to come; giving them heavenly Things for their Earthly, and for their Temporal Things thoſe that are Eternal.

Let us pray for our Brethren that are newly baptized; that the Lord would confirm and eſtabliſh them.

Let us pray for our Brethren that are afflicted with Sickneſs; that the Lord would deliver them from all their Diſtempers and Infirmities, and reſtore them again in Health to his Holy Church.

Let us pray for all thoſe that travel by Sea or by Land.

Let us pray for thoſe that are in the Mines, and in Baniſhment, and in Priſon and in Bonds for the Name of the Lord.

Let us pray for our Enemies and thoſe that hate us.

Let us pray for thoſe that perſecute us for the Name of the Lord: That the Lord would mitigate their Fury, and diſſipate their Anger conceived againſt us.

Let us pray for thoſe that are without, and led away with Error, that the Lord would convert them.

Let us remember the Infants of the Church; that the Lord would perfect them in his Fear, and bring them to the Meaſure of adult Age.

Let us pray mutually for one another; that the Lord would keep and preſerve us by his Grace unto the End, and deliver us from the Evil one, and from all the Scandals of thoſe that work Iniquity, and Conduct us ſafe to his heavenly Kingdom.

Let us pray for every Chriſtian Soul.

Save us, O God, and raiſe us up by thy Mercy.

IT is here to be ſuppoſed, that as in the former Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents [*], ſo here at the End of every Petition the People anſwered, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have Mercy upon them.* Or, as it is in the Cloſe of this Prayer, *Save them, O God, and raiſe them up by thy Mercy.*

ANY one that will compare either our *Litany*, or *the Prayer for the Whole State of Chriſt's Church* in the Beginning of our Communion-Service, will readily perceive, that there is a near Affinity between them and this general Form of the Ancient Church. We have not ſo compleat a Form either in *Chryſoſtom*'s genuine Works, or any other Ancient Writer, to compare this with, as we did before in conſidering the Form for the Catechumens: But there are two very ancient Forms of ſuch a Prayer without any Addition of Invocation of Saints ſtill preſerved, one in the *Ambroſian Liturgy*, and the other in an Ancient Office tranſcribed by *Wicelius* out of the Library of *Fulda*, which becauſe they come near this Ancient Form in the *Conſtitutions*, I will here inſert

[*] *See* Book XIV. Chap. v.

ſert them [*k*] in the Margin for the Uſe of the learned Reader, out of *Pamelius* his *Liturgicks*. Tom. 3. p. 307. *&* *Cardinal Bona Rerum Liturgicarum*, Lib. 2. cap. 4. n. 3. and then ſee what Remains of this Ancient Prayer we meet with in the undoubted Writings of the Fathers. For though none of them gives us the ſame Form entire, yet one may eaſily perceive by the near Alliance of the Fragments that remain,

[*k*] In Codice Fuldenſi Litania Miſſalis.

Dicamus omnes ex toto corde totaque mente: *Domine Miſerere.*

Qui reſpicis terram, & facis eam tremere. *Oramus te Domine, exaudi & miſerere.*

Pro altiſſima Pace & tranquillitate temporum noſtrorum. *Oramus te Domine*, &c.

Pro Sancta Eccleſia Catholica, quæ eſt à finibus uſque ad terminos orbis terrarum. *Oramus te Domine*, &c.

Pro Patre noſtro Epiſcopo, pro omnibus Epiſcopis ac Presbyteris & Diaconis, omnique Clero. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro hoc Loco & habitantibus in eo. *Oramus te Domine*, &c.

Pro piiſſimo Imperatore & toto Romano Exercitu. *Oramus te Domine*, &c.

Pro omnibus qui in ſublimitate conſtituti ſunt, pro Virginibus, Viduis & Orphanis. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro Pœnitentibus & Catechumenis. *Oramus te Domine.*

Pro his qui in Sancta Eccleſia fructus miſericordiæ largiuntur. Domine Deus Virtutum exaudi preces noſtras. *Oramus te Domine.*

Sanctorum Apoſtolorum & Martyrum memores ſumus, ut orantibus eis pro nobis veniam mereamur. *Oramus te Domine.*

Chriſtianum ac pacificum nobis finem concedi a Domino comprecemur. *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Et divinum in nobis permanere vinculum Charitatis, Dominum comprecemur *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Conſervare Sanctitatem ac Puritatem Catholicæ Fidei, Sanctum Deum comprecemur. *Præſta Domine, præſta.*

Dicamus omnes, *Domine exaudi & miſerere.*

Altera Formula ex Ritu Ambroſiano in Dominica prima Quadrageſimæ, incipiente Diacono, & Choro reſpondente.

Divinæ pacis & indulgentiæ munere ſupplicantes ex toto corde & ex tota mente precamur te. *Domine miſerère.*

Pro

remain, that they all refer to the ſame Original. For there are both in *Chryſoſtom* and other Writers, ſeveral Fragments of ſuch a Prayer, and plain Intimations that either this or a like Form was in Uſe in many Churches. And therefore it will not be amiſs to collect theſe References and Fragments before we proceed any farther.

Sect. 3. *The Form of this Sort of Prayers in the* Conſtitutions, *compared with the Fragments that occur in* Chryſoſtom, *and other Writers.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* in one of his Sermons, ſpoken to the People of *Antioch*, plainly ſhews that they had ſuch a Form of Bidding-Prayer in Uſe in that Church: For he relates ſome of the Petitions of it, which are ſo like the Form in the *Conſtitutions*, that he will not judge amiſs that thinks, the Author of the

Pro Eccleſia Sancta Catholica, quæ hic & per univerſum orbem diffuſa eſt, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Papa noſtro N. & Pontifice noſtro N. & omni Clero eorum, omnibuſque Sacerdotibus ac Miniſtris precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro famulis tuis N. Imperatore & N. Rege, Duce noſtro, & omni exercitu eorum precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Pace Eccleſiarum, Vocatione Gentium, & quiete populorum, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Civitate hac & conſervatione ejus, omnibuſque habitantibus in ea precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro aeris temperie, ac fructu & fœcunditate terrarum precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Virginibus, Viduis, Orphanis, Captivis ac Pœnitentibus, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro Navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis conſtitutis, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro iis qui diverſis Infirmitatibus detinentur, quique Spiritibus vexantur immundis precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Pro iis qui in Sancta Eccleſia tua fructus miſericordiæ largiuntur, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Exaudi nos in omni Oratione atque Deprecatione noſtra, precamur te. *Domine miſerere.*

Dicamus omnes, *Domine miſerere.*

Conſtitutions had his Form from the ſame Original, whence we are ſure St. *Chryſoſtom* had his, *viz.* the *Liturgy* of the Church of *Antioch*. For, ſays he, when you all [*l*] in common hear the Deacon bidding this Prayer, and ſaying, *Let us pray for the Biſhop, and for his old Age, and for Grace to aſſiſt him, that he may rightly divide the Word of Truth*, and for thoſe that are here, and thoſe that are in all the World, you refuſe not to do what is commanded you, but offer your Prayers with all Fervency, as knowing what Power there is in Common-Prayer. They that are initiated know what I ſay. For this is not yet allowed in the Prayer of the Catechumens. For they are not yet arrived to this Boldneſs and Liberty of Speech. But the Deacon, who Miniſters in this Office, exhorts you to make Prayers for the whole World, and for the Church extended from one End of the Earth to the other, and for all the Biſhops that rule and govern it; and ye obey with Readineſs, teſtifying by your Actions, that great is the Power of Prayer, when it is offered up by the People with one Voice in the Church. Here we may obſerve, That this was the Bidding-Prayer; for it was done by the *Celeuſma*, or Call and Admonition of the Deacon, telling them what they were to pray for. Then again, that it was a Prayer peculiar to the Communicants, and uſed only in the Communion-Service: For the Catechumens were not allowed to join in it. And farther, that the Petitions for the whole World, for the Church over all the Earth, for

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 2. de Obſcurit. Prophetiarum. Tom. 3. p. 946. κοινῇ πάντες ἀκούοντες τὸ διακόνε τῦτο κελεύονϛ@, καὶ λέγονϛ@, δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τε ἐπισκόπε, καὶ τε γήρως, καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπανταχῦ, ὁ παραιτῆδε ποιῆν τὸ ἐπίταγμα, &c.

for all Biſhops whereſoever governing the Church, and particularly for the Biſhop of the Place, that *he might live to a good old Age, and have the help of God's Grace to enable him rightly to divide the Word of Truth*, are the ſame Petitions that occur in the *Conſtitutions*. Which makes it evident that theſe Forms of Bidding-Prayer were then commonly uſed in the Catholick Church. *Chryſoſtom* in another Place ſpeaks of this ſame Prayer as performed in common both by Miniſters and People; and by both of them in the Poſture of kneeling or Proſtration. For giving an Account of the ſeveral Prayers of the Church, in which the People bear a Part with the Miniſter, he ſays, They prayed in Common for Perſons poſſeſt with evil Spirits, and for the Penitents; and then after they were excluded, who could not partake of the holy Table, they made another Prayer [*m*], in which they all fell proſtrate upon the Earth together, and all in like manner roſe up together. This is a plain Reference to that Bidding-Prayer, before which the Deacon commanded all to fall down upon the Ground, and make thoſe ſeveral Petitions in that Poſture, and then gave the Signal to riſe again, by ſaying, ἀναστῶμεν, *Let us Riſe*, as it is worded in the *Conſtitutions*. *Chryſoſtom* has many other Paſſages, which ſpeak of Prayers for the whole State of the Church, for Biſhops, for the Univerſe, and the Publick Peace; but becauſe theſe refer more peculiarly to the Prayer immediately following the Conſecration and Oblation (where a more ſolemn Commemoration of all States was again made) I will refer the Notice of them to the Diſcourſe upon that Prayer in its proper Place.

[*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. πάλιν ἐπειδὰν ἐξέρχωμεν τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν τῶν ἐ δυναμένων τῆς ἱερᾶς μεταλαγχάνειν τελετῆς, ἑτέραν δεῖ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα.

HOWEVER I cannot omit mentioning one remarkable Thing more out of St. *Chryſoſtom* relating to this Prayer, which is, That this Prayer was eſteemed ſo much the Common-Prayer of the People, that the Children of the Church were particularly enjoined to bear a Part in it. For in one of his *Homilies* upon St. *Matthew* ſpeaking firſt of the Prayer for the Demoniacks, ſecondly of the Prayer for the Penitents, thirdly, of this Prayer for the Communicants, he obſerves, That the two former were offered by the People alone, as Interceſſors for Mercy for others; but this Prayer, which was for themſelves, was preſented alſo by the Innocent Children of the People [*n*], crying to GOD for Mercy: ſ being ſuppoſed, that their Innocency and Humility, the Imitation of which qualifies Men for the Kingdom of Heaven, were good Recommendations of their Prayers, when they ſolemnly implored the Divine Mercy. Which plainly ſhews, that this was a general Prayer of all Degrees of Perſons in the Church. We may note farther out of St. *Auſtin*, that the Univerſal Church, or the greateſt Part of it, had ſuch Prayers preceding the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, which were properly called *Precationes*, or *Deprecationes*, Supplications for themſelves and others, *& Communis Oratio*, Common-Prayer, becauſe they were performed by the Common Voice of the Deacon and the People. In one of his Epiſtles [*o*] he divides the whole Service of the Church into theſe Five

[*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 71. al. 72. in Mat. p. 624. ἡ δὲ τρίτη πάλιν ἐυχὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδία τὰ ἄμωμα τῷ δήμῳ προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα.

[*o*] Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. 18. Quando autem non eſt tempus (cum in Eccleſia fratres congregantur) Sancta cantandi, niſi cum legitur, aut diſputatur, aut Antiſtites clara voce deprecantur, aut Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicitur?

Five Parts. 1. Singing of *Pſalms*. 2. Reading of the Scriptures. 3. Preaching. 4. The Prayers of the Biſhops and Presbyters. 5. The Common-Prayers indicted by the Voice or Direction of the Deacons: Which were the Bidding-Prayers we are now diſcourſing of. Whence we learn the meaning of the Deacon's being ſaid, *Indicere Communem Orationem*; that it means not barely his commanding them to pray, but his going before them in a Form of Words, to which they might joyn their common Reſponſes.

IN another [p] Epiſtle, he divides the Communion-Service into Four Parts, according to that Diviſion of St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. *I exhort therefore, that firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men*; taking Supplications for theſe Common-Prayers made for all Men before the Conſecration of the Elements; and Prayers, in the *Greek* called εὐχαὶ, for the Prayers of Conſecration, of which the *Lord's Prayer* was one, becauſe the People did then ſolemnly dedicate themſelves to CHRIST, which is the moſt common Notation of the Word εὐχὴ, a Vow. By Interceſſions, he underſtands the Benedictions of the People by Impoſition of Hands, uſed at that time by the Biſhops

[p] Aug. Ep 59. ad Paulin. Quæſt. 5. Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Eccleſia, ut Precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod eſt in Domini menſa, incipiat benedici: Orationes, cum benedicitur & ſanctificatur, & ad diſtribuendum comminuitur quam totam petitionem fere omnis Eccleſia Dominica Oratione concludit.— Interpellationes autem, ſive ut veſtri Codices habent, Poſtulationes, fiunt cum Populus benedicitur. Tunc enim Antiſtites, velut Advocati, ſuſceptos ſuos per manus Impoſitionem miſericordiſſimæ offerunt Poteſtati. Quibus peractis, & participato tanto Sacramento, Gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apoſtolus.

ſhops and other chief Miniſters, recommending them to the Mercy of GOD; and by Thankſgiving, the Doxologies and Returns of Praiſe after the Participation was over. So that here we have a plain Account of the Church's Service, and particularly that the Prayers before the Conſecration, were thoſe ſolemn Addreſſes, which were made chiefly by the Deacon and People, and therefore were called, *Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicta, The Common-Prayers of the People, enjoyned and ordered by the Bidding of the Deacon.* In another Place he mentions ſome of the Particulars then prayed for. For writing to one *Vitalis* of *Carthage*, who maintained that *Infidels* were not to be prayed for, he urges him with the known Practice of the Church. Diſpute then, ſays he, againſt the Prayers of the Church, and when you hear the Prieſt of GOD [q] exhorting the People of GOD at the Altar, to pray for Infidels, that GOD would convert them to the Faith; and for *Catechumens*, that GOD would inſpire them with a Deſire of Regeneration; and for the Faithful, that they may perſevere by his Grace in that wherein they have begun; Mock at theſe pious words, and ſay you do not do what he exhorts you to do, that is, that you do not pray to GOD for Infidels, that he would make them Believers. Here we ſee the Prayers for the Converſion of Infidels, and the Perſeverance of Believers are the ſame with thoſe that occur in the *Conſtitutions*, and in both Places are ſaid to be done at the Bidding or Exhortation of the Miniſter.

St.

[q] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vital. p. 187 Exerce contra Orationes Eccleſiæ Diſputationes tuas, & quando audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad Fidem; & pro Catechumenis, ut eis deſiderium Regenerationis inſpiret; & pro Fidelibus, ut in eo quod eſſe cœperunt, ejus munere perſeverent; ſubſanna pias voces, & dic te non facere quod hortatur, &c.

St. *Basil* also speaks of these Prayers, under the Name of Κηρύγματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ, which is not to be understood of Preaching in the Church, but of these Prayers, which the Deacon, as the common Κήρυξ or Proclaimer and Director of the Service, appointed the People to make for all Orders of Men in the Church. And so St. *Basil* himself explains his own meaning. For writing to a Friend in a Foreign Country, he tells him it was impossible he should forget him in his Prayers, unless he should forget the Work to which the Lord had appointed him. For you, says he, who are by the Grace of GOD a Believer, remember very well the Bidding Prayers of [r] the Church; How we there pray for all our Brethren that travel in Foreign Countries, and for all those that are mustered in the Camp, and for those that undertake any Brave and Bold thing for the Name of the Lord, and for all such as shew forth any Fruits of the Spirit: For all these we make Prayers in the Holy Church. And he tells his Friend, that he being a Person singularly eminent, and in all those Capacities, as a Traveller, as a Warrior, as a Confessor, as a vertuous Man, was always remembred in the Publick Prayers of the Church. He mentions no other Particulars, because he had no occasion to specify any more but what related to this particular Man's Case; but we need not doubt but that there were many other such Petitions in the Liturgy of the Church of *Cæsarea*, as there were in those of *Antioch*, and the *African* Churches. *Cæsarius Arelatensis* also speaks of these Bidding Prayers as used in the *Gallican* Churches. For

[r] Basil. Ep. 241. μέμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα. &c.

For in one of his Homilies to the People [s] he exhorts them, that as often as the Clergy prayed at the Altar, or Prayer was enjoined by the Bidding of the Deacon, they ſhould bow not only their Hearts, but their Bodies alſo. For it was a very irregular thing, and unbecoming Chriſtians, that when the Deacon cryed out, *Let us bend the Knee*, the greateſt part of the People ſhould ſtand erect like Pillars, as he had obſerved them to do in their Devotions. Here though we have none of the particular Petitions, yet there is a plain Reference to them, and two of the Circumſtances mentioned, that is, that they were to be made Kneeling, and by the Indiction or Direction of the Deacon.

Sect. 4. *Of the Invocation or Collect following the Prayers of the People.*

AND in theſe Circumſtances they differed from the following Prayer, made by the Biſhop or chief Miniſter, which the *Greeks* called ἐπίκλησις, the *Invocation*, and the *Latins Collecta*, the *Collect*, becauſe it was the Recollection or Recapitulation of the preceding Prayers of the People. As the former Prayer was ſaid by the Deacon and People kneeling, ſo this was preſented by the Biſhop ſtanding. And therefore the Deacon was uſed to ſay immediately after the former Prayer, ἐγειρώμεθα, *Let us riſe up, and praying earneſtly, Let us recommend our ſelves and one another to the living* GOD *by his Chriſt*. After which, the Biſhop makes this Prayer, as the Form runs in the Conſtitutions. [t]

O Lord

[s] Cæſar. Arelat. Hom. 34. Rogo vos & admoneo, Fratres Chariſſimi, ut quotieſcunq; juxta altare a Clericis oratur, aut Oratio Diacono clamante indicitur, non ſolum corda, ſed etiam corpora inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, ſicut oportet, & diligenter attendo, Diacono clamante, Flectamus genua, maximam partem populi velut columnas erectas ſtare conſpicio, quod Chriſtianis omnino nec licet nec expedit. [t] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. cap. 11.

O Lord Almighty and moſt High, thou that dwelleſt in the Higheſt, thou holy One that reſteſt in thy Saints, (or Holy Places) that art without Original, the great Monarch of the World; who by thy Chriſt haſt cauſed thy Knowledge to be preached unto us, to the Acknowledgment of thy Glory and Name, which he hath manifeſted to our Underſtandings: Look down now by him upon this Thy Flock, and deliver it from all Ignorance and wicked Works. Grant that it may fear thee, and love thee, and tremble before the Face of thy Glory. Be merciful and propitious unto them, and hearken to their Prayers; and keep them Unchangeable, Unblameable, and without Rebuke: That they may be holy both in Body and Soul, not having Spot or Wrinkle or any ſuch thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them deficient or wanting in any reſpect. O thou their Defender, thou Almighty, that regardeſt not Perſons, be thou the help of this thy People, whom thou haſt redeemed with the precious Blood of thy Chriſt. Be thou their Defence and Succour, their Refuge and Keeper, their impregnable Wall, their Bulwark and Safety. For no one can pluck them out of thy Hand. There is no other God like Thee: In thee is our hope and ſtrong Conſolation. Sanctify them by thy Truth: For thy Word is Truth. Thou that doſt nothing out of Partiality and Favour; thou that canſt not be deceived, deliver them from Sickneſs and Infirmity, from Sin, from all Injury and Fraud, and from the fear of the Enemy, from the Arrow that flieth by Day, and the danger that walketh in Darkneſs; and vouchſafe to bring them to eternal Life, which is in Chriſt thy only begotten Son, our God and Saviour; by whom be Glory and Worſhip unto Thee in the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, World without End. Amen.

THIS, I conceive, is of the ſame Nature with that Prayer mentioned by the Council of *Laodicea* [u] as the

[u] Conc. Laod. Can. 19.

the ſecond of thoſe that are ſaid to be made διὰ προσφωνήσεως: For though the Author of the *Conſtitutions* diſtinguiſhes between the Deacons Bidding-Prayer and the Biſhop's Invocation, calling the former προσφώνησις, and the latter ἐπίκλησις; yet they both agreed in ſeveral Things to diſtinguiſh them from the ſilent Prayer that went before. For firſt they were both pronounced audibly by the Miniſter, ſo as the whole Congregation might join with them, either by making Reſponſes to every particular Petition of the Deacons Prayer, or by ſaying *Amen* at the Concluſion of the Biſhop's Prayer; whereas the ſilent Prayers of the People were ſuch as every Man ſaid privately by himſelf, and might be very different from one another, and ſometimes were ſuch as were not fit to be heard, becauſe ſome Men abuſed this Opportunity to pray to GOD for Revenge upon their Enemies. 2. Both theſe Prayers were made at the Call or Admonition of the Deacon, and ſo might have the Name of προσφώνησις. For he ſaid before the one, *Let us fall down upon our Knees and pray to God:* And before the other, *Let us riſe and commend our ſelves to God.* Ἀναστῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ. Whence alſo this and all ſuch Prayers of the Biſhop had the Name of ἀναδόσεις, Commendations, becauſe they recommended the People to the Mercy and Protection of GOD. As we find in one of the Canons of the *African Code* [x] which made an Injunction that no Prayers ſhould be uſed in the Church but ſuch as were authorized by a Synod, whether they were Prefaces, or Commendations, or Impoſitions of Hands, leſt any Prayers contrary to the Faith ſhould ſurreptitiouſly

[x] Cod. Afric. can. 106. ἤρεσεν καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε ὄιμια, εἴτε ἀναδόσεις, εἴτε τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. &c. Vid. Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 12.

reptitiouſly creep into the Church. Where, as by Prefaces are meant certain proper Prayers uſed at the *Euchariſt*; and by Impoſitions of hands, Prayers made over the Penitents or People by way of Benediction; ſo by Commendations are to be underſtood partly Prayers for the Catechumens, and partly theſe Prayers of the Biſhop for the People, recommending their Perſons and Prayers, and Concerns to the Favour of GOD. This Canon was firſt made in the Council of *Milevis*, where what the *Greeks* call Ἀναφοραὶ, is by the *Latins* [y] called *Commendationes*. But the more uſual Name in the *Latin* Church was *Collectæ*, Collects, becauſe theſe Prayers of the Biſhop, which in any part of the Service followed the joint Prayers of the Deacon and Congregation, were both a Recollection and Recommendation of the Prayers of the People. In this Senſe *Caſſian* takes the Phraſe, *Colligere Orationem*, when ſpeaking of the Service in the *Egyptian* Monaſteries and *Eaſtern* Churches, he ſays, After the *Pſalms* they had private Prayers, which they ſaid partly ſtanding, and partly kneeling: Which being ended, he that collected the Prayer [z] roſe up, and then they all roſe up together with him; none preſuming to continue longer upon the Ground, leſt he ſhould ſeem rather to purſue his own Prayers, than go along with him who collected the Prayers, or cloſed up all with his concluding Collect. Where we may obſerve, that a Collect is taken for the Chief Miniſters Prayer at the cloſe of ſome Part of Divine Service, collecting and concluding the Peoples preceding Devotions. As here in *Caſſian* it is the

[y] Conc. Milevitan. can. 12. [z] Caſſian. Inſtitut. Lib. 2. cap. 7. Cum autem is qui Orationem collecturus eſt, e terra ſurrexerit, omnes pariter ſurgunt, ita ut nullus remorari præſumat, ne non tam ſecutus fuiſſe illius Concluſionem, qui Precem colligit, quam ſuam celebraſſe credatur.

the Cloſe of the Ordinary or Daily Morning-Service, which was the ſame as the Cloſe of that Part of the Communion-Service, which immediately comes before the Conſecration, as has been ſhewed before, in ſpeaking of the Daily Morning-Service, more fully in another Place. *Book* XIII. *Chap.* x.

PARALLEL to this Paſſage in *Caſſian*, is that of *Uranius* [*a*], where ſpeaking of one *John* Biſhop of *Naples*, who died in the Celebration of Divine Service, he ſays, He gave the ſignal to the People to pray, and then having ſummed up their Prayers in a Collect, he yielded up the Ghoſt. The Council of *Agde* [*b*] in *France*, made it a ſtanding Rule for the *Gallican* Churches, that after all other things were performed in the Daily Courſe of Morning and Evening Service, the Biſhop ſhould conclude the whole Office, *Collecta Oratione*, *with his Collect*, and diſmiſs the People with his Benediction. From which it appears, that theſe Collects among the *Latins* were the ſame ſort of Prayers, which the *Greeks* called ἐπικλήσεις and ἀπολύσεις, *Invocations* and *Commendations*, with which the Biſhop concluded the Prayers of the Deacon and People in each diſtinct part of Divine Service. As we have ſeen it in the Service of the Catechumens and Penitents, and in the Offices for the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and here now in this part of the Communion Service which goes before the Conſecration. Of which I have nothing more to add,

[*a*] Uran. Vit. Paulin. Populo Orationem dedit, & Collecta Oratione ſpiritum exhalavit. [*b*] Conc. Agathen. can. 30. In concluſione Matutinarum vel Veſpertinarum Miſſarum, poſt Hymnos Capitella de Pſalmis dici, & plebem, Collecta Oratione ad veſperam ab Epiſcopo cum Benedictione dimitti.

add, but only a ſhort Paſſage [c] of St. *Auſtin*, who in his Book of the *Gift of Perſeverance*, ſeems plainly to intimate, that it was one Petition in this Prayer, of common Uſe in the *African* Churches, to pray for GOD's Grace to enable Believers to perſevere to the end of their Lives. For writing of the Neceſſity of Grace, to guard Men againſt the Error of the *Pelagians*, he puts them in mind of the Common-Prayer of the Church, wherein the Prieſt makes Invocation for the Faithful or Communicants, in theſe Words, *Grant them Grace, O Lord, to perſevere in thee unto the End.* And who is there, ſays he, that hearing the Prieſt thus praying, dares either in Word or Thought reprehend him, and is not rather ready, both with a Believing Heart and a Confeſſing Mouth, to anſwer *Amen* to ſuch a Benediction? 'Tis obſervable here, 1. That this Prayer has the ſame Name which the *Greeks* gave it in the *Eaſtern* Church, *The Invocation of the Biſhop or Prieſt over the Faithful.* And therefore 2dly, That it was a Part of the Communion-Service, where ſuch Prayers were only made. 3. That it was not the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer, which had the Peoples Reſponſes to every particular Petition, but a Prayer to which in the End, they only anſwered, *Amen.* 4. That it was a direct Invocation of GOD, by way of Benediction, ſuch as the Biſhop uſed to make, and not an Exhortation to pray, which was the Office of the Deacon. 5. That the Petition in Subſtance is the ſame with that of the Biſhops Prayer in the Conſtitutions, *Keep them Unchangeable, Unblameable, and without Rebuke; that they may be Perfect,*

[c] Aug. de Dono Perſeverantiæ, cap. 23. Tom. 6 An quis Sacerdotem ſuper Fideles Dominum invocantem, ſi quando dixit, *Da illis, Domine, in te perſeverare uſque in finem*, non ſolum voce auſus eſt, ſed ſaltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius ſuper ejus talem Benedictionem & corde credente & ore confitente reſpondit, *Amen.*

fect both in Body and Soul, not having Spot or Wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that they may be perfect, and none among them be found wanting in any Reſpect. All which Circumſtances make it highly probable, that this Prayer referred to by St. *Auſtin*, was the very Prayer we are ſpeaking of, as uſed in the Cloſe of the Firſt Part of the Communion-Service in the *African* Churches. Theſe are the Footſteps, by which we are to trace the Practice of the ancient Church in that Part of her Devotions, which was appropriated to the Communicants or Believers only, in the Entrance of the Communion-Service, and which anſwers to the Prayer for the whole State of Chriſt's Church Militant here upon Earth, in the Beginning of our Communion-Service.

CHAP. II.

Of the Oblations of the People, and other things Introductory to the Conſecration of the Euchariſt.

Sect. 1. *Of the Cuſtomary Oblations which the People made at the Altar.*

THE next Part of this Service, was the Great Thankſgiving and the Conſecration of the Elements of Bread and Wine for the *Euchariſt*. Which becauſe they were generally taken out of the Oblations which the People made at the Altar, it will be neceſſary to give ſome Account of theſe Oblations, and of the Elements of Bread and Wine taken out of them. It was an ancient Cuſtom, derived from Apoſtolical Practice, for all Communicants, that were of Ability, to make their Oblations of Bread and Wine, and ſometimes other things, at the Altar; out of which both the Elements were taken, and a common Feaſt was made for

for the Poor. This the Apoſtle plainly refers to in that Reproof which he gives the *Corinthians* for their Exceſs. 1 *Cor.* xi. 21. *In eating every one taketh before others his own Supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken.* *Juſtin Martyr* [a] takes Notice of theſe Oblations, ſaying, They that are Wealthy, and they that are Willing, give according as they are diſpoſed; and what is collected, is depoſited with the Biſhop, who out of it relieves the Orphans and Widows, and thoſe that are in Sickneſs, or in Want, or in Bonds, and Strangers and Travellers: In a Word, he is the Curator of all that are in Need. *Tertullian* gives the like Account of this Practice [b] in his Time, only he diſtinguiſhes between the Weekly and the Monthly Collection. Every one, ſays he, offers a ſmall Alms Monthly, or when he will, and as he will, and as he can; for no one is compelled, but makes a Voluntary Collation. This is our Bank for Piety. For it is not expended in Feaſting and Drinking, and abuſive Exceſſes, but in feeding and burying the Poor, in providing for Orphans that are bereft of their Parents, and aged People, and ſuch as ſuffer Shipwrack, or languiſh in the Mines, or in Baniſhment, or in Priſon. Only one Part of it, he adds, was ſpent upon a ſober Feaſt of Charity, where the Poor had a Right to feed as well as the Rich. St. *Cyprian* [c] alſo ſpeaks of this, when he asks a Rich Woman, How ſhe could think ſhe celebrated the Lord's Supper, who had no

[a] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98 and 99. [b] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Modicam unuſquiſq; ſtipem menſtrua die, vel quum velit, & ſi modo velit, & ſi modo poſſit, apponit: Nam nemo compellitur, ſed ſponte confert. &c. [c] Cypr. de Opere & Eleemoſ. p. 203. Locuples & dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non reſpicis; quæ in Dominicum ſine Sacrificio venis; quæ partem de Sacrificio, quod Pauper obtulit, ſumis?

Reſpect to the Corban; or how ſhe could come into the Lord's Houſe without a Sacrifice, and eat Part of the Sacrifice which the Poor had offered? Parallel to which is that of St. *Auſtin* [*d*], that a Man of Ability ought to be aſhamed to communicate of another Man's Oblation; and therefore he exhorts every one to bring their own Oblations to be conſecrated at the Altar.

Sect. 2. *What Perſons were allowed to make them, and what not.*

THERE was a very near Alliance and great Affinity between theſe Oblations, and that of the *Euchariſt*; and therefore as they had the ſame common Name of Oblation and Sacrifice, ſo in many reſpects the ſame Rules were obſerved about them. As firſt, that none but actual Communicants ſhould have the Privilege to offer them. For in thoſe Days it was a Privilege to be allowed to make their Oblations, and a ſort of leſſer Excommunication to be debarred from it. They would not receive the Oblations of Perſons that were at Enmity or Variance with their Brethren [*e*], neither at the Altar, nor into the Treaſury. And this, as *Optatus* [*f*] tells us, was grounded upon that Rule of our Saviour, that no Mens Gifts ſhould be offered at the Altar, but thoſe which were ſeaſoned with Peace and Reconciliation with their Brethren. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee: Leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go, firſt be reconciled*

[*d*] Aug. Ser. 215. de Tempore. Oblationes, quæ in altario conſecrentur, offerte: Erubeſcere debet homo idoneus, ſi de aliena Oblatione communicaverit. [*e*] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 93. Oblationes diſſidentium Fratrum, neq; in ſacrario, neq; in Gazophylacio recipiantur. [*f*] Optat. Lib. 6. p. 93. Altaria, in quibus Fraternitatis munera non juſſit ſalvator poni, niſi quæ eſſent de Pace condita.

conciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift. *Matth.* v. 23. For the ſame Reaſon they refuſed the Oblations of noted and known Oppreſſors of the Poor, as appears from another Canon [*g*] of the Council of *Carthage*. With which agrees the Rule in the *Conſtitutions*, that [*h*] they ſhould not receive the Gifts of a Thief or an Harlot. Which is repeated again with an Addition of many other ſuch like Criminals [*i*]. A Biſhop muſt know, whoſe Gifts he ought to receive, and whoſe not. He ſhall not receive the Gifts of Fraudulent Huckſters, κάπηλοι: *For an Huckſter ſhall not be free from Sin.* Ecclus. xxvi. 29. And *Eſaias* ſpeaks of theſe, when he upbraids *Iſrael*, ſaying, *Thy Huckſters mix Wine with Water*, (ſo the *Septuagint* reads it. *Eſa.* i. 22.) *Neither ſhall he receive the Oblations of Whore-mongers. For thou ſhall not offer to the Lord the Hire of a Whore.* Deut. xxiii. 18. *Nor the Oblations of Covetous and Adulterers: For the Sacrifices of ſuch are Abomination to the Lord.* Nor the Oblations of ſuch as afflict the Widow, and oppreſs the Fatherleſs by their Power, and fill the Priſons with innocent Perſons, and evil intreat their Servants with Stripes, Famine, and hard Bondage; and lay waſte whole Cities: All ſuch are to be rejected, and their Offerings are abominable. He ſhall alſo refuſe all Corrupters, and Lawyers that plead for Injuſtice, and Makers of Idols, and Thieves, and unrighteous Publicans, and thoſe that uſe Frauds in Weight or Meaſure; all Soldiers that are falſe Accuſers, and not content with their Wages, but oppreſs the Poor; all Murderers and Hangmen, and unrighteous Judges, Drunkards, Blaſphemers, and Abuſers of themſelves with Mankind; all Uſurers

[*g*] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 94. Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt, Dona à ſacerdotibus refutanda. [*h*] Conſtit. Lib. 3. cap. 3. [*i*] Id. Lib. 4. cap. 6.

and in a Word every wicked Man, that lives in Rebellion againſt the Will of GOD. St. *Chryſoſtom* particularly inveighing againſt Oppreſſors, who offered Alms out of what they had violently taken from others, ſays elegantly [*l*], That GOD will not have his Altar covered with Tears: CHRIST will not be fed with Robbery; ſuch Sort of Suſtenance is moſt ungrateful to him: It is an Affront to the Lord, to offer unclean Things to him: He had rather be neglected and periſh by Famine (in his Poor Members) than live by ſuch Oblations. The one indeed is Cruelty, but the other is both Cruelty and an Affront. It is better to give nothing, than to give that which is the Property of others. What the Author of the *Conſtitutions* obſerves of Idol-Makers, is confirmed by *Tertullian* [*m*], who wrote his whole Book of Idolatry in a manner againſt them, where among many other Things, he ſays, they that followed that Trade, were not to be admitted into the Houſe of GOD. And it is very remarkable what St. *Ambroſe* told *Valentinian*, when he was about to reſtore the Heathen Altars at the Interceſſion of *Symmachus*, That if he ſo far contributed toward the Re-ſettlement of Idolatry, the Church would no longer receive his Oblations: What will you anſwer, ſays he, to the Prieſt [*n*], when he ſhall ſay unto you, The Church requires not your Gifts, becauſe you have adorned the Temples of the Heathen with your Gifts. The Altar of CHRIST refuſes your Ob-

[*k*] Chryſ. Hom. 86. al. 87. in Mat. p. 722. Vid. Hom. 72. in Joan. p. 466. Et Epiphan. expoſit. Fidei. n. 23.

[*l*] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 5. Reſpondebimus ad excuſationes hujuſmodi Artificum, quos nunquam in Domum Dei admitti oportet, ſi quis eam diſciplinam norit.

[*m*] Ambroſ. Ep. 30. ad Valent. Quid reſpondebis ſacerdoti dicenti tibi: Munera tua non quærit Eccleſia, quia Templa Gentilium muneribus ornaſti. Ara Chriſti Dona tua reſpuit' quia Aram ſimulacris feciſti.

Oblations, becauſe you have erected an Altar to the Idol-gods. By which it is plain, they rejected the Oblations not only of profeſt Idolaters, but all ſuch as were Abetters of them, or any ways Inſtrumental in giving Aid or Encouragement to Idolatrous Practices. Again it was a ſtanding Rule among them not to admit the Oblations of thoſe, who having a Right to communicate, would not ſtay to participate of the Communion. This is expreſsly ordered by the Council of *Eliberis* [*n*]: And the Rule extended farther to all thoſe that for any Crime or Hereſy were excluded from Communion by the Diſcipline of the Church, or were not in full Communion with her. Such as all Excommunicate Perſons, all Catechumens, Penitents, Energumens, and Strangers that travelled without Commendatory Letters, and ſuch of the Clergy as for ſome leſſer Offences were reduced to the Communion of Strangers. For as *Albaſpinæus* notes rightly upon that Canon, all theſe were in ſome meaſure Non-communicants, as not being in the perfect and full Communion of the Church. The Energumens are particularly ſpecified [*o*] in the next Canon of that Council, as Perſons whoſe Oblations ſhould not be received, nor their Names mentioned at the Altar, whilſt they were actually under the Agitation of an evil Spirit. And all Penitents, whilſt they were under Diſcipline, were in the ſame Claſs; only they had this Privilege, that if they chanced to die ſuddenly whilſt they were doing Penance, and were

[*n*] Conc. Eliber. can. 28. Epiſcopos, placuit, ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere. [*o*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 29. Energumenus, qui erratico ſpiritu exagitatur, hujus nomen neque ad Altare cum Oblatione recitandum, neque permittendum ut ſua manu in Eccleſia miniſtret.

ſirous to be reconciled, by ſome Canons [*p*] their Oblations were allowed to be received after Death, as a Teſtimony of their Reconciliation and Admiſſion into the Communion of the Church again: Except they were of that Sort of Penitents, to whom the Church thought fit in the Severity of her Diſcipline to deny all External Communion at the hour of Death; of which there are many Inſtances in the Councils of *Sardica*, *Eliberis*, and others: For then their Oblations were not received either living or dying: or elſe when they had been ſo careleſs as not to deſire Reconciliation at the Hour of Death: In which Caſe, as Pope *Leo* ſays, [*q*], their Cauſe was reſerved to the Judgment of GOD, in whoſe Hand it was that their Life was not prolonged till they could have the Remedy of Communion. As to the Church, ſhe did not communicate with thoſe after Death, with whom ſhe did not communicate when they were alive. Nay ſometimes they would not receive the Oblations of thoſe that died in their Communion, if their laſt Act happened to have any Thing irregular in it. As appears from a Caſe in *Cyprian* [*r*] who tells us, That it had been determined by an *African* Synod, that no one ſhould appoint any of GOD's Miniſters a Curator or Guardian by his Will, becauſe they were to give themſelves

[*p*] Conc. Arelatenſe 2. can. 12. Vaſenſe 1. can. 2. Tolet. 11. can. 12. [*q*] Leo Ep. 92. ad Ruſticum cap. 6. Horum Cauſa Dei Judicio reſervanda eſt, in cujus manu fuit, ut talium obitus non uſq; ad communionis remedium differretur. Nos autem, quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non poſſumus. [*r*] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. Ideo Victor cum contra Formam nuper in Concilio a Sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Fauſtinum Presbyterum auſus ſit Tutorem conſtituere, non eſt quod pro Dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio, aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur.

ſelves to Supplications and Prayer, and to attend only upon the Sacrifice and Service of the Altar: And therefore when one *Geminius Victor* had made *Geminius Fauſtinus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Furni*, Guardian or Truſtee by his laſt Will and Teſtament, *Cyprian* wrote to the Church of *Furni*, That they ſhould make no Oblation for him, or Name him in the Sacrifice of the Altar. But in after Ages this piece of Diſcipline was a little moderated in *France*: For by a Canon of the ſecond Council of *Orleans* it was ordered [*s*], That if any one died in the Communion of the Church, his Oblation ſhould be received, though he happened to be ſlain in ſome Fault, provided he had not laid violent Hands upon himſelf. But this Privilege was not allowed the Catechumens that died without Baptiſm, becauſe they never were perfectly in the Communion of the Church. Therefore *Chryſoſtom* [*t*] ſays, no mention was ever made of them after Death in the Prayers of the Church, as was uſual for Believers, in the Oblation or Sacrifice of the Altar. The only Thing that could be done for ſuch, was to give private Alms to the Poor. If they had not the Benefit of Baptiſm, they were to be buried as Perſons who laid violent Hands upon themſelves, or fell by the Arm of Juſtice, without any Solemnity [*u*] of Burial, or Commemoration at the Altar. In ſhort, the Oblations of all Perſons who were not in actual or

[*s*] Conc. Aurelian. 2. can. 14. Oblationem defunctorum, qui in aliquo crimine fuerint interempti, recipi debere cenſemus, ſi tamen non ipſi ſibi mortem probentur propriis manibus intuliſſe. [*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Philip. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. 1. in Act. & Hom. 24. in Joan. [*u*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 35. Catechumenis ſine redemptione Baptiſmi defunctis, ſimili modo, non Oblationis ſanctæ commemoratio, neq; Pſallendi impendatur Officium.

full Communion with the Church, were abſolutely rejected: And therefore thoſe Penitents who had gone through all the Stages of Diſcipline, and were now allowed to ſtay, and hear the Prayers with the reſt of the Faithful, were not yet allowed to make any Oblations, as being not yet fully reconciled to the Communion of the Altar. Upon this Account the ancient Canons [x] ſtile them κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ſuch as communicated in Prayers only, without any Oblation. But this was more preciſely obſerved in the beginning of their Cenſures. For if a great Delinquent, an Heretick or other Excommunicate Perſon, would have given his whole Eſtate to the Church, in ſuch a Caſe they would not accept his Oblation. There goes an Epiſtle under the Name of St. *Auſtin* to Count *Boniface* [y], wherein he tells him, he had forbidden all his Clergy to accept the Oblation of his Houſe, and interdicted him all Communion, till he had done Penance for a certain bold Attempt, and offered to GOD firſt the Sacrifice of an humble and contrite Heart for his Error. The Epiſtle probably is not St. *Auſtins*, but it contains nothing diſagreeable to the Diſcipline of thoſe Times, when the greateſt Gift would not be accepted from an Emperor, if he were an Heretick, or under the Cenſure of Excommunication. As it is clear, not only from what has been obſerved before out of St. *Ambroſe*'s Epiſtle to *Valentinian*, but from what *Gregory Nazianzen* [z] ſays of St. *Baſil*, That he refuſed the Oblations of the Emperor *Valens*, becauſe

[x] Conc. Nicen. can. 11. Conc. Ancyr. can. 4. 5, 8. &c.

[y] Aug. Ep. 6. ad Bonifac. in Appendice. Tom. 2. Oblatio domus tuæ à Clericis ne ſuſcipiatur, indixi, Communionemque tibi interdico, donec—pro hoc facto corde contrito & humiliato dignum offeras ſacrificium Deo. [z] Naz. Orat. 20. de Laud. Baſil. p. 351.

cauſe he was a profeſt Enemy of the Divinity of CHRIST, and a furious defender of the *Arian* Hereſy. So *Liberius* refuſed the Offering of *Euſebius* the *Arian* States-Man under *Conſtantius*, as we are told by *Athanaſius* [*a*] and *Theodoret* [*b*] who reports the ſtory with all its Circumſtances in this manner: When *Conſtantius* drove *Liberius* into Baniſhment, becauſe he would not ſubſcribe the Condemnation of *Athanaſius* with the *Nicene* Faith, he ſent him Five Hundred Shillings (ὁλοκοσίνας) to bear his Charges. But *Liberius* bid the Meſſenger, that brought them, return them to the Emperor, for his Soldiers had more need of them. The Empreſs alſo ſent him the ſame Sum, which he returned to the Emperor with a like Anſwer, That he might keep them for his own Expeditions. Laſt of all, when he had refuſed both the former, *Euſebius* the Eunuch was ſent to make him another Offer. To whom *Liberius* replied, Thou haſt hazarded and laid waſte the Churches over all the World, and doſt thou now offer me an Alms as a condemned Criminal? But go thou firſt, and learn to become a Chriſtian. 'Tis no leſs remarkable what *Tertullian* tells us of the Churches Treatment of *Marcion* the Heretick, when he was excommunicated with *Valentinus* for his Hereſy: They caſt him out with his Two Hundred [*c*] *Seſtertia*, which he had brought into the Church. They were ſo far from receiving the Gifts of ſuch Men, that they rejected them with ſcorn, as St. *Peter* did *Simon Magus*, *Thy Money periſh with thee*: Or as *Abraham* rejected the Gifts of the King of *Sodom*, ſaying, *I will*

[*a*] Athan. Ep. ad Solitarios. p. 834. [*b*] Theod. Lib. 2. cap. 16. [*c*] Tertul. de Præſcript. cap. 30. Marcion & Valentinus ſemel & iterum ejecti: Marcion quidem cum ducentis ſeſtertiis, quæ eccleſiæ intulerat.

will not take from a Thread to Shoe-latchet, I will not take any Thing that is thine, leſt thou ſhouldſt ſay, I have made Abraham *rich.*

Sect. 3, *What Oblations might be received at the Altar, and what not.*

AND as they thus made a Diſtinction in the Perſons, of whom they received, ſo ſecondly they made a Diſtinction in the Oblations themſelves, which were to be received. For the moſt ancient Cuſtom was only to offer ſuch Things at the Altar, as were proper for the Service of the Altar. To this purpoſe there are ſeveral Canons among thoſe called the Apoſtolical Canons. One ſays [*d*], No Biſhop or Presbyter under Pain of Depoſition ſhall offer any Thing in the Sacrifice on the Altar contrary to the Lords Command, as Honey, Milk, or ſtrong Beer inſtead of Wine, or Birds, or living Creatures, excepting only the Firſt-fruits of Corn and Grapes in their proper Seaſon. Another forbids any Thing to be brought to the Altar [*e*] beſides Oyl for the Lamps, and Incenſe in the Time of the Oblation. And a Third [*f*] orders all other Firſt-fruits to be carried home to the Biſhop and Presbyters, to be divided between them and the Deacons and the reſt of the Clergy. Some of the *African* Canons are to the ſame Purpoſe. The Third Council of *Carthage* orders [*g*] that in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord nothing elſe be offered but what the Lord commanded, that is, *Bread and Wine mingled with Water.*

[*d*] Canon. Apoſt. can. 3. [*e*] Can. 4. [*f*] Can. 5. Vid. Conc. Eliber. in. can. 49. [*g*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. Ut in Sacramentis corporis & ſanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam ipſe Dominus tradidit, hoc eſt, Panis & Vinum aqua mixtum. Nec amplius in ſacrificiis (al. in Primitiis) offeratur, quam de Uvis & Frumentis.

ter. Nor in the Oblation of Firſt-fruits any Thing more be offered but only Grapes and Corn. The Collections of *African* Canons [*b*] both *Greek* and *Latin* give us this Canon a little more at large in theſe Words: Nothing ſhall be offered in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord, but what the Lord himſelf commanded, that is, *Bread and Wine mingled with Water.* But the Firſt-fruits, and Honey and Milk, which is offered on one moſt ſolemn Day for the Myſtery of Infants, though they be offered at the Altar, ſhall have their own peculiar Benediction, that they may be diſtinguiſhed from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Neither ſhall any Firſt-fruits be offered, but only of Grapes and Corn. Here we ſee, Milk and Honey was only to be offered on one ſolemn Day, that is, on the Great Sabbath, or *Saturday* before *Eaſter*, which was the moſt ſolemn Time of Baptiſm; and that for the Myſtery of Infants, that is, Perſons newly baptized, who were commonly called Infants in a Myſtical Senſe from their New Birth, in the *African* Church: For it was uſual to give them a Taſte of Honey and Milk immediately after Baptiſm, as has been ſhewed in a former Book [*]; and upon that Account an Oblation of Honey and Milk is here allowed to be made for this Myſtery of Infants, which was to be offered and con-

[*b*] Conc. African. can. 4. ap. Crab. T. 1. p. 503. Ut in ſacramentis corporis & ſanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam quod ipſe Dominus tradidit, hoc eſt, panis & vinum aqua mixtum. Primitiæ verò, ſeu Mel & Lac, quod uno die ſolenniſſimo in Infantum Myſterio ſolet offerri, quamvis in altari offerantur, ſuam tamen propriam habeant Benedictionem, ut à Sacramento Dominici corporis & ſanguinis diſtinguantur. Nec amplius in Primitiis offeratur, quam de uvis & frumentis. Vid. Cod. Eccleſ. Afric. can. 37. ap. Juſtellum.

[*] Book. XII. Chap. iv. n. 6.

conſecrated with a peculiar Benediction, that it might not be thought to come in the Room of the *Euchariſt*. And no other Firſt-fruits are allowed to be offered at the Altar but only Grapes and Corn, as being the Materials of Bread and Wine, out of which the *Euchariſt* was taken. In the Time of the Council of *Trullo* the Offering of Milk and Honey at the Altar was univerſally [*k*] forbidden. But the Oblation of the Firſt-fruits of Grapes was ſtill allowed: Only, whereas a corrupt Cuſtom prevailed in ſome Places, to join them in the ſame Sacrifice with the *Euchariſt*, and diſtribute them together with it to the People, the Rule of the *African Code* is revived, and Orders given [*l*], That they ſhall have a diſtinct Conſecration, and a diſtinct Diſtribution, if the People were deſirous to eat their Firſt- fruits in the Church. In the mean Time we may obſerve, that in other Churches not only the Firſt-fruits of Grapes and Corn, but all other Things which the People were voluntarily diſpoſed to offer, whether Money or the like Gifts, were received at the Altar. For in *France* the firſt Council of *Orleance* made it a Rule [*m*], that of ſuch Oblations one Moiety ſhould fall to the Biſhop, and the other be divided among the reſt of the Clergy. But it is ſeverely cenſured by *Strabo* [*n*] as a groſs Piece of Superſtition in the *Roman* Church, that they were uſed to offer and conſecrate a Lamb, and eat

[*k*] Conc. Trull. can. 57. [*l*] Ibid. can. 28. [*m*] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 16. Antiquos Canones relegentes, priora ſtatuta credimus renovanda, ut de his quæ in Altario Oblatione Fidelium conferuntur, medietatem ſibi Epiſcopus vendicet. &c. Vid. ibid. can. 17. [*n*] Strabo de Rebus Eccles. cap. 18. Du Pin *ſays alſo, that there is an Example of this Uſage in the Life of* St. Uldarick, *and that both* Ratramnus *and* Æneas Pariſienſis *wrote in Defence of it againſt* Photius, *but he ſays, it was not authorized in all the Latin Churches.* Du Pin. Cent. 9. p. 113.

eat the conſecrated Fleſh of it out of a pretended Reverence to the Immaculate Lamb of GOD, which was ſlain for the Sins of the World. *Photius* carries the Charge a little higher, and objects to them, that they offered it together with the Body of CHRIST upon the Altar. But this is commonly [o] ſaid to be an Aggravation of the Thing, and therefore is rejected by Cardinal *Bona* as a Slander. But he owns the Fact ſo far as it is related by *Strabo*, becauſe the Old *Ordo Romanus* has ſuch a Form for the Conſecration of a Lamb on *Eaſter* Day, and it is agreeable to their preſent Practice. Only he blames *Strabo* for being too zealous in his Cenſure of this Rite, and inveighing againſt it as a ſuperſtitious and erroneus Practice. Which only ſhews how much *Bona* was inclined to defend the ſuperſtitions that were crept into his Church, without any Foundation in ancient Practice.

Sect. 4.

The Names of ſuch as made Oblations of any conſiderable Value, rehearſed at the Altar.

BUT I proceed with the Practice of the ancient Church, and obſerve thirdly, That when their Oblations were receiv'd, it was uſual in many Places to rehearſe the Names of ſuch as offered, that a Commemoration of them might be made, and Prayers and Praiſes be offered to GOD for them at the Altar. I have already had Occaſion to ſay ſomething of this Cuſtom [*] out of St. *Cyprian* [p] and St. *Jerom* [q] in ſpeaking of Deacons, whoſe Office

[o] Nicolai Papæ Epiſt. ap. Baron. Tom. 10. an. 867. Bona, Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 8. n. 5. Hoc putidum mendacium eſt, &c. [*] Book II. Chap. xx. n. 5. [p] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. p. 37. [q] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. 18. p. 537.

fice it was to recite the Names. To theſe, I ſhall now add ſome farther Evidences both out of theſe and other Writers. *Cyprian* in one of his Epiſtles to the Churches of *Numidia*, ſpeaking of a Collection that had been made at *Carthage* for them [r] ſays, he had ſent them the Names of every Brother and Siſter, that had contributed willingly to ſo neceſſary a Work (it was to redeem Captives) that they might remember them in their Prayers, and requite their good Work in their Sacrifices and ſolemn Supplications; he had alſo added the Names of ſuch of his Fellow-Biſhops as were then preſent, and had contributed both in their own Names, and the Names of their reſpective Churches; and he had ſignified the Sums that every one gave, that as the common Faith and Charity required, mention might be made of them in their Supplications and Prayers. St. *Jerom* ſays [s] the ſame in another Place, That now the Names of ſuch as offered were publickly rehearſed, and that which was the Redemption of Sins, was made Matter of Praiſe and Glory: And Men did not remember the Widow in the Goſpel, whoſe two Mites caſt into the Treaſury, exceeded all the Gifts of the Rich, who caſt in of their Abundance. Some think [t] St. *Jerom* here reflects upon the Practice of the Church, as if he diſliked the mentioning

[r] Cyprian. Ep. 60. al. 62. ad Epiſcopos Numidas. p. 147. ut autem Fratres noſtros ac ſorores, qui ad hoc opus tam neceſſarium prompte ac libenter operati ſunt, ut ſemper operentur, in mentem habeatis in Orationibus veſtris, & eis vicem boni operis in ſacrificiis & precibus repræſentetis, ſubdidi nomina ſingulorum, &c.

[s] Hieron. in Jerem. 11. Lib. 2. p. 354. Nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina, & redemptio peccatorum mutatur in Laudem: nec meminerunt viduæ illius in Evangelio, quæ in Gazophylacium duo æra mittendo, omnium divitum vicit Donaria. [t] Comber of Liturgies. p. 196.

ing of the Sums offered, which they ſay, without doubt was a Corruption. But they miſtake St. *Jerom's* Meaning: For he is not blaming the Practice of the Church, but the Practice of thoſe who gave out of Oſtentation and Vain Glory; and when they were privately guilty of Theft or Oppreſſion, thought to get Eſteem and Reputation, by giving a little of their ill-gotten Goods to the Poor; pleaſing themſelves with the Applauſe of the People, whilſt their own Conſciences muſt needs laſh and torment them, as he expreſſes it in another [*u*] Place. It was fit for them to remember the Widow's Mites, which were a more acceptable Sacrifice to GOD than the greateſt Gifts of Injuſtice that they could offer him. So he does not condemn the Cuſtom of Rehearſing the Names of the Donors as a Corruption, but only the private Abuſes that by the Viciouſneſs of Men did ſometimes accompany it. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*x*] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*y*] have ſome Reference to the ſame Cuſtom: The latter orders the Biſhop to acquaint the Poor, who were their Benefactors, that they might pray for them by Name. And *Cotelerius* obſerves [*z*] a like Paſſage in the Acts of *Cecilian* and *Felix*, where the Form runs thus: Such an one gives ſo much of his Subſtance to the Poor; for which thoſe Acts appeal to the Peoples own Eyes and Ears. When the Oblations were thus preſented, and the Names of the Donors rehearſed, then it was uſual in ſome Places to make a Commendatory Prayer, by way of Oblation to GOD, antecedent to thoſe Euchariſtical Prayers which were appropriated

[*u*] Hieron. in Ezek. 18. [*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in Act. p. 175. [*y*] Conſtit. Lib. 3. cap. 4. [*z*] Geſta Purgationis Cæciliani & Felic. Vel audiſti, vel vidiſti, ſi dictum eſt pauperibus, Dat & vobis de re ſua Lucilla.

ted to the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*. This may be collected from the Epiſtle of Pope [a] *Innocent* to *Decentius* a neighbouring Biſhop of *Eugubium*, where he ſpeaks of ſuch an Oblation by a Commendatory Prayer going before the Conſecration: Which, he ſays alſo, in the *Roman* Church was uſed to be made before the Recital of the Names of the Offerers, which were not rehearſed till they came to the Conſecration. But whether ſuch a diſtinct Oblation of the Creatures was made in all Churches, ſeems not ſo very clear, becauſe other Writers, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus* and the *Conſtitutions*, ſay nothing of it.

Sect. 5.

The Euchariſtical Elements uſually taken out of the Peoples Oblationis. And conſequently, no Uſe of Wafers or unlevened Bread.

FOURTHLY, we are to obſerve upon this Head, That ſo long as the People continued to make Oblations of Bread and Wine, the Elements for the uſe of the *Euchariſt* were uſually taken out of them; and by Conſequence ſo long the Bread was that common leavened Bread, which they uſed upon other Occaſions; and the Uſe of Wafers and unleavened Bread was not known in the Church till the eleventh or twelfth Centuries, when the Oblations of common Bread began to be left off by the People. This will ſeem a great Paradox to all who look no farther than the *School-*

[a] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decentium. cap. 2. De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces Sacerdos faciat, atque eorum Oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda ſunt, ſua Oratione commendet, quam ſuperfluum ſit, & ipſe per tuam prudentiam recognoſcis, ut cujus Hoſtiam necdum Deo offeras, ejus ante nomen inſinues, quamvis illi incognitum ſit nihil. Prius ergo Oblationes ſunt commendandæ, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum ſunt Oblationes, edicenda, ut inter Sacra Myſteria nominentur, non inter alia, quæ ante præmittimus, ut ipſis Myſteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

Schoolmen, and only read their Diſputes with the *Greeks* leavened and unleavened Bread, which are fierce enough on both Sides, and have little of Truth on either: As commonly ſuch Diſputes evaporate into Smoke, and end in bitter and falſe Reproaches; the *Greeks* terming the *Latins Azymites*, for conſecrating in *Azymis*, that is, unleavened Bread; and the *Latins* on the other hand charging the *Greeks* with deviating from the Example of CHRIST, and the Practice of the ancient Church. I will not enter into the Detail of the Arguments on both Sides, which belongs not to this Place; but only acquaint the Reader, that now the moſt Wiſe and Learned Men in the *Roman* Church, who have more exactly ſcanned and examined this Matter, think fit to deſert the *Schoolmen*, and maintain, That the Whole Primitive Church, and the *Roman* Church herſelf for many Ages never conſecrated the *Euchariſt* in any other but common and leavened Bread. The firſt that ventured to break the Ice, and confront the *Schoolmen*, was *Latinus Latinius* in an Epiſtle to *Antonius Auguſtinus*. After him *Sirmondus* wrote a particular Diſquiſition upon it, which was followed and commended by Cardinal *Bona* [*b*], who has a long Diſſertation to eſtabliſh the Opinion, wherein he expoſes the Prejudices and falſe Argumentations of *Thomas Aquinas* and the reſt of the *Schoolmen*. And though *Chriſtianus Lupus* [*c*] ſet himſelf again with all his Might to defend the common Opinion of the *Schoolmen* againſt *Sirmondus*; yet his Arguments are of no Weight with *Schelſtrate* [*d*] and *Pagi*, who readily give in to the Poſition of *Bona* and *Sirmondus*,

[*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 23. [*c*] Lupus Not. in Concil. Tom. 3. p. 686. &c. [*d*] Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15. & Schelſtrate Diſciplina Arcani. cap. 7. Par. 5. ap. Pagi. ibidem.

as founded upon the juſteſt Reaſons. The chief Argument of the *Schoolmen* is no ways concluſive, That the Primitive Church followed the Example of CHRIST, who celebrated his laſt Supper with unleavened Bread. For that was only upon the Account of the *Paſſover*, when no other but unleavened Bread could be uſed among them. After his Reſurrection He probably celebrated in leavened Bread, and ſuch as was in common Uſe at all other Times, except the Time of the *Paſſover*. And that the Church always uſed common Bread, appears from the following Arguments. 1. That the Elements were uſually taken out of the Oblations of the People, where doubtleſs common Bread and Wine were offered. 2. It is noted by *Epiphanius* [*e*] as a peculiar Rite of the *Ebionite* Hereticks, that they celebrated in unleavened Bread and Water only. Which plainly argues, that the Church did otherwiſe. 3. The Ancients ſay expreſsly their Bread was common Bread, ſuch as they made for their own Uſe [*f*] upon other Occaſions. To which purpoſe there is a remarkable Story in the Life of *Gregory the Great* [*g*] of a Woman who, when he gave her the *Euchariſt* in the uſual Form of Words, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy Soul*, laughed at the Form, and being asked the Reaſon of her ſo doing, ſaid, it was becauſe he called that the Body of CHRIST, which ſhe knew to be Bread that ſhe had made with her own Hands. 4. The Ancients are wholly ſilent as to the Uſe of unleavened Bread in the Church. But they many Times ſpake of leavened Bread, and ſometimes the *Euchariſt* is called *Fermentum*, Leaven, upon that Account. As appears from the *Pontifical* in

[*e*] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 16. [*f*] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 4. cap. 4. Tu forte dicis, Meus Panis eſt uſitatus, &c. [*g*] Greg. Vita. Lib. 2. cap. 41.

in the Lives [b] of *Melchiades*, and *Siricius*, and a Letter of Pope *Innocent*, where he ſays, it was the Cuſtom at *Rome* to conſecrate the *Fermentum*, that is, the *Euchariſt*, in the Mother Church, and ſend it thence on the Lord's Day to the Presbyters in the *Tituli*, or leſſer Churches, that they might not think themſelves ſeparated from the Biſhops Communion. But they did not ſend it to any Country Pariſhes, becauſe the Sacraments were not to be carried to Places at any great Diſtance. What is here called the conſecrated *Fermentum*, is by *Baronius* and others, who tread in the Track of the *Schoolmen*, interpreted of the *Eulogia*, or *Panis Benedictus*, the Bread that was bleſſed for ſuch as did not communicate. But *Innocent* plainly ſays, He meant it of the Sacrament, which was conſecrated by the Biſhop, and ſent to the Presbyters for the Uſe of leſſer Churches. Which ſhews, that at that Time, even in *Rome* itſelf, the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated in common or leavened Bread. 5. It is obſervable, That neither *Photius*, nor any other *Greek* Writer, before *Michael Cerularius*, *An.* 1051. ever objected the uſe of unleavened Bread to the *Roman* Church: Which argues, that the Uſe of it did not prevail till about that Time; elſe there is no doubt but *Photius* would among other Things, have objected this to them. Theſe Arguments put the Matter beyond all Diſpute, that the Church for a Thouſand Years uſed no other but common or leavened

[b] Pontifical. Vit. Melchiadis. Hic fecit ut Oblationes conſecratæ per Eccleſias ex conſecratu Epiſcopi dirigentur, quod declaratur Fermentum. Id. Vit. Siricij. Hic conſtituit, ut nullus Presbyter Miſſas celebraret per omnem Hebdomadam, niſi conſecratum Epiſcopi loci deſignati ſuſciperet declaratum, quod nominatur Fermentum. Innoc. Ep. ad Decentium. cap. 5. Presbyteri Fermentum à nobis confectum per Acolythos accipiunt, ut ſe à noſtra Communione maxime illa die non judicent ſeparatos. Quod per Parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda ſunt Sacramenta. &c.

vened Bread in the *Euchariſt*; and how the Change was made, or the Time exactly when, is not eaſy to determine. But *Bona*'s Conjecture is very probable, That it crept in upon the Peoples leaving off to make their Oblations in common Bread, which occaſioned the Clergy to provide it themſelves, and they, under Pretence of Decency and Reſpect, brought it from leaven to unleaven, and from a Loaf of common Bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate Wafer, formed in the Figure of a *Denarius*, or Peny, to repreſent the Pence (as ſome Authors [*i*] about that time will have it) for which our SAVIOUR was betrayed: And then alſo the People inſtead of offering a Loaf of Bread, as formerly, were ordered to offer a Peny, which was either to be given to the Poor, or to be expended upon ſomething appertaining to the Sacrifice of the Altar. This is the ſhort Hiſtory of a great Change made inſenſibly in a Matter of ſmall Moment, if we conſider barely the Queſtion about the Uſe of leavened and unleavened Bread: For it is very indifferent in itſelf, whether is uſed, ſo long as Peace is preſerved in the Church: But in the Conſequences and Progreſs of the Diſpute it was no ſmall Matter: For the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* divided about it, and the *Weſtern* Church ran ſo far into an Extream, as almoſt to loſe the Nature of the ſacramental Element, by introducing a Thing that could hardly be called Bread, inſtead of that common Staff of Life which the Lord had appointed to be the Repreſentation of his Body in the *Euchariſt*.

THERE

[*i*] Honorius Gemma Animæ Lib. 1. cap. 66. ap. Bonam. Quia populo non communicante non erat neceſſe Panem tam magnum fieri, Statutum eſt eum in modum Denarij formari vel fieri; & ut populus pro oblatione farinæ Denarios offerret, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoſcerent. &c.

Sect. 6. *The Uſe of Wafers inſtead of Bread, condemned in their firſt Original.*

THERE wanted not ſome Diſcerning and Judicious Men in a dark Age, who complained of the Abuſe as ſoon as it began to be introduced. For *Bernoldus*, a Learned Presbyter of *Conſtance*, about the Year 1089, wrote a Book *De Ordine Romano*, wherein he thus reflects upon theſe Wafer-Hoſts or Oblations: If no leſs Meaſure than an Handful be found mentioned in all the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; and nothing ought to be done in the Temple of the LORD without Meaſure and Reaſon; theſe minute Oblations ſeem not [*k*] to appertain to CHRIST or his Church, becauſe they are without Meaſure and Reaſon. This Author was a little too bold and free with the Corruptions and Abuſes of the *Roman* Church, ever to ſee the Light. But *Trithemius* mentions [*l*] the Book, and gives an honourable Character of the Author. And *Caſſander* ſaw it in Manuſcript, and publiſhed this Fragment of it in his *Liturgicks* [*m*]; where he alſo makes a ſevere Reflection upon the Corruption and Vanity of that Age, for departing from the ancient Practice, and introducing an imaginary Sort of Bread, which deſerved more the Name of the Shadow than the Subſtance. Which juſt Reflection is repeated from *Caſſander*, not only by *Voſſius* [*n*], but ingenuouſly alſo by Cardinal

[*k*] Bernoldus de Ordine Romano. ap. Caſſandrum in Liturgicis. cap. 27. Si minor menſura quam pugillus non invenitur in toto ſerie Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti; & ſi nihil omnino debet fieri intra vel extra Templum Domini abſque Menſura & Ratione; videntur Oblatarum Minutiæ ad Chriſtum & ad Eccleſiam nihil pertinere, quia ſunt abſque Menſura & Ratione. [*l*] Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. Fol. 66. [*m*] Caſſander. Liturgic. cap. 27. [*n*] Voſs. Theſ. Theol. de Symbolis cænæ Domin. p. 441.

dinal *Bona* [o] in his *Animadverſions* upon this unwarrantable Alteration. Yet ſome there are who pretend Antiquity for this alſo. *Durantus* [p] thought he had found this Wafer-Bread in *Epiphanius*, becauſe he ſays, the Bread was, ἄρτος στρογγυλοειδὴς καὶ ἀναίσθητος [q], which they render, Bread of a circular Figure, and ſo minute that it could hardly be perceived by the Senſes. Whereas it ſhould be render'd, Bread of a ſolid, round, globular Figure, without Life or Senſe, which yet might repreſent Him, who is all Life, and Infinite, and Incomprehenſible. Which agrees well to the Character of the Euchariſtical Bread uſed in *Epiphanius*'s Time, when it was the Cuſtom to offer round and whole ſolid Loaves of Bread, but has no Relation to the Wafer-Bread of later Ages. *Durantus* urges farther the Teſtimony of *Gregory the Great* [r], who calls the Oblations, *Oblationum Coronas*, Crowns of Bread; which may imply, that they were round Loaves of Bread; but not therefore Wafers, unleſs every Thing that is round be a Wafer. He adds St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo, but he miſquotes him; for the *Greek* [s] has nothing of what is cited. But he might have added truly *Cæſarius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Brother [t], who comparing the natural and the ſacramental Body of CHRIST together, ſays, the one was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Members, but the other was round. And *Iſo* the Monk [u], who calls the Oblations, *Rotulas Panis*, Rowls of Bread, no doubt from the Roundneſs of their Figure: And the ſixteenth Council of *Toledo* [x], which ſpeaks of their Rotundity

[o] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 11. [p] Durant. de Ritibus. Lib. 2. cap. 38. n. 6. [q] Epiphan. Anchorat. n. 57. [r] Greg. Dialog. Lib. 4. cap. 55. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. [t] Cæſar. Dialog. 3. Quæſt. 169. [u] Iſo de Miraculis S. Othmari. cap. 3. [x] Conc. Tolet. 16. can. 6.

Rotundity alſo. But as Cardinal *Bona* rightly obſerves, this Rotundity implies round Loaves of Bread, and not round Wafers; of which there was no Uſe or Knowledge in former Ages, when they uſed ſuch Loaves of common Bread as the People offered, or elſe ſuch as were prepared particularly for the Purpoſe; yet ſtill Loaves of Bread, not Wafers; and common or leavened Bread, not unleavened, of which there is not the leaſt Intimation given in any Part of the Church for above a Thouſand Years, as that Learned Cardinal has proved beyond all Exception, to whoſe Diligence we chiefly owe the Illuſtration of this Matter in that curious Diſſertation of his upon the Subject.

Sect. 7. *Wine mixed with Water commonly uſed in the Ancient Church.*

THE other Part of the Sacrament was always Wine, and that taken alſo out of the Oblations of the People. Some of the Ancient Hereticks, under pretence of Abſtinence and Temperance, changed this Element into Water, and conſecrated in Water only. Theſe were ſome of them Diſciples of *Ebion*, and ſome the Followers of *Tatian*, commonly called *Hydroparaſtatæ* and *Aquarij*, from the Uſe of Water; and ſometimes *Encratitæ*, from their abſtaining wholly from Fleſh and Wine. And this ſeems to have been the Ground of their Errors, that they thought it univerſally unlawful to eat Fleſh or drink Wine. Under this Character they are frequently condemned, by *Epiphanius* [*y*] who terms them *Encratites*, and by St. *Auſtin* [*z*] under the Name of *Aquarians*, and by *Theodoret* [*a*] who ſays they

[*y*] Epiph. Hær. 46. Encratit. Hær. 30. Ebionit. n. 16.
[*z*] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 64. [*a*] Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

they ſprung from *Tatian*, and were called *Hydroparaſtatæ*, becauſe they offered Water inſtead of Wine; and *Encratitæ*, becauſe they wholly abſtained from Wine and living Creatures. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*] calls it the pernicious Hereſy of thoſe that uſed only Water in their Myſteries, whereas our Lord inſtituted them in Wine, and drunk Wine at his common Table after his Reſurrection, to prevent the Budding of this wicked Hereſy. The like may be read in *Philaſtrius* [*c*], and long before in *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, not to mention the Council of *Trullo* [*d*] or any later Writers. But it is to be obſerved, that beſide theſe there were another ſort of *Aquarians*, who did not reject the Uſe of Wine as ſimply unlawful either in itſelf, or in the *Euchariſt*: For in their Evening Service they conſecrated the *Euchariſt* in Wine, but not in their Morning Aſſemblies, for fear the ſmell of the Wine ſhould diſcover them to the Heathen. St. *Cyprian* gives a long Account of theſe in one of his Epiſtles [*e*], which is particularly deſigned againſt them. From which it alſo appears, that the Cuſtom of the Church then was to Uſe Wine mixed with Water, and he pleads for both as neceſſary from the Command and Example of CHRIST; adding ſome other Reaſons why it ſhould be ſo, as that the Water repreſents the People, as the Wine [*f*] does the Blood of CHRIST;

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. p. 700. [*c*] Philaſtr. de Hæreſ. cap. 77. Iren. Lib. 5. cap. 1. Clem. Strom. 1. p. 375. Pædag. Lib. 2. c. 2. [*d*] Conc. Trull. can. 32. Vid. Cod. Theodoſian. Lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis. Leg. 7. It. Theodoſii Novel. 3. ad calcem Tom. 6. [*e*] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcilium.

[*f*] Ibid. p. 153. Videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino verò oſtendi ſanguinem Chriſti —— Sic autem in Sanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua ſola non poteſt, quomodo nec vinum ſolum poteſt: Nam ſi vinum tantum quis offerat, ſanguis Chriſti incipit eſſe ſinę nobis: ſi vero aqua ſit ſola, plebs incipit eſſe ſine Chriſto.

CHRIST: And when in the Cup the Water is mingled with the Wine, CHRIST and his People are united together. And ſo, he ſays, in ſanctifying the Cup of the Lord, Water cannot be offered alone: as neither can the Wine be offered alone: For if the Wine be offered by itſelf, the Blood of CHRIST begins to be without us: And if the Water be alone, the People begin to be without CHRIST. The Third Council of *Carthage* ſeem to have had the ſame Opinion of the Neceſſity of Water, when they determined, as we have heard before, that nothing ſhould be offered at the Altar [*g*] but what the Lord himſelf commanded, that is, *Bread, and Wine mingled with Water*. And St. *Auſtin* was a Member of that Council, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been of the ſame Judgment. He alſo quotes the foreſaid Epiſtle of *Cyprian* with Approbation [*h*]. *Gennadius* [*i*] aſſigns two Reaſons for the Uſe of mixing Water with Wine; firſt becauſe it is according to the Example of CHRIST; and ſecondly becauſe when our Saviour's Side was pierced with the Spear, there came forth Water and Blood. This later Reaſon is alſo aſſigned by St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever wrote the Book *de Sacramentis* under his Name [*k*]; and by *Martin Bracarenſis* [*l*] in his Collection of *Greek* Canons. The Author of the Epiſtle to the *Egyptians* under the Name of Pope *Julius* [*m*] inſiſts upon *Cypri-*

[*g*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24. [*h*] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. Lib. 4. cap. 21. [*i*] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. c. 75. In Euchariſtia non debet pura aqua offerri, ut quidam ſobrietatis falluntur imagine, ſed vinum aqua mixtum: quia & vinum fuit in redemptionis noſtræ myſterio, cum dixit, Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis, & aqua mixtum, quod poſt cænam dabatur, ſed & de latere ejus lancea perfoſſo aqua cum ſanguine egreſſa. &c. [*k*] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 5. cap. 1. [*l*] Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canonum. cap. 55. [*m*] Julii Epiſt. ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 7.

Cyprian's Reaſon, That it is to ſhew the Union of CHRIST with his People. And the third Council of *Braga* relates *Cyprian*'s Words, correcting ſeveral other Abuſes that were crept into the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament [*n*]; as of ſome who offered Milk inſtead of Wine; and others who only dipped the Bread into the Wine, and ſo denied the People their Complement of the Sacrament; and others who uſed no other Wine but what they preſſed out of the Cluſters of Grapes that were then preſented at the Lords Table. All which they condemn, and order that nothing but *Bread and Wine mingled with Water* ſhould be offered according to the Determination of the ancient Councils. The Council of *Auxerre* notes ſome others who offer Mead, or Honey and Water mixed together [*o*], who are alſo condemned, as going againſt the common Rule of offering nothing but Wine and Water in the Sacrifice of the Altar. The Author of the *Commentaries* upon St. *Mark* under the Name of St. *Jerom* [*p*] gives another Reaſon for mixing Water with Wine, that by the one we might be purg'd from Sin, and by the other redeemed from Puniſhment. Theſe Reaſons indeed are no ways demonſtrative; however that the Practice was both ancient and general, is evident from *Juſtin Martyr*

[*n*] Conc. Bracar. 3. can. 1. Audivimus quoſdam Schiſmatica ambitione detentos, Lac pro vino in divinis Sacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro Complemento Communionis porrigere; quoſdam etiam expreſſum vinum in Sacramento Dominici calicis offerre. &c. Ideo nulli deinceps licitum ſit, aliud in Sacrificiis divinis offerre, niſi juxta antiquorum ſententiam Conciliorum panem tantum, & calicem vino & aqua permixtum. [*o*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 8. Non licet in altario in Sacrificio divino mellitum, quod mulſum appellatur, nec ullum aliud poculum, extra vinum cum aqua mixtum, offerre. [*p*] Hieron. in Marc. 14. Accepit Jeſus panem, &c. formans ſanguinem ſuum in calicem vino & aqua mixtum, ut alio purgemur à culpis, alio redimamur à pœnis.

Martyr [q] and *Irenæus* [r], who mention it as the Cuſtom of the Church, without aſſigning any farther Reaſon for it. And ſo likewiſe *Gregory Nyſſen* [s] and *Theodoret* [t] with ſome others produced by *Voſſius* in his Diſſertation [u] upon this Subject. The *Armenians* are ſaid to have conſecrated only in Wine, but that is reckoned an Error in them by *Theophylact* [x], and they are equally condemned with the *Hydroparaſtatæ* or *Aquarians* by the Council of *Trullo* [y] which produces the Authority of St. *James* and St. *Baſils Liturgy* againſt them. To which may be added the *Liturgies* under the Name of St. *Mark* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, and the *Conſtitutions* [z]. Yet after all, as there is no expreſs Command for this in the Inſtitution, notwithſtanding this general Conſent of the Ancient Church, it is commonly determined by Modern Divines as well of the *Roman* as Proteſtant Communion, that it is not eſſenal to the Sacrament it ſelf, as the Reader that is curious may find demonſtrated in *Voſſius* [a] in his Diſſertation upon this Subject.

Sect. 8.
Of ſome Hereticks who made Alterations or Additions to the Elements in the Euchariſt.

As to the Ancients, they are not to be blamed in keeping ſtrictly to this Cuſtom, becauſe they thought it a Part of the Inſtitution. Upon which Account they cenſured all that made any Alteration in the Elements, either by Addition, or Subtraction, or changing one Element for another. The *Aquarians*, as we have heard, were condemned, for taking away the Wine; the *Armenians* and others

[q] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [r] Iren. Lib. 4. cap. 57. & Lib. 5. cap. 2. [s] Nyſſen. Orat. Catechet. c. 37. [t] Theod. Dialog. 1. [u] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. p. 494. [x] Theophyl. Com. in Joan. 19. [y] Conc. Trull. Can. 32. [z] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 12. [a] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. ibid.

thers for not uſing Water alſo; Others were condemned for changing the Wine into Milk or Honey mixed with Water; others ſubſtituted Grapes inſtead of Wine; others Pulſe inſtead of Bread. Of all which becauſe we have ſpoken before in the two foregoing Sections, I need ſay no more in this Place. But beſide theſe there was once a ſenſeleſs Sect, which thought they did not celebrate the *Euchariſt* in Perfection, unleſs they offered Cheeſe together with the Bread. Whence they they had the Name of *Artotyritæ*, from ἄρτος, which in *Greek* ſignifies Bread, and τυρὸς Cheeſe. This is the Account which *Epiphanius* [*b*] gives of them, and after him St. *Auſtin* [*c*] ſaying, The *Artotyrites* are ſo called from their Oblation: For they offer Bread and Cheeſe, ſaying, That the firſt Oblations that were offered by Men in the Infancy of the World, were of the Fruits of the Earth and of Sheep.

Sect. 9. *And of others who rejected the Uſe of the Sacrament altogether.*

THERE were others who wholly rejected the Uſe of all External Symbols or Sacraments in general, and conſequently both Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt*, upon a Pretence that Faith and Knowledge and ſpiritual Worſhip were the only Things that were required of Chriſtians. Upon this Pretence the *Aſcodrutæ*, who were a Sort of *Gnoſticks*, neither adminiſtred Baptiſm nor the *Euchariſt* in their Society: They ſaid the Divine Myſteries were incorporeal and inviſible Things, and therefore not to be repreſented by ſuch corporeal and viſible Things as Water or Bread and Wine; but perfect Knowledge was their

[*b*] Epiphan. Hær. 49. [*c*] Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 48. Artotyritæ ſunt, quibus Oblatio eorum hoc nomen dedit: Offerunt enim Panem & Caſeum, dicentes, à primis hominibus oblationes de fructibus terræ & ovium fuiſſe celebratas.

their Redemption. So *Theodoret* [*d*] deſcribes them. And ſo both he and *Epiphanius* [*e*] deſcribe another abominable Sect, who from one of their principal Tenets where called *Archonticks*. They taught, that the World was not made by the Supream GOD, but by certain Inferior Powers, ſeven or eight in Number, whom they called *Archontes*, Rulers of the ſeveral Orbs of the Heavens one above another, to the chief of which they gave the Name of *Saboath*: And they pretended, that Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt* were only Inſtitutions of this *Sabaoth*, the God of the *Jews* and Giver of the Law, and not the Ordinances of the Supream GOD; for which Reaſon they wholly rejected the Uſe of them. Some other ſuch Sects there were among the ancient Hereſies, who deſpiſed the *Euchariſt* [*f*] upon the like Pretences: But theſe are ſufficient to ſhew us what Sort of Men they were, that anciently contemned this Holy Ordinance; and therefore without farther digreſſing to make any nicer Enquiry after them, I now return to the Buſineſs and Service of the Church.

[*d*] Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. Lib. 1. cap. 10.

[*e*] Theod. ibid. cap. 11. Epiphan. Hær. 40. de Archonticis.

B. 2. [*f*] Vid. Orig. περὶ εὐχῆς. n. 13. Ea penitus auferentes quæ ſenſibus percipiuntur, nec Baptiſmum nec Euchariſtiam uſurpantes. &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the OBLATION *and* CONSECRATION-PRAYERS.

Sect. 1. *The Form of Thankſgiving and Conſecration-Prayers deſcribed out of the* Conſtitutions.

AS ſoon as the Peoples Offerings were made, and Bread and Wine were ſet apart for the *Euchariſt*, they proceeded to the ſolemn Conſecration of them. The Manner of which is deſcribed at large in the *Conſtitutions*; which I will firſt ſet down here, and then compare the ſeveral Parts of it with the authentick Accounts we have in other ancient Writers. Immediately then after the firſt Prayers for the Faithful are ended, the Deacon is ordered [a] to give a ſolemn Admonition, ſaying, προσχωμεν, Let us give Attention. Then the Biſhop or Prieſt ſalutes the Church, ſaying, *The Peace of God be with you all:* And the People anſwer, *And with thy Spirit.* After this, the Deacon ſays to them all, Salute ye one another with an holy Kiſs. Then the Clergy ſalute the Biſhop, and Laymen their Fellow-Laymen, and the Women the Women; the Children ſtanding before the *Bema*, that is, either the Reading-Desk or the Altar; with a Deacon attending them, to ſee that they keep good Order; others of the Deacons walking about the Church, and inſpecting the Men and Women, that there be no Tumult, nor making of Signs to one another, nor Whiſpering, nor Sleeping; and others ſtanding at the Mens Gate, and the Subdeacons at the Womens Gate, that the Doors be not opened for any to go in or

[a] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 11.

or out in the time of Oblation. After this, the Subdeacon brings Water to the Prieſts to waſh their Hands, as a Sign of the Purity of thoſe Souls that are conſecrated unto GOD. Immediately after this [b] a Deacon cries out, Let none of the Catechumens be preſent, none of the Hearers, none of the Unbelievers, none of the Heterodox Party. Ye that have made the firſt Prayer, go forth, προέλθετε (or rather, as *Cotelerius* thinks it ought to be read, προσέλθετε, Ye that have made the firſt Prayers, draw near: For this ſeems to be ſpoken to the Communicants, as an Invitation,) Ye Mothers, take your Children, and bring them with you. Let no one come with Enmity againſt another; no one in Hypocriſy. Let us ſtand upright before the LORD with Fear and Trembling to offer our Sacrifice. This ſaid, the Deacons bring the τὰ δῶρα, the Elements to the Biſhop at the Altar; the Presbyters ſtanding on each Hand of him, and two Deacons with their Fans to drive away the little Inſects, that none of them fall into the Cup. Then the Biſhop ſtanding at the Altar with the Presbyters, makes a private Prayer by himſelf, having on his white or bright Veſtment, and ſigning himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs in his Forehead. Which done, he ſays, *The Grace of Almighty God, and the Love of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all.* And the People anſwer with one Voice, *And with thy Spirit.* Then the Biſhop ſays, *Lift up your Hearts:* And they all anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* The Biſhop ſays again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord:* And the People anſwer, *It is meet and right ſo to do.* Then the Biſhop ſays, *It is very meet, and right, above all Things, to praiſe Thee the True God, who art before all Creatures,*

[b] Ibid. cap. 12.

Creatures, of Whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named, who art the only Unbegotten, without Original, without King, without Lord, who haſt need of Nothing, who art the Author of all Good, who art above all Cauſe and Generation, and always the ſame, of Whom all Things have their Original and Exiſtence. For Thou art Original Knowledge, Eternal Sight, Hearing without Beginning, and Wiſdom without Teaching; the firſt in Nature, and the Law of Exiſting, exceeding all Number. Who madeſt all Things to exiſt out of Nothing by Thy Onely-begotten Son, whom Thou didſt beget before all Ages by Thy Will, and Power, and Goodneſs, without the Intervention of any, who is Thy Onely-begotten Son, the Word that is God, the living Wiſdom, the Firſt-born of every Creature, the Angel of Thy great Counſel, Thy High-Prieſt, but the King and Lord of all the Creatures both viſible and inviſible, who is before all Things, and by Whom all Things conſiſt. For Thou, O Eternal God, didſt create all Things by Him, and by Him Thou doſt vouchſafe to rule and govern them in the orderly Ways of Thy Providence. By Whom Thou didſt give them Being, by Him alſo Thou didſt give them a Well-being. O God and Father of Thy Onely-begotten Son, who by Him didſt create the Cherubims and Seraphims, the Ages and Hoſts, the Dominions and Powers, the Principalities and Thrones, the Archangels and Angels, and after them didſt by Him create this viſible World, and all Things that are therein. For Thou art He that haſt eſtabliſhed the Heavens as an Arch, and extended them like a Curtain; that haſt founded the Earth upon Nothing by Thy ſole Will; that haſt fixed the Firmament, and formed Night and Day; that haſt brought the Light out of Thy Treaſures, and ſuperadded Darkneſs for a Covering, to give Reſt to the Creatures that move in the World; that haſt ſet the Sun in the Heaven to govern the Day, and the Moon to govern the Night; and ordered the Courſe of the Stars, to the Praiſe of Thy Magnificent Power; that haſt made the

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Water for Drink and Purgation, and the vital Air both for Breathing and Speaking; that haſt made the Fire to be a Comfort in Darkneſs, to ſupply our Wants, and that we ſhould be both warmed and enlightened thereby; that haſt divided the great Sea from the Earth, and made the one Navigable, and the other Paſſable on Foot; that haſt filled the one with ſmall and great Animals, and the other with tame and wild Beaſts; that haſt crowned the Earth with Plants and Herbs of all Sorts, and adorned it with Flowers, and enriched it with Seeds; that haſt eſtabliſhed the Deep, and ſet a great Barrier about it, walling the great Heaps of ſalt Water, and bounding them with Gates of the ſmalleſt Sand; that ſometimes raiſeſt the ſame Deep to the Magnitude of Mountains by Thy Winds, and ſometimes layeſt it plain like a Field; now making it rage with a Storm, and then again quieting it with a Calm, that they which ſail therein may find a ſafe and gentle Paſſage: that haſt begirt the World, which Thou createdſt by Chriſt, with Rivers, and watered it with Brooks, and filled it with Springs of living Water always flowing, and bound up the Earth with Mountains, to give it a firm and unmoveable Situation. Thou haſt filled Thy World, and adorned it with odoriferous and medicinal Herbs, with a Multitude and Variety of Animals, weaker and ſtronger, ſome for Meat, and ſome for Labour, ſome of a mild and ſome of a fiercer Nature; with the hiſſing of Serpents, and ſweeter notes of Birds of divers Kinds; with the Revolutions of Years, and Numbers of Months and Days, and Orders of ſtated Seaſons; with flying Clouds producing Rain, for the Procreation of Fruits, and Preſervation of Animals; with Winds to blow in Order at thy Command, and a Multitude of Plants and Herbs. Neither haſt thou only made the World, but created Man in it to be Citizen of the World, and made him the Ornament of thy beautifull Structure. For thou ſaidſt to thy own Wiſdom, Let us make Man in our own Image and Likeneſs, and let them

have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air. And therefore Thou madeſt him of an Immortal Soul, and a diſſolvable Body; creating the one out of nothing, and the other out of the four Elements: And gaveſt him in his Soul a Rational Knowledge, a Power to diſcern between Piety and Impiety, and a Judgment to diſtinguiſh between Good and Evil; and in his Body the Priviledge and Faculty of Five ſeveral Senſes, with the Power of local Motion. For Thou, O God Almighty, didſt by Chriſt plant Paradiſe in Eden *towards the* Eaſt, *adorning it with all Kinds of Plants meet for Food, and placing Man therein as in a well-furniſhed Houſe: And in his Creation Thou gaveſt a natural Law implanted in his Mind, that thereby he might have within himſelf the Seeds of Divine Knowledge. And when Thou hadſt placed him in the Paradiſe of Delights and Pleaſure, Thou gaveſt him Power to eat of all Things, only forbidding him to taſte of one Kind, in Expectation of ſomething better: That if he obſerved that Command, he might attain to Immortality, as the Reward of his Obedience. But he neglecting this Command, and by the Fraud of the Serpent and the Counſel of the Woman taſting the forbidden Fruit, Thou didſt juſtly drive him out of Paradiſe; and yet in Goodneſs didſt not deſpiſe him, when he had deſtroyed himſelf; for he was Thy Workmanſhip; but Thou who didſt put the Creatures in Subjection under him, didſt appoint him to get his Food by Labour and Sweat, Thy Providence concurring to produce, augment and bring all Things to Maturity and Perfection. Thou didſt ſuffer him for a while to ſleep the Sleep of Death, and then with an Oath calledſt him again to a Regeneration: Diſſolving the Bands of Death, and promiſing him Life by a Reſurrection. And not only ſo; but giving him an innumerable Poſterity, Thou didſt glorify ſuch of them as adhered to Thee, and puniſhedſt thoſe that apoſtatized from Thee; receiving the Sacrifice of* Abel *as an Holy Man, and rejecting the Offering of* Cain *as abominable for murdering*

dering his Brother. Thou didſt alſo receive Seth *and* Enos, *and tranſlate* Enoch. *For Thou art the Creator of Men, and the Author of Life, and the Supplier of all their Wants, their Lawgiver, that rewardeſt thoſe that keep thy Laws, and puniſheſt thoſe that tranſgreſs them. Thou didſt bring an Univerſal Deluge upon the World becauſe of the Multitude of the Ungodly, but deliveredſt Righteous* Noah *out of the Flood with eight Souls in Thy Ark, making him the End of the preceding Generation, and the Father of thoſe that were to come. Thou didſt kindle a dreadful Fire againſt the Five Cities of the* Sodomites, *and turn a fruitfull Land into a Vale of Salt for the Wickedneſs of them that dwelt therein, but didſt deliver righteous* Lot *from the Burning. Thou art he that didſt deliver* Abraham *from the Impiety of his Anceſtors, and madeſt him to become Heir of the World, and didſt manifeſt Thy Chriſt unto him. Thou didſt appoint* Melchiſedech *to be the High-Prieſt of Thy Service. Thou didſt declare Thy Servant* Job, *after many Sufferings, to be Conqueror of the Serpent, that firſt Author of Evil. Thou madeſt* Iſaac *to be the Son of Promiſe. Thou madeſt* Jacob *to be the Father of Twelve Children, and his Off-ſpring to be innumerable, and broughteſt Three-ſcore and fifteen Souls into* Egypt. *Thou, Lord, didſt not deſpiſe* Joſeph, *but for his Chaſtity madeſt him to rule over the* Egyptians. *Thou, Lord, didſt not forget the* Hebrews, *when the* Egyptians *oppreſſed them, becauſe of the Promiſe made to their Fathers; but didſt puniſh the* Egyptians, *and deliver thy People. And when Men had corrupted the Law of Nature written in their Minds, and ſome began to think the Creatures had their Exiſtence of themſelves, and honoured them above what was meet, placing them in the ſame Rank with Thee the God of all; Thou didſt not ſuffer them to wander in Error, but raiſing up Thy Holy Servant* Moſes, *Thou didſt by him promulge a written Law to revive and ſupport the Law of Nature; ſhewing the Creatures to be the Work of thy*

Hands, and thereby expelling the Error of Polytheism *out of Religion. Thou didſt honour* Aaron *and his Poſterity with the Dignity of the Prieſthood. Thou didſt chaſtize the* Hebrews, *when they ſinned; and receive them into Favour, when they turned unto Thee. Thou didſt puniſh the* Egyptians *with Ten Plagues; and dividing the Sea, madeſt the* Iſraelites *to paſs through it; drowning the* Egyptians *that purſued them. Thou madeſt the bitter Water ſweet with Wood; Thou broughteſt Streams out of the Rock, when thou hadſt divided the Top of it; Thou didſt rain down* Manna *out of Heaven, and give them Food out of the Air, a Meaſure of Quails for every Day; ſetting up a Pillar of Fire to give them Light by Night, and the Pillar of the Cloud to ſhadow them from Heat by Day. Thou didſt conſtitute* Joſhua *the Captain of Thy Armies, and by him deſtroy the ſeven Nations of the* Canaanites, *dividing* Jordan, *and drying up the Rivers of* Ethan, *and laying flat the Walls* (of Jericho) *without any Engines of War or Concurrence of Human Power. For all theſe Things we glorify Thee, O Lord Almighty. The innumerable Armies of Angels adore Thee; the Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Dignities, Powers, Hoſts and Ages; the Cherubims, and Seraphims alſo with ſix Wings, with two of which they cover their Feet, and with two their Faces, and two fly, ſaying, with Thouſand Thouſands of Archangels, and Ten Thouſand Times Ten Thouſand Angels, all crying out without reſt and intermiſſion:* And let all the People ſay together with them, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts: Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory: Bleſſed art Thou for ever.* Amen. And after this let the Biſhop ſay: *For Thou truly art Holy, the moſt Holy, the Moſt High, far exalted above all Things for evermore. Holy alſo is Thy Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jeſus Chriſt; who miniſtring to Thee his God and Father in all Things, both in various Works of Creation and Providence, did not deſpiſe loſt Mankind; but*

after

after the Law of Nature, after the Admonitions of the written Law, after the Reprehenſions of the Prophets, after the Adminiſtrations and Preſidency of Angels; when Men had corrupted both the natural and written Law, and eraſed the Memory of the Flood, and the Burning of Sodom, *and the Plagues of* Egypt, *and Devaſtations and Slaughters of* Paleſtine, *and were now all ready to periſh; He, who was the Creator of Man, choſe by Thy Will to become Man; the Lawgiver, to be under the Law; the Highprieſt, to be the Sacrifice; the Shepherd, to be made a Sheep: Whereby He appeaſed Thee his God and Father, and reconciled the World, and delivered all Men from the Wrath that hanged over their Heads, being born of a Virgin, and made Fleſh, God the Word, the beloved Son, the Firſt-born of every Creature; according to the Prophecies which he himſelf predicted of himſelf, made of the Seed of* David *and* Abraham, *and of the Tribe of* Judah: *He who was the Former of all Things that are made, was formed himſelf in the Virgins Womb; he who is without Fleſh, was made Fleſh; and he who was begotten,* ἀχρόνως, *before all Time, was born in Time: He lived an Holy Life, and taught an Holy Doctrine; expelling all manner of Sickneſſes and Infirmities from the Bodies of Men, and working Signs and Miracles among the People; He who Feeds all that have need of Food, and fills every living Creature of his own good Pleaſure and Bounty, did himſelf partake of Meat and Drink and Sleep; he manifeſted Thy Name to them that knew it not; he put Ignorance to flight, and revived true Piety and Godlineſs, fulfilled Thy Will, and finiſhed the Work which Thou gaveſt him to do: And when all Things were thus ſet in Order and rectified by him, he was betrayed by the incurable Malice of one of his own Diſciples, and apprehended by the Hands of the Wicked, Prieſts and High-prieſts falſely ſo called, together with a ſinful People; of whom he ſuffered many Things, and underwent all manner of Indignities by thy Permiſſion; he was delivered to* Pilate *the Go-*

vernour; the Judge himself was judged; the Saviour of the World condemned; He who is Impassible, was nailed to the Cross; he who is Immortal by Nature, was made Subject to Death; and the Author of Life, who quickens all Things, was laid in the Grave, that he might deliver those from Suffering, for whose Sake he came, and set them free from Death, and break the Bonds of the Devil, and deliver Men from his Frauds and Impostures: He rose again the Third Day from the Dead, and conversed forty Days with his Disciples, and was taken up into Heaven, and set at Thy right Hand, his God and Father.

We therefore in Commemoration of these Things, which he suffered for us, give Thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as thou deservest and as is our Duty, but ὅσον δυνάμεθα, *as far as we are able, so fulfilling his Command. For in the same Night that he was betrayed, he took Bread in his Holy and Immaculate Hands, and looking up to Thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, This is the Mystery of the New Testament; Take of it, and eat it; This is my Body, which is broken for many for the Remission of Sins. Likewise he mixed a Cup of Wine and Water, and sanctifying it, he gave it unto them, saying, Drink ye all of this: For this is my Blood, which is shed for many for the Remission of Sins. This do in Remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this Bread, and Drink this Cup, ye do shew forth my Death, till I come. We therefore being mindfull of his Passion, and Death and Resurrection from the Dead, and his Return into Heaven; and also of his second coming, when he shall return with Glory and Power to judge the Quick and Dead, and to render to every Man according to his Works, do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this Bread and this Cup, according to his Appointment, giving Thanks to Thee by him, for that thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before Thee, and Minister unto Thee; and we beseech Thee to look propitiously upon these Gifts here set*

before

before Thee, our God, who haſt need of nothing, and to accept them favourably to the Honour of thy Chriſt, and to ſend Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacriſice, who is the Witneſs of the Suffering of our Lord Jeſus, that it may make this Bread the Body of thy Chriſt, and this Cup the Blood of thy Chriſt; that they who partake of it, may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and obtain Remiſſion of Sins, may be delivered from the Devil and his Impoſtures, may be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy of Chriſt, and obtain Eternal Life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.

We beſeech thee farther, O Lord, for thy Holy Church from one End of the Earth to the other, which Thou haſt purchaſed with the precious Blood of thy Chriſt, that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to keep it unſhaken and immoveable by any Storms or Tempeſts to the End of the World. We pray alſo for the whole Epiſcopacy (or univerſal College of Biſhops) rightly dividing the Word of Truth. We pray for me thy unworthy Servant, who am now Offering unto thee, and for the whole Presbytery, and Deacons, and all the Clergy, that thou wouldſt give them all Wiſdom, and fill them with thy Holy Spirit. We pray thee, O Lord, for the King and all that are in Authority, and for the whole Army, that our Affairs may be tranſacted in Peace: that paſſing our Time in Quietneſs and Concord, we may glorify thee through Jeſus Chriſt our hope all the Days of our Life. We offer unto thee for all thy Saints, that have lived well-pleaſing in thy Sight from the Foundation of the World, for Patriarchs, Prophets, Holy Men, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Biſhops, Confeſſors, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, Laymen, and all whoſe Names thou knoweſt. We offer unto thee for this People, that thou wouldſt make them, to the Glory of thy Chriſt, a Royal Prieſthood, and an Holy Nation; for all that live in Virginity and Chaſtity; for the Widows of the Church; for all that live in honeſt Marriage and Procreation of Children; for the Infants of thy Peo-

ple, that none of us be a Caſt-away. We pray thee for this City, and all that dwell therein; for thoſe that are in Sickneſs, in cruel Bondage nnd Slavery, in Baniſhment, or under Confiſcation and Proſcription, for all that travel by Sea or by Land, that thou wouldſt be their Succour, and an univerſal Helper and Defender to them all. We pray thee for thoſe that hate us, and perſecute us for thy Name, for them that are yet without, and wandring in Error, that thou wouldſt convert them to Good, and mitigate their Fury. We pray thee for the Catechumens of the Church; for the Energumens, that are toſſed and tormented by the Adverſary the Devil; for all our Brethren that are doing Pennance, that thou wouldſt perfect the former in Faith, and cleanſe and deliver the ſecond from the Power and Agitation of the Wicked one; and receive the Repentance of the laſt, and pardon both them and us whatever Offences we have committed againſt thee. We offer unto thee likewiſe for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth, that we continually partaking of thoſe good Things which thou beſtoweſt on us, may without ceaſing praiſe thee, who giveſt Food unto all Fleſh. We alſo pray for thoſe, who upon any juſt and reaſonable Cauſe are now Abſent, that thou wouldſt vouchſafe to preſerve us all in Godlineſs, and keeping us without Change, Blame, or Rebuke, to gather us into the Kingdom of thy Chriſt, the God of all Things in Nature, viſible and inviſible, and our King. For to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, is due all Glory and Worſhip and Thankſgiving and Honour and Adoration, now and for ever throughout all Ages World without End. And let all the People anſwer, *Amen.*

AFTER this the Biſhop is appointed to ſay again, *The Peace of God be with you all:* To which the People anſwer, *And with thy Spirit.* And then the Deacon calls upon the People to join with him in another Prayer, which is termed *εκτενης. &c* A Bidding-

Bidding-Prayer for the faithful after the Divine Oblation, in theſe Words: *Let us pray* [c] *yet again and again to God by his Chriſt, for this Gift which is offered to the Lord God; that the good God would receive it to his Altar in Heaven for a ſweet-ſmelling Savour by the Mediation of his Chriſt. Let us pray for this Church and People; for the whole Society of Biſhops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, and Miniſters, and the whole Catholick Church; that the Lord would keep and preſerve them all. Let us pray for Kings and all that are in Authority; that our Affairs may go on with Tranquillity, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. Let us commemorate the Holy Martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to have Fellowſhip in their Conflicts and Engagements. Let us pray for thoſe that reſt in Faith; Let us pray for the Temperature of the Air, and Increaſe of the Friuts of the Earth, that they may grow to Perfection. Let us pray for thoſe that are newly Baptized, that they may be confirmed in Faith. Let us all exhort and excite one another. Let us riſe and commend ourſelves to God by his Grace.* Then let the Biſhop ſay: *O God, that art Great, great in Name, great in Counſel, and mighty in Works; the God and Father of Thy Holy Son Jeſus our Saviour; look favourably upon us and this thy Flock, which thou haſt choſen in him to the Glory of thy Name. Sanctify our Bodies and Souls; and grant, that we being pure from all Filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit, may obtain the good Things that are ſet before us; and that Thou mayſt Judge none of us unworthy, but be our Helper, Defender and Protector, through Thy Chriſt; to whom with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, Doxology and Thankſgiving for ever.* Amen.

AND when all the People have ſaid, *Amen:* Let the Deacon cry again, προσχωμεν, Let us give Attention. Then the Biſhop ſhall ſpeak to the People, ſaying,

[c] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

ſaying, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy Things for thoſe that are Holy.* And the People ſhall anſwer, *There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jeſus Chriſt, to the Glory of God the Father, Bleſſed for ever.* Amen. *Glory be to God on high, and in Earth Peace, good Will towards Men. Hoſanna to the Son of* David: *Bleſſed be the Lord God, that came in the Name of the Lord, and manifeſted himſelf unto us: Hoſanna in the Higheſt.*

THIS is the whole Service preceding the Act of Communicating, as it is delivered in the *Conſtitutions*; which I have here repreſented all together as it lies there, that the Reader may ſee it in one View. I ſhall now compare the ſeveral Parts and Branches of it with the certain Accounts we have of them in other Authentick Writers; beginning with that which was the firſt in Order, the Miniſters Salutation of the People.

Sect. 2. *This Account compared with what is ſaid in other Authors. Firſt, As to the Form of Salutation,* Peace be with you, *&c.*

IT has been obſerved before [*] that this Form of ſaluting the People, by ſaying, *Peace be with you,* or *The Lord be with you,* or, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. be with you,* was the uſual Preface and Introduction to all Holy Offices, and therefore always uſed before Prayers, eſpecially thoſe that were offered up at the Altar. *Theodoret* ſays, it was uſed both at the Entrance of their Sermons and the Myſtical Service [*d*], by which he means this Part of the Communion-Office. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſays the ſame, that they uſed it in the Beginning [*e*] of their Myſteries; and that CHRIST made

[*] Book XIV. Chap. iv. n. 14.

[*d*] Theod. Ep. 146. p. 1032. τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς θείας λειτουργίας περίμιον. [*e*] Cyril. Lib. 12. in Joan. 20. p. 1093. παρ' αὐτὰς τὰ μυστήρια τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτο ἀλλήλοις ἡμεῖς φαμέν. Vid. Iſidor. Peluſ. Lib. 1. Ep. 112.

made it a Law, as it were, unto the Church, by ſaying ſo often to his Diſciples, *Peace be unto you.* But no one ſpeaks more fully of it than St. *Chryſoſtom.* He ſays, they uſed it in all their Offices; when they firſt came into the Church; when they preached; when they gave the Benediction; when they commanded the People to ſalute one another with the *Kiſs of Peace*; when the Sacrifice [*f*] was offered; and at other times in the Communion-Service. Where it is obſervable, that he ſpeaks of this Salutation as uſed four times at leaſt in this Part of the Communion-Office, beſides other Occaſions. In another place exhorting Chriſtians not to follow the Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, but to be at Unity and Peace among themſelves, he uſes this Argument, *There is nothing comparable to Peace and Concord.* Therefore when the Biſhop firſt enters the Church, before ever he goes up to his Throne, he ſays, *Peace be unto you all:* When he riſes up to preach, he does not begin, before he has given the *Peace to all:* When the Prieſts are about to make the Benediction-Prayers, they firſt [*g*] uſe this Salutation, and then begin their Benedictions. So alſo the Deacon, when he bids you pray in Common, among other things he reminds you to pray for the *Angel of Peace*; and when he diſmiſſes you from this Aſſembly, he prays for you in the ſame manner, ſaying, *Go in Peace.* And there is nothing at all ſaid or done without this. In another Homily upon the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, [*b*] he gives the Reaſon, why it was more particularly uſed at the Lord's Table. The Biſhop, ſays he, not only when he goes into his Throne, and when he Preaches, and when he Prays, uſes this Form, but

[*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1338. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 36. de Pentecoſt. T. 5. p. 553.

but when he ſtands at this Holy Table, when he is about to offer the tremendous Sacrifice, he does not touch the Oblation, before he has prayed that the *Grace of the Lord may be with you*, and ye have anſwered, *And with thy Spirit*: By which Anſwer ye remind your ſelves, that it is not the Miniſter who Effects any thing in this Matter, neither is the Conſecration of the Gifts there lying the Work of Human Nature, but that it is the Grace of the Spirit then preſent, and deſcending upon the Elements, that makes this Myſtical Sacrifice. There are ſeveral other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe in his other Homilies [*i*] upon the Goſpels and S. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, which becauſe the Reader may find them at large in the Extract of the Liturgy above [*] out of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, I will not here repeat them. The ſame Cuſtom was always obſerved in the *Latin* Church. For *Tertullian* [*k*] plainly refers to it, when he objects it to the Hereticks, that they gave the Peace to all without Exception; implying, that the Church uſed it, but with ſome Diſtinction. *Optatus* ſays, [*l*] the *Donatiſts* retained the Form, but groſly abuſed it in their Practice. They could not omit the ſolemn Words: They ſaid, *Peace be unto you. But why*, ſays he, *doſt thou ſalute Men with that, which thou haſt not? Why doſt thou name Peace that haſt deſtroyed it? Thou ſaluteſt Men with the Words of Love and Peace, who haſt nothing of the Reality and Subſtance of it.* In the *Spaniſh* Church they uſed a like Form, though not altogether

[*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. Hom. 33. in Mat. p. 318. [*] Book XIII. Chap. vi.

[*k*] Tertul. de Præſcript. cap. 41. Pacem cum omnibus miſcent. [*l*] Optat. Lib. 3. p. 73. Non pctuiſtis prætermittere quod Legitimum eſt. Utique dixiſtis, Pax vobiſcum. — Quid ſalutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas, quod exterminaſti? Salutas de Pace, qui non amas.

ther the ſame. For by an Order of the firſt Council of *Braga* [*m*] it was appointed that both Biſhops and Presbyters ſhould uſe one and the ſame Form of Salutation, that is, *The Lord be with you,* as it is in the Book of *Ruth*; and that the People ſhould anſwer, *And with thy Spirit*: As all the *Eaſt* receive it by Tradition from the Apoſtles, and not as the *Priſcillian* Hereſy hath changed it. What Change the *Priſcillianiſts* had made in this Matter, is not very clear: Some Learned Men are of Opinion [*n*] that they would allow the Biſhops to uſe no other Form but *Pax vobis*, and the *Presbyters* only to ſay, *Dominus vobiſcum*: Whence they conclude that the word *Oriens*, the *Eaſt*, muſt have crept into the Canon inſtead of the *Weſt*, becauſe it is ſo evident, that all the *Eaſtern* Church uſed the Form, *Pax vobis*, both in the Salutation of Biſhops and Presbyters. But I ſhould rather think the *Priſcillian* Pravity here complained of, was their denying the People the Liberty of making their proper Reſponſe, and bearing their Part in the Service, by ſaying, *And with thy Spirit*, as had been the Cuſtom of all the *Eaſt* from the time of the Apoſtles. However this be, I cannot forbear to ſay, it is the very Error and Pravity, which the Church of *Rome* has ſince run into. For *Bona* owns himſelf [*o*], that though it was Cuſtomary in the ancient Church for all the Congregation, and not only the Clerks, to anſwer

[*m*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 21. Placuit ut non aliter Epiſcopi, & aliter Presbyteri Populum, ſed uno modo ſalutent, dicentes, Dominus ſit vobiſcum: ſicut in Libro Ruth legitur, & ut reſpondeatur à populo, Et cum Spiritu tuo: Sicut & ab ipſis Apoſtolis traditum omnis retinet Oriens, & non ſicut Priſcilliana pravitas immutavit. [*n*] Garſias Loaiſa in Loc. Bona de Reb. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 5. n. 1. Habertus Archieratic. p. 330. Hamon Leſtrange, *Allyance of Div. Offic.* cap. 3. p. 82. [*o*] Bona ibid. p. 501. Nunc ſoli Clerici vel Miniſtri reſpondent.

anſwer the Prieſt, by ſaying, *And with thy Spirit*: Yet now it is otherwiſe in the Church of *Rome*, where the Clerks only make this Reſponſe, and the People are wholly excluded from it. For which no other Reaſon can be aſſigned, but the Magiſterial Authority of that Church, pretending to preſcribe what ſhe pleaſes to the People, with a *Non obſtante* to any Rule or Tradition of the ancient Church. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Reaſoning in behalf of the Peoples bearing a Part in Prayer with the Prieſt, is of much more Weight, and with it I will conclude this Paragraph.

GREAT is the Power of the Congregation, that is, of the whole Church, ſays he [*p*]. It was their Prayer that delivered *Peter* from his Bonds, and opened the Mouth of *Paul*. Their Suffrage is a peculiar Ornament to thoſe who are called to the Spiritual Offices of Government. And therefore he who is about to perform the Office of Ordination, at that time requires their Prayers, and they join their Suffrage, crying out in thoſe words, which they that are initiated in the holy Myſteries know: For we may not ſpeak all things openly before the Unbaptized. There are ſome things wherein there is no Difference between Prieſt and People, as when they are to partake of the tremendous Myſteries. For we are all alike admitted to them: Not as under the *Old Teſtament*, when the Prieſt eat one thing, and the People another; and it was not lawful for the People to partake of thoſe things which the Prieſt alone might partake of. It is not ſo now, but there is one Body, and one Cup propoſed in common to all. So alſo in the Prayers one may now obſerve the People to contribute a great deal. For Common-Prayers are made for the Energumens, and for the Penitents both

[*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 872.

both by the Prieſts and People. For they all ſay, that one and the ſame Prayer, the Prayer ſo full of Mercy. Again, when we exclude thoſe from the Sanctuary, who cannot partake of the Holy Table, we are all obliged to make another Prayer, in which we all fall down alike on the Earth, and all riſe up together. Again, when we are to give and receive the *Peace*, or *Kiſs of Peace*, we all in like manner ſalute each other. And again in celebrating the Holy Myſteries the Prieſt prays for the People, and the People for the Prieſt. For theſe words, *And with thy Spirit*, are nothing elſe but the Peoples Prayer. In like manner the Prayer of Thankſgiving is a Common-prayer. For not only the Prieſt gives Thanks, but all the People alſo. For when he has firſt received their Anſwer, declaring their Conſent, *that it is meet and right ſo to do*, then he begins the Thankſgiving. And why ſhould you wonder, that the People ſometimes ſpeak with the Prieſt, when they are allowed to ſend up thoſe Holy Hymns in common with the very Cherubims and Cœleſtial Powers above? I have ſpoken all this, adds he, to make every Member of the Church, though he be an Inferior, to become Watchful and Vigilant; and to teach us, that we are all One Body, and only differ from each other, as Members do from the Members of the ſame Body; and that we ſhould not caſt all upon the Prieſts, but every one bear his ſhare in his concern for the whole Church, as one common Body. I will now leave any Ingenuous Reader to judge, whoſe Reaſons are Strongeſt and moſt Rational; thoſe of *Chryſoſtom*, who thus pleads the Peoples Right in bearing a part in the publick Service of God; or theirs, who by an over-bearing Authority deny them their Juſt Right; and as they have taken away the Cup, and the Bible, and the Key of Knowledge from them, ſo have alſo denied them the Liberty of joining in Common-prayer with

with the Prieſt, which was their unconteſted Privilege in the ancient Church.

Sect. 3. *Secondly, The* Kiſs of Peace.

BUT I proceed with the *Conſtitutions*. As there immediately after the Prieſt has given the Salutation of *Peace*, and the People have returned their Anſwer, a Deacon goes on to proclaim ſolemnly, that they ſhould ſalute one another with an *Holy Kiſs*: And ſo the Clergy ſalute the Biſhop, and Laymen their Fellow-Laymen, and Women one another: It is in the very ſame manner repreſented in other Writers. The Council of *Laodicea* deſcribing the Order of the ancient Service, ſays, after the Prayers [q] of the Faithful, the *Peace* ſhould be given: And after the Presbyters have given the Peace to the Biſhop, and Laymen the *Peace* to one another, the Holy Oblation ſhould be offered. After the ſame manner, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [r] ſpeaks of it as coming before the *Surſum Corda, Lift up your Hearts to the Lord.* A Deacon cries, *Receive one another, ſalute one another with an Holy Kiſs.* Which, he ſays, was a Symbol of Reconciliation, and Forgiving all Injuries whatſoever. St. *Chryſoſtom* [s] often mentions it among other Arguments to excite Men to Unity and Charity; reminding them of this *Symbol of Peace and Reconciliaton*, and how great a piece of Pageantry and mere Hypocriſy it was to give this *Kiſs*, as *Judas* did, without Cordial Love and ſincere Affection. Particularly

[q] Conc. Laodic. 19. εἶθ' ἕτως τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε τοὺς λαικοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι. καὶ ἕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

[r] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 2.

[s] Chrſ. Hom. 20. in Mat. p. 205. Hom. 22. in Rom. p. 251. Hom. 30. in 2 Cor. p. 995. Hom. 14. in Epheſ. p. 1128. Hom. 77. in Joan. p. 500. Hom. 30. de Proditore, T. 5. p. 565. Hom. 50. ibid. p. 686.

cularly in one Place [†] he notes the Circumſtance of Time when this Ceremony was uſed, that is, before the Oblation, when the Sacrifice was about to be offered: Which agrees exactly with the Time ſpecified in the *Conſtitutions*. The ſame is noted long before by *Juſtin Martyr* [*t*], that it was between the Common-prayers for the whole State of Chriſt's Church, and the Prayers of Conſecration. For, ſays he, when Prayers are ended, we ſalute one another with a *Kiſs*: And after that, Bread and Wine and Water is brought to the Preſident of the Brethren, who receiving them, gives Praiſe and Glory to the God of all things, in the Name of the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the *Latin* Church the ſame Cuſtom was obſerved, only with this Difference, that it came not before, but after the Conſecration-Prayers, and the Lords Prayer, immediately before the Diſtribution. For ſo S. *Auſtin* or *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* repreſents it, in deſcribing the Order of the Service. When the Conſecration [*u*] is ended, we ſay the Lords-Prayer; and after that, *Peace be with you*: And then Chriſtians ſalute one another with an *Holy Kiſs*, which is a ſign of Peace, if that be really in their Hearts, which they pretend with their Lips. He mentions the thing in other Places, and ſeems to

[†] Chryſ. de Compunct. Cordis Lib. 1. cap. 3. T. 4. p. 118. ἀσπαζόμενοι ἀλλήλους μέλλοντες τὴν δῶρα προσφέρεσθαι. &c.

[*t*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. Vid. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. Lib. 3. cap. 11. Athenag. Legat. p. 36. Dionyſ. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 3. Sect. 8. [*u*] Aug. Hom. 83. de Diverſis, T. 10. p. 556. Ubi peracta eſt ſanctificatio, dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Poſt ipſam dicitur, Pax vobiſcum, & oſculantur ſe Chriſtiani in Oſculo ſancto, quod eſt ſignum Pacis, ſi quod oſtendunt labia, fiat in Conſcientia.

intimate, that the *Donatiſts* obſerved the ſame Ceremony, though they had nothing of the Peace that was intended by it. In his Books againſt *Petilian* [x] ſpeaking of one *Optatus Gildonianus*, a *Donatiſt* Biſhop, who had been a great Oppreſſor of Widows and Orphans, and infamous for many other barbarous Cruelties, he ſays, notwithſtanding all this, they gave him the *Kiſs of Peace*, when they received the Sacrament at his Hands. In another Place [y] he compares the *Donatiſts* to Crows, and the Catholicks to Doves; becauſe though they both gave the *Kiſs of Peace*, yet the one tare the Church in Pieces, and fed upon its Ruins, but the other were Innocent and Harmleſs as Doves; and by thoſe Characters they might be diſtinguiſh'd from each other. It appears alſo from Pope *Innocent*'s Letter [z] to *Decentius* Biſhop of *Eugubium*, that it was the General Cuſtom of the *Italick* Churches to give the *Kiſs of Peace*, not before the Conſecration, but after: For it blames thoſe that gave it before, and ſays, it ought to come after, as a Teſtimony of their Conſent to all that was done, and as a Seal of the Conſecration-Prayer, to ſignify that all was ended. *Tertullian* [a] probably upon this account gave it the Name of *Signaculum Orationis*, the Seal of their Prayers; as being in his Time

[x] Aug. cont. Literas Petilian. Lib. 2. cap. 23. Cui Pacis Oſculum inter ſacramenta copulabatis, *&c.* [y] Id. Tract. 6. in Joan. p. 21. Oſculantur Corvi, ſed laniant: a laniatu innocens eſt natura Columbarum. Ubi ergo Laniatus, non eſt vera in Oſculis Pax, *&c.* [z] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Decent. cap. 1. Pacem ergo aſſeris ante confecta Myſteria quoſdam populis imperare, vel ſibi inter ſacerdotes tradere: cum poſt omnia, quæ aperire non debeo, Pax ſit neceſſario indicenda, per quam conſtet populum, ad omnia quæ in Myſteriis aguntur, atque in Eccleſia celebrantur, præbuiſſe conſenſum, ac finita eſſe Pacis concludentis ſignaculo demonſtrentur.

[a] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14.

Time uſed when all the Prayers of Conſecration were ended. He ſeems to intimate alſo that it was given promiſcuouſly, and without Diſtinction betweenMen and [b] Women. For among other Arguments, which he uſes why a Chriſtian Woman ſhould not marry an Heathen, this is one, that he would be unwilling to ſuffer her to go into the Priſons to kiſs the Martyrs Chains, or at any other times to give the *Kiſs of Peace* to a Brother. And this is as plainly intimated by the ancient Writer of the Paſſion of *Felicitas* and *Perpetua*, about *Tertullian*'s Time, when he ſays [c] that *Felicitas*, *Perpetua*, and *Saturus* did mutually kiſs each other before they ſuffered, that they might conſummate their Martyrdom by the ſolemn Rite of Peace. Alluding to the uſual Cuſtom of giving the *Kiſs of Peace* without Diſtinction, though it was otherwiſe obſerved in the *Greek* Church. There is one thing more proper to be obſerved out of *Tertullian* [d], that ſome made a Scruple of giving the *Kiſs of Peace* upon a Faſt-day, though it were but a private Faſt of their own; whom he reproves, telling them, that the *Kiſs of Peace* was the Seal of Prayer; that it was never more proper than when joined with Prayer; that there was no Prayer perfect without Peace; that Peace was no Impediment to a Man in doing his Duty to the LORD; that whatever

[b] Ad Uxor. Lib. 2. cap. 4. Quis patietur alicui Fratrum ad Oſculum convenire? [c] Paſſio Perpetuæ ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Perſec. p. 35. Ante jam oſculati invicem, ut Martyrium per ſolennia Pacis conſummarent. [d] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. Alia jam conſuetudo invaluit, jejunantes habita Oratione cum fratribus ſubtrahunt Oſculum Pacis, quod eſt ſignaculum Orationis. Quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus Pax eſt, niſi cum Oratione commendabilior aſcendit? — Quæ Oratio cum divortio ſancti Oſculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit Pax? Quale ſacrificium eſt, à quo ſine Pace receditur? &c.

ever Reaſon they had for it, their Reaſon was not ſtronger than the Obſervation of the Precept which obliges us to conceal our Faſts. Whereas when we refrain from the *Kiſs of Peace*, that diſcovers us to be Faſting. We may at Home omit this Ceremony of *Giving the Peace*, becauſe there our Faſts cannot be wholly concealed from the Family: But in other Places where you may conceal your Action, you ought to remember the Precept of the LORD; and ſo you may obſerve the Diſcipline of the Church Abroad, and your own Cuſtom at Home. *Tertullian*, we ſee, ſpeaks this of private Faſts, which he thinks no Reaſon for Men's refuſing the *Kiſs of Peace* in Publick. As to publick Faſts the Caſe was otherwiſe. For by the Laws of the Church, this Ceremony was omitted on ſome more ſolemn Days of Faſting. As upon the Day of our Saviour's Paſſion. For *Tertullian* adds immediately in the next Words, that on that Day, becauſe it was a publick and common Faſt, ordained by the Laws of the Church, they omitted the *Kiſs of Peace*, and no one then regarded the Omiſſion, becauſe it was done by general Conſent and Agreement. And this ſeems to have been an Exception of Univerſal Extent in the Church: For *Procopius* notes it in the Life of *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, who began their Reign on this Day, *An.* 527, that they began it with an ill Omen, on a Day [*f*] that no one uſed the *Kiſs of Peace* in the Church. And thus much of this ancient Ceremony, ſo often enjoined by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* xvi. 16. 1 *Cor.* 16. 20. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 12. 1 *Theſ.* v. 26. 1 *Pet.* v. 14. Of which ſome have written (†) whole Volumes: But I content myſelf

[*e*] Ibid. Die Paſchæ, quo communis & quaſi publica Jejunii religio, deponimus Oſculum; nihil curantes de Oſculando, quod cum omnibus faciamus. [*f*] Procop. Hiſt. Arcana. cap. 9. [†] Mullerus de Oſculo ſancto. Jenæ 1675, 4to. Martin Kempius de Oſculo, &c. Lipſiæ. 1665.

myſelf to have ſaid ſo much, as may ſerve to confirm the Obſervation made upon the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, that this was an ancient Rite univerſally obſerved in the Church in one part or other of the Communion-Service.

Sect. 4. *Thirdly, Waſhing of Hands before Conſecration.*

THE next Thing mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is the Ceremony of the Prieſts Waſhing his Hands before Conſecration. This is alſo noted by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* in his *Myſtagogical Explication of the Communion-Service*, where ſpeaking to the newly Baptized, he ſays, Ye have ſeen the Deacon bring Water to the Biſhop and Presbyters [*g*] ſtanding about the Altar, to waſh their Hands. Did he give it to waſh the Filth of their Bodies? By no means. For we do not uſe to go into the Church with Bodies defiled: But that Waſhing of Hands is a Symbol, that you ought to be pure from Sin and Tranſgreſſions of the Law. For the Hands are the Symbol of Action, and Waſhing them denotes the Purity and Cleanneſs of our Actions. Have you not heard holy *David* explaining this Myſtery, and ſaying, *I will waſh my Hands among the Innocent, and ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord.* Therefore Waſhing the Hands, is a Symbol or Indication that we are not obnoxious or liable unto Sin. The Author of the *Queſtions upon the* Old *and* New Teſtament under the Name of St. *Auſtin* [*h*] takes notice of the ſame Cuſtom as uſed in all Churches, only with this Difference, that whereas in other Churches it was commonly the Office of the Deacons to

[*g*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 1. [*h*] Aug. Quæſt. Vet. & Novi Teſtamenti. Q. 101. Ut autem non omnia miniſteria obſequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit Clericorum. Nam utique & altare portarent & Vaſa ejus, & aquam in manus funderent Sacerdoti, ſicut videmus per omnes Eccleſias, &c.

bring Water to Prieſts, in the *Roman* Church it was devolved upon the Subdeacons, becauſe there was a Multitude of inferior Clergy in that Church above many others. And in the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, a great deal more may be read to the ſame Purpoſe.

Sect. 5. *Fourthly, The Deacon's Admonition to all Non-Communicants to withdraw; and to all Communicants to come in Charity and Sincerity.*

IN the next Place, whereas in the *Conſtitutions* the Deacon is appointed again to make a ſolemn Proclamation, ordering all Non-Communicants, Catechumens, Penitents, and Unbelievers, to be excluded; and admoniſhing all Communicants to approach in Charity and Sincerity, not in Enmity with their Brethren, or in Hypocriſy towards GOD, but in Reverence and Fear: The very ſame is ſuggeſted by *Chryſoſtom*: Doſt thou not hear the Deacon, the Herald of the Church, ſtanding and crying, All ye that are [*i*] under Penance, be gone. All they that do not partake of the Communion, are in Penance. If thou art in Penance, thou mayſt not partake. And *Severianus* Biſhop of *Gabala*, in one of his *Homilies* among St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works [*k*] ſpeaks of the ſame: Ye have ſeen the Deacons traverſing the Church, and crying, Let no Catechumen be preſent, none of thoſe that may not ſee the heavenly Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, *&c.* Ye remember after this how the Angels from Heaven ſing the Hymns and Praiſes, ſaying, *Holy is the Father, Holy is the Son, Holy is the Holy Ghoſt.* By which it is plain, theſe Admonitions

[*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. [*k*] ap. Chryſ. Tom. 6. Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. p. 375. *See before Book* 13. chap. 6. n. 6. Vide Chryſ. Hom. 1. contra Judæos. T. 1. p. 400. ἐπιγινώσκεσθε ἀλλήλους. &c.

monitions of the Deacon were here repeated as preparatory to the Oblation.

Sect. 6. *Of the ῥιπίδια or Fans to drive away Inſects.*

THE Circumſtance of the ῥιπίδια or Fans to drive away the Inſects, is ſo minute, that it is no great Wonder it ſhould be omitted in moſt other Writers beſide the *Conſtitutions*. *Bona* [*l*] ſays, they are mentioned in *Jobius* [*m*] and *Germanus Theoria*, and the *Liturgies* that go under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*. *Suicerus* [*n*] thinks, that in moſt of thoſe Writings the Word ῥιπίδια ſignifies one of their holy Veſſels, a Basket or the like, in which they were uſed to carry the ſacred Elements to and from the Altar; ſuch as that ſpoken of by St. *Jerom*, when deſcribing the glorious Poverty of *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, he ſays, he was uſed to carry the Lord's Body in a Basket of Oſiers, and the Blood in a Glaſs Cup. And indeed in [*o*] *Herodotus* the Word ῥιπίδιον is by ſome Lexicographers ſaid to ſignify a Basket: But in the *Liturgies* of St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil*, it is taken in the common Senſe of *Greek* Authors, and as it is uſed in the *Conſtitutions*, for a Fan to blow with. For in *Chryſoſtom's Liturgy* the Deacon is to ventilate [*p*] or blow over the Elements with a Fan; or if there be no Fan, then to do it with the Covering of the Cup. And in St. *Baſil's Liturgy* there is mention [*b*] made of the ſame Utenſils, ῥιπίδιον ἢ κάλυμμα, either the Fan or the Covering of the Cup, to be uſed

[*l*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 25. n. 6. [*m*] Jobius ap. Photium. Cod. 222. [*n*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce ῥιπίδιον. Tom. 2. [*o*] Hieron. Ep. 5. ad Ruſticum. Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini caniſtro viminco, ſanguinem portat in vitro. [*p*] Chryſ. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 78. ῥιπίζει ἐπάνω τῶν ἁγίων μετὰ ῥιπιδίου εὐλαβῶς. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστι ῥιπίδιον, ποιεῖ τοῦτο μετὰ καλύμματος.

[*q*] Baſil. Liturg. ibid. p. 51.

for the ſame Purpoſe. And ſo the Word ῥιπίδιον [r] is taken both by *Germanus*, and *Jobius*, and *Suidas*. So that there was no Reaſon for *Suicerus* to reckon the Author of the *Conſtitutions* ſo ſingular in this Opinion. But as theſe Authors are not very ancient, I have mentioned them rather to explain an hard Word, than eſtabliſh an Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. St. *Jerom*'s Authority is produced by *Durantus* [s], but it is nothing to the Purpoſe: For though he mentions the Uſe of *Muſcaria* [t] that is, Fans; yet it is plain he ſpeaks of them not as any Eccleſiaſtical Utenſil, but as a Civil Preſent made by *Marcella* to the Matrons, though he gives a Tropological Turn of Wit, to draw ſomething of a myſtical Meaning out of them. So I let this Matter paſs as a minute Circumſtance in the *Conſtitutions*, about which it is not worth our While to be farther ſolicitous in our Inquiries, to give collateral Evidence out of the ancient Writers.

Sect. 7. *Of the Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs at the Lord's Table.*

THE next Thing mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is, the Uſe of the Sign of the Croſs, before the Miniſter proceeds to the Conſecration. And of this there is more certain Evidence in the ancient Writers. For *Chryſoſtom* ſays expreſly [u] that it was not only uſed by Chriſtians every Day, but particularly at the holy Table, and

[r] German. Contemplatio Rer. Eccleſ. ibid. p. 157. Jobius ubi ſupra. Suidæ Lexicon. T. 2. p. 686. [s] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 1. cap. 10. n. 2. [t] Hieron. Ep. 30. ad Marcellam. Quod autem & Matronis offertis Muſcaria parva, parvis animalibus eventilandis, elegans ſignificatio eſt, debere luxuriam cito reſtinguere, quia Muſcæ morituræ oleum ſuavitatis exterminant. [u] Chryſ. Demonſtrat. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. cap. 9. T. 5. p. 840 ἕτος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, ἕτος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονίαις, ἕτος πάλιν μετὰ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει.

and in the Ordinations of Prieſts, and that its Glory ſhined with the Body of CHRIST in the Myſtical Supper. Which implies, that it was uſed more than once in the time of Celebration. St. *Auſtin* ſays likewiſe, that it was uſed [x] in all their Offices, in conſecrating the Waters of Baptiſm, in the Unction of Confirmation, and in the Sacrifice of the *Euchariſt*; without which none of them were ſolemnly performed.

Sect. 8. *Of the uſual Preface, call'd,* Surſum Corda, *or the Preparation to the great Thankſgiving.*

NEXT after this, immediately before the great Thankſgiving in the *Conſtitutions*, the Prieſt having given the People another Salutation in the Words of St. *Paul*, *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c, *be with you*; and they anſwering again, *And with thy Spirit:* The Prieſt goes on and ſays, *Lift up your Hearts:* To which the People anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* The Prieſt ſays again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*; and the People anſwer, *It is meet and right ſo to do.* Now this is mentioned almoſt by all Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that have ſaid any thing of the *Euchariſt* or Prayer. St. *Cyprian* [y] calls it the *Preface* that was premiſed by the Prieſt, to prepare the Brethrens Minds to pray with an heavenly Temper. St. *Auſtin* mentions it above ten times in his Writings: The Places have been noted above [*] in the general Diſcourſe of *Liturgies*, and therefore I need not here repeat them. I will only remark, that he ſays, It was the Cuſtom

[x] Aug. Hom. 118. in Joan. p. 225. Quid eſt ſignum Chriſti niſi Crux Chriſti? Quod ſignum niſi adhibeatur ſive Frontibus credentium, ſive ipſi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, ſive Oleo quo Chriſmate unguntur, ſive Sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil horum rite perficitur. [y] Cypr. de Orat. p. 152.

[*] See Book XIII. Chap. 5. n. 7.

Cuſtom of the whole Church throughout the World [z] to ſay daily almoſt with one Voice, *We lift up our Hearts unto the Lord.* And that therefore the Hearts [a] of Chriſtian People were a Sort of Heaven, becauſe they are daily lift up to Heaven, whilſt the Prieſt ſays, *Lift up your Hearts*; and they anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* St *Chryſoſtom* alſo [b] frequently mentions the Uſe of this *Preface* in his *Homilies*, which becauſe I have related at length in a former Book, I forbear to repeat them again in this Place [*]. The Reader that is curious, may find the ſame Forms related in *Cyril*'s *Myſtical Catechiſms* [c], and *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* [d], and *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* [e], and *Eligius Noviomenſis* [f], not to mention the *Greek Liturgies* or any later Writers. I only obſerve farther out of the Council of *Milevis* [g], where there is mention made of *Prefaces* among other Prayers, it is commonly ſuppoſed by Learned Men, that theſe Forms are meant, *Lift up your Hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord: Let us give Thanks unto the Lord: It is meet and right ſo to do.* Which, as *Mabillon* [h] obſerves, in the old *Gallican Liturgy*

[z] Aug. de vera Relig. cap. 3. Tom. 1. p. 302. Quotidie per univerſum orbem humanum genus una pene voce reſpondet, ſurſum corda ſe habere ad Dominum. [a] Serm. 44. de Tempore. Corda Fidelium cœlum ſunt, quia in cœlos quotidie eriguntur, dicente ſacerdote, Surſum Corda; ſecuti reſpondent, Habemus ad Dominum. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. 22. in Heb. p. 1898. Hom. 5. de Pœnitent. T. 6. Edit. Savil. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. 38. de Euchar. T. 5. p. 569. [*] *See Book* XIII. chap. 6.

[c] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 3. [d] Anaſtaſ. Serm. de Synaxi. ap. Albertin. de Euchariſtia. p. 529. [e] Cæſar. Hom. 12. [f] Eligius. Hom. 11. de Cæna Domini. Ex verbis Cypriani. [g] Conc. Milevit. can. 12. Placuit, ut Preces vel Orationes vel Miſſæ ſive Præfationes, quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur.

[h] Mabillon. de Liturg. Gall. Lib. 1. cap. 3. n. 17.

Liturgy is called *Conteſtatio*, becauſe by theſe Anſwers the People gave in their Atteſtation or Teſtimony of their Compliance with the Prieſts Exhortation; declaring that their Hearts were now in Heaven, and that it was meet and right to praiſe the LORD.

Sect. 9. *Of the* εὐχαριστία *or great Thankſgiving properly ſo call'd.*

AFTER this the Prieſt went on with the εὐχαριστία, properly ſo called, that is, the great Thankſgiving to GOD for all his Mercies both of Creation, Providence, and Redemption; where a Commemoration was made of all that GOD had done for Man from the Foundation of the World, and more particularly in the great Myſtery of Redemption: Upon which a ſolemn and magnificent Glorification of GOD was framed, always including the *Triſagion*, or *Seraphical Hymn, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts*, &c. which was ſung by the Miniſter and People jointly; and then the Miniſter went on alone to finiſh the ſolemn Thankſgiving. We have no where elſe indeed ſo long a Thankſgiving as is that in the *Conſtitutions*: But the Subſtance of it is not only in the *Liturgies* that go under the Names of St. *James*, *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil*, but may be diſcovered in more Authentick Writings. For *Juſtin Martyr* deſcribing the Chriſtian Rites and Myſteries, ſays, as ſoon as the Common-Prayers were ended, and they had ſaluted one another with a Kiſs, Bread and Wine and Water was brought to the Preſident; who receiving them [*i*], gave Praiſe and Glory to the Father of all Things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, a long Thankſgiving for the Bleſſings which he vouchſafed to beſtow upon them. And when he had ended the Prayers and Thankſgiving, all the People that were preſent,

[*i*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97.

preſently, anſwered with Acclamation, *Amen*. After the ſame manner *Irenæus* [*k*], We offer unto him his own Gifts, thereby declaring the Communication and Truth both of Fleſh and Spirit. For as the Bread, which is of the Earth, after the Invocation of GOD upon it, is no longer Common Bread, but the *Euchariſt*, conſiſting of two Parts, the one earthly, the other heavenly: So all our Bodies, receiving the *Euchariſt*, are no longer corruptible, whilſt they live in Hopes of a Reſurrection. But we offer theſe Things to him, not as if he ſtood in need of them, but as giving him Thanks for his Gifts, and ſanctifying the Creature. So *Origen* [*l*] ſays, They eat the Bread that was offered to the Creator with Prayer and Thankſgiving for the Gifts that he had beſtowed on them, which Bread was made an Holy Body by Prayer, ſanctifying thoſe that uſed it with a Pious Mind. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* more particularly ſpecifies the Subſtance of this Thankſgiving in his Myſtical Catechiſms, ſaying, after this, that is, after we have ſaid, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*, and *it is meet and right ſo to do*, we make mention of the Heaven and Earth and Sea, and the Sun, Moon and Stars, and all the Creatures, Rational and Irrational, Viſible and Inviſible, Angels, Archangels, Hoſts and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, Thrones and Cherubims covering their Faces, ſaying with *David*, *Magnifie the*

[*k*] Iren. Lib. 4. cap. 34. Offerimus ei quæ ſunt ejus, congruenter Communicationem & Veritatem prædicantes carnis & Spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui eſt à terra Panis, percipiens Invocationem Dei, jam non communis Panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia, ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra, percipientia Euchariſtiam, jam non ſunt corruptibilia, ſpem reſurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei, non quaſi indigenti, ſed gratias agentes Donationi ejus, & ſanctificantes Creaturam. [*l*] Orig. cont. Celſ. Lib. 8. p. 399.

[*m*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5.

the Lord with me. We alſo make mention of the Cherubims, which *Eſaias* ſaw in the Spirit, ſtanding about the Throne of GOD, and with two Wings covering their Faces, and with two their Feet, and flying with two, and ſaying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts.* This is much the ſame with the Thankſgiving in St. *James Liturgy*, which was uſed in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, in this Form: *It is very meet and right*, becoming us and our Duty [*n*], that we ſhould praiſe thee, and celebrate thee with Hymns, and give Thanks unto thee, the Maker of all Creatures, viſible and inviſible, the Treaſure of all good, the Fountain of Life and Immortality, the GOD and LORD of all Things, whom the Heavens, and the Heavens of Heavens praiſe, and all the Hoſt of them; the Sun and Moon and the whole Company of Stars; the Earth and Sea and all that are in them; the Celeſtial Congregation of *Jeruſalem*; the Church of the Firſtborn, who are written in Heaven; the Spirits of juſt Men and Prophets, the Souls of Martyrs and Apoſtles; Angels and Archangels, Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, the tremendous Hoſts and Cherubims with many Eyes, and Seraphims with ſix Wings, with two whereof they cover their Faces, and with two their Feet, and with two they fly, crying out inceſſantly one to another, and ſinging with loud Voices the Triumphal Song of the Magnificence of thy Glory, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory. Hoſanna in the higheſt. Bleſſed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hoſanna in the higheſt.*

ST. *Chryſoſtom* [*o*] alſo ſpeaks of this Thankſgiving,

[*n*] Liturg. Jacobi. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 12.

[*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. It. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 739. περὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἀγαθῶν.

ing, though he does not give us the whole Form of of it, but only the Introduction, ſaying, The Prayer of Thankſgiving is common both to Prieſt and People. For not only the Prieſt gives Thanks, but all the People. For firſt he receives their Anſwer and Atteſtation, *That it is meet and right to praiſe the Lord*, and then he begins the Thankſgiving. And why ſhould you wonder, that the People ſhould ſometimes ſpeak with the Prieſt, when they do even with the Cherubims and Celeſtial Powers ſend up thoſe ſacred Hymns to Heaven above? He means thoſe Hymns, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c. And *Glory be to God on high*: Which, as we ſhall preſently ſee, were one Part of this great Thankſgiving.

AMONG the *Latin* Writers this previous giving of Thanks is mentioned by *Fulgentius* alſo [p], who ſays, in the Chriſtian Sacrifice there was both a Thankſgiving, and a Commemoration made of the Fleſh of CHRIST, and of his Blood which he ſhed for our ſakes. And ſo St. *Ambroſe*, or whoever was the Author of the Books *de Sacramentis* among his Works: Diſtinguiſhing between the Thankſgiving and the Conſecration, he asks, with what Words, and with whoſe Words is the Conſecration made? And anſwers, With the Words of the Lord Jeſus. For all that goes before, is either the Glorification and Praiſe of GOD, or Prayer for the People, for Kings, and the reſt of Mankind. But when the Prieſt

[p] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. 19. In iſto autem Sacrificio Gratiarum Actio, atque Commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti, quam pro nobis obtulit, ſanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit.

[q] Ambroſ. de Sacrament. Lib. 4. cap. 4. Conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cujus ſermonibus? Domini Jeſu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, Laus Deo defertur, Oratione petitur pro Populo, pro Regibus, pro cæteris. Ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, jam non ſuis ſermonibus ſacerdos, ſed utitur ſermonibus Chriſti.

Prieſt comes to the Conſecration of the Holy Sacrament, then he uſes not his own Words, but the Words of CHRIST. By all which it is indiſputably evident, that the Conſecration of the Sacrament was uſhered in with a ſolemn Thankſgiving or Glorification of GOD for all his Gifts and Benefits, whence the whole Action had the Name of εὐχαριστία, the *Euchariſt* or Thankſgiving, becauſe this was always premiſed as a neceſſary Part of the ſacred Myſtery; and the whole Action and Ceremony was concluded with another Thankſgiving after communicating, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Sect. 10. *Of the Uſe of the* Triſagion, *or Seraphical Hymn,* Holy, Holy, Holy, *in this Thankſgiving.*

AT preſent we are to obſerve, That one Part of this Glorification or Thankſgiving was the Hymn, call'd the *Triſagion,* and *Epinicion,* the Seraphical and Triumphal Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory.* This is evident from the laſt mentioned Paſſages of St. *Cyril* [r] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [s], who in other Places gives a more particular Account of the Uſe of it at the Lord's Table. Heretofore, ſays he, this Hymn was only ſung in Heaven [t]; but after that the LORD vouchſafed to come down upon Earth, he brought this Melody to us alſo. Therefore the Biſhop, when he ſtands at this holy Table, to preſent our Rational Service, and offer the Unbloody Sacrifice, does not ſimply call upon us to joyn in this Glorification, but firſt naming the Cherubims, and making mention of the Seraphims, he then exhorts us all to ſend up theſe tremendous Words, and withdrawing our Minds from the Earth by intimating with what

[r] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. [t] Chryſ. Hom in Seraphim. T. 3. p. 890.

what Company we make a Quire, he cries out to every Man, and ſays, as it were in theſe Words, "Thou ſingeſt with the Seraphims, ſtand together "with the Seraphims, ſtretch forth thy Wings with "them, with them fly round the Royal Throne." In another Place [*u*] ſhewing the Obligation which the *Euchariſt* lays upon Men to keep every Member of the Body pure from Sin, the Hands and Mouth that receive it, the Eyes that view it, the Tongue that miniſters in thoſe Myſteries and is dy'd in Blood, he argues thus particularly with reſpect to the Ears: How abſurd is it after that myſtical Hymn, which was brought by the Cherubims from Heaven, to pollute your Ears with Songs of Harlots, and the effeminate Melodies of the Theatre? Which plainly implies, that this Seraphical Hymn was one Part of this great Thankſgiving. He ſays the ſame in his firſt *Homily* upon *Iſaiah* [*x*]: The Seraphims above ſing the holy *Triſagion-Hymn*: The holy Congregation of Men on Earth ſend up the ſame: The general Aſſembly of Celeſtial and Earthly Creatures joyn together: There is one Thankſgiving, μία εὐχαεισία, one Exultation, one Quire of Men and Angels in one Station rejoycing together. In another Place reproving thoſe who ſtayed at the Communion-Service, when they would not communicate, he tells them [*y*] It was better that they ſhould be abſent, for they did but affront Him that invited them, whilſt they ſtayed to ſing the Hymn, profeſſing themſelves to be of the Number of the Worthy, whilſt they did not recede with the Unworthy. How could you ſtay, and not partake of the Table? I am

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266.
[*x*] Hom. 1. in Iſai. T. 3. p. 834. [*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1052.

I am unworthy, ſay you. If ſo, you are unworthy to communicate in Prayers alſo. For it is not only the bare Elements, but thoſe Hymns that cauſe the Spirit to deſcend upon them. Though he does not here name the Hymns, he plainly intimates however that they were commonly uſed in this Part of the Euchariſtical Service. And elſewhere [x] he ſpeaks more plainly: The Faithful, ſays he, know what are the Hymns of the Powers above; what the Cherubims ſing in Heaven; what the Angels ſung, *Glory be to God in the higheſt.* Therefore Hymns come after the Pſalmody, as a Thing of greater Perfection. He means, that Pſalmody was only a Part of the Service of the Catechumens; but theſe Hymns were uſed by the τέλειοι, the Communicants, in the Service of the Altar. He mentions the ſame in many other Places, which the Reader may find above [*] in the Collection of the ancient *Liturgy* out of St. *Chryſoſtom's* Works: I will only repeat one Paſſage more out of his *Homily* upon the Martyrs. The Martyrs, ſays he [a], are now joyning in Conſort, and partaking in the myſtical Songs of the Heavenly Quire. For if whilſt they were in the Body, whenever they communicated in the ſacred Myſteries, they made part of the Quire, ſinging with the Cherubims the *Triſagion-Hymn, Holy, Holy, Holy*; as all ye that are initiated in the holy Myſteries, very well know; much more now, being joyn'd with them whoſe Partners they were in the earthly Quire, they do with greater Freedom partake in thoſe ſolemn Bleſſings and

[x] Hom. 24. de Baptiſmo Chriſti. T. 1. p. 317. [†] Hom. 4. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 374. Hom. 16. Si eſurierit Inimicus. T. 5. p. 229. Hom. 3. de Pœnitent. T. 4. p. 562. Epiſt. 2. ad Olympiad. T. 4. p. 715. Hom. 14. in Epheſ. p. 1127.

[*] Book XIII. cap. 6. [a] Hom. 74. de Martyr. T. 1. p. 999.

Glorifications of GOD in Heaven above. There needs no Recourſe now after this to be had to the *Liturgy* of St. *Chryſoſtom*, to prove that this divine Hymn was always a Part of the ſolemn Thankſgiving, ſince it is more ſolemnly proved out of his genuine Writings. To which we may add *Severianus* of *Gabala* [*b*] for the *Greek* Church, and the Council of *Vaiſon* for the *Latin*, which ſays, that in all Communion-Services, whether they were Morning Services, or *Quadrageſimal*, or Commemorations for the Dead, the Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, ſhould be uſed in the ſame Order, as in the publick Service.

Sect. 10. *A particular Thankſgiving for the Mercies of God in the Redemption of Mankind by Chriſt.*

NEXT after this, there follows in the *Conſtitutions* a particular Enumeration of the Mercies of GOD vouchſafed to Mankind in the Redemption of the World by the Death of CHRIST, and a more ſpecial Thankſgiving with reſpect to them; wherein alſo is contained a ſort of *Creed*, or Summary of the chief Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. Which was all the *Creed* that the Church in that Age made uſe of in that Service. For as yet the formal Repetition of the *Baptiſmal Creed* was no Part of the Communion-Service, as it was in after-Ages, but only ſuch Doctrines were related as were the Subject of a particular Thankſgiving for the great Myſteries of the Incarnation and Redemption. Thus it is repreſented in the *Conſtitutions*, with which St. *Chryſoſtom* exactly correſponds. For

[*b*] Hom. 37. de Filio Prodigo. inter Opera Chryſoſt. T. 6. p. 375. [*c*] Conc. Vaſens. 2. can. 3. Ut in omnibus Miſſis, ſeu in Matutinis, ſeu in Quadrageſimalibus, ſeu in illis quæ pro Defunctorum Commemoratione fiunt, ſemper Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, eo ordine quo ad Miſſas publicas dicitur, dici debeat.

For commenting on thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt?* He brings in the Apoſtle thus explaining himſelf: When I ſpeak of a Bleſſing, I unfold all the Treaſure of GOD's Beneficence, and commemorate all his great and glorious Gifts. And he adds, We alſo in offering the Cup recite the ineffable Mercies and Kindneſs of GOD, and all the good Things we enjoy: And ſo we offer it, and communicate; giving Him Thanks for that He hath delivered Mankind from Error; that He hath [*d*] made us near, who were afar off; that when we were without Hope, and without GOD in the World, He hath made us the Brethren of CHRIST, and Fellow-Heirs with him. For theſe and all the like Bleſſings we give Him Thanks, and ſo come to his holy Table. We cannot have a plainer Proof of a particular Thankſgiving than this is, and therefore I ſhall ſeek for no farther Evidence in the Caſe; but proceed to the immediate Form of Conſecration.

Sect. 11. *The Form of Conſecration always compoſed of a Repetition of the Words of Inſtitution, and Prayer to God to ſanctify the Gifts by his Holy Spirit.*

NOW this anciently was not a bare Repetition of thoſe Words, *Hoc eſt Corpus meum, This is my Body*, which for many Ages has been the current Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Schools; but a Repetition of the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution, together with Prayers to GOD, That He would ſend his Holy Spirit upon the Gifts, and make them become the Body and Blood of CHRIST; not by altering their Nature and Subſtance, but their Qualities and Powers, and exalting them from ſimple

[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 532. So Cyprian. Ep. 63. p. 156. Paſſionis ejus mentionem in omnibus Sacrificiis facimus.

Elements of Bread and Wine to become Types and Symbols of CHRIST's Fleſh and Blood, and efficacious Inſtruments of conveying to worthy Receivers all the Benefits of his Death and Paſſion. Thus it is evidently ſet forth in the *Conſtitutions*, which for the Reader's Eaſe, I will here again repeat: *We therefore in Commemoration of theſe Things* [e] *which Chriſt ſuffered for us, give Thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as Thou deſerveſt, and as we ought, but as we are able, ſo fulfilling his Command. For he, in the ſame Night that he was betrayed, took Bread in his holy and immaculate Hands, and looking up to Thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, This is the Myſtery of the* New Teſtament; *take of it, and eat it; This is my Body, which is broken for many for the Remiſſion of Sins. This do in Remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do ſhew forth my Death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his Paſſion, and Death, and Reſurrection from the Dead, and his Return into Heaven; and alſo of his ſecond Coming, when he ſhall return with Glory and Power to judge the Quick and Dead, and render to every Man according to his Works; do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this Bread and this Cup, according to his Appointment; giving Thanks to Thee by Him, for that Thou doſt vouchſafe to let us ſtand before Thee, and miniſter unto Thee: and we beſeech Thee to look propitiouſly upon theſe Gifts here ſet before Thee, and to accept them favourably to the Honour of Thy Chriſt, and to ſend Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, the Spirit that is Witneſs of the Suffering of the Lord Jeſus, that it may make this Bread become the Body of Thy Chriſt; that they who partake of it, may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and obtain Remiſſion of Sins; may be delivered from the Devil and his Impoſtures; may be filled with*

[e] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 402.

with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy of Chriſt, and obtain Eternal Life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.

WHO ſees not, that the Conſecration in this Form is made by a Repetition of the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution, and Prayer for the coming of the Holy Ghoſt on the Elements to ſanctify them? And for this there is the concurrent Teſtimony of all Antiquity. *Juſtin Martyr* [f] makes the Conſecration to conſiſt in Thankſgiving and Prayers, which being ended, all the People Anſwer, *Amen*. *Irenæus* ſays more expreſsly [g] that it is done by Invocation of GOD: For the Bread, which is taken from the Earth, has the Invocation of GOD upon it, and then it is no longer common Bread, but the Euchariſt. *Origen* [h] ſays, It is ſanctified by the Word of GOD and Prayer. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* tells his *Catechumens*, That before the Invocation of the *Holy Trinity* [i] the Bread and Wine of the *Euchariſt* is common Bread and Wine; but after the Invocation it is no longer bare Bread, but the Body of Chriſt: As the Holy Oil is not bare Oil after the Invocation, but the Gift of CHRIST. So again [k], after we have ſanctified ourſelves by thoſe Spiritual Hymns, we then pray the merciful GOD, that he would ſend forth his Holy Spirit upon the Elements lying upon the Altar, that he may make the Bread the Body of CHRIST, and the Wine the Blood of CHRIST. Which manifeſtly declares that the Conſecration was made by

[f] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [g] Iren. Lib. 4. cap 34. Qui eſt a terra panis, percipiens Invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia. [h] Orig. in Mat. 15. T. 2. p. 27. Sanctificatur per Verbum Dei, perque Obſecrationem. [i] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3. μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα χριστοῦ. &c. [k] Id. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 5.

Prayer and Invocation. And the ſame is imply'd by St. *Baſil* [*l*], when he asks, which of the Saints hath left us in Writing the words of the Invocation, by which the Bread of the Euchariſt and the Cup of Bleſſing is conſecrated? *Gregory Nyſſen* [*m*], St. *Baſil*'s Brother, ſays, the Bread is ſanctified by the Word of GOD and Prayer. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, that the Bread and Wine, which repreſents the LORD's Body and Blood upon the Table, are conſecrated by Invocation and coming of the Holy Ghoſt [*n*] upon them. And *Theodoret* moſt plainly in one of his Dialogues [*o*], What do you call the Gift that is offered, before the Prieſt has made the Invocation over it? *Bread made of ſuch Seeds.* What do you call it after Sanctification? *The Body of Chriſt.* The *Latin* Fathers are as plain in their Verdict. St. *Ambroſe* [*p*] ſays, the Sacraments which we take, are transformed into Fleſh and Flood by the Myſtery of Holy Prayer. And *Optatus* [*q*] deſcribing the Fury of the *Donatiſts*, aſſerts the ſame, when he asks them, what greater Sacrilege they could be guilty of, than to pull down the Altars of GOD, where GOD Almighty was invocated, and the Holy Spirit came down at the Supplication of the Prieſt? St. *Jerom* [*r*] ſays, it was the peculiar Office of the Presbyters to conſecrate

[*l*] Baſil. de Spir. ſancto cap. 27. [*m*] Nyſſen. Orat. Catechetic. cap. 37. [*n*] Theoph. Ep. Paſchal. 1. Panem Dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus oſtenditur, &c. per Invocationem & adventum Sancti Spiritus conſecrari. [*o*] Theodor. Dial. 2. T. 4. p. 85. [*p*] Ambroſ. de Fide Lib. 4. cap. 5. Quotieſcunq; ſacramenta ſumimus, quæ per ſacræ Orationis myſterium in carnem transfigurantur & ſanguinem, mortem Domini annunciamus. [*q*] Optat. Lib. 6. p. 93. Quid tam ſacrilegum, quam altaria Dei frangere — quo Deus omnipotens invocatus ſit, & poſtulatus deſcendit Spiritus Sanctus? [*r*] Hieron. Ep. 85 ad Evagrium. Ad quorum Preces Chriſti Corpus ſanguiſque conficitur.

crate the Body and Blood of CHRIST by Prayer. And again that Prayer was neceſſary for this Purpoſe [s]. The Author of the Books *de Sacramentis*, under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, [t] gives us the very Form of Words uſed in this Prayer: Make this our Oblation a choſen, rational, acceptable Oblation, which is the Figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. *Juvencus* [u] ſays, CHRIST himſelf conſecrated it by Prayer. And *Gregory the Great* [x] was of Opinion, that the Apoſtles uſed only the Lord's Prayer as the Form of their Conſecration. And *Cyprian* probably was of the ſame Opinion. For he thinks, that Petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, may be underſtood both in a ſpiritual [y] and common Senſe, to denote the Body of CHRIST, which is our Bread, that we pray may be given us every Day. A great many other Fathers ſpeak of the [z] Benediction or Thankſgiving

[s] Id. Com. in Zephan. cap. 3. p. 98. εὐχαριστίαν imprecantis facere verba, *&c.* [t] Ambroſ. de ſacram. Lib. 4. cap. 5. Vis ſcire, quia verbis Cœleſtibus conſecratur? Accipe quæ ſunt verba. Dicit ſacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc Oblationem aſcriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod eſt Figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

[u] Juvencus Hiſt. Evangel. Lib. 4. Bibl. Patr. T. 8. p. 654. ſanctęq; precatus, Diſcipulos docuit proprium ſe tradere corpus.

[x] Greg. Lib. 7. Ep. 63. Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox poſt Precem dicimus, quia mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo Orationem oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent.

[y] Cypr. de Orat. p. 146. Quod poteſt & ſpiritaliter & ſimpliciter intelligi — quia Chriſtus, noſter panis eſt. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie poſtulamus. [z] Tertul. cont. Marcion. Lib. 1. cap. 23. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. Lib. 2. cap. 2. Chryſ. Hom. 82. in Mat. Victor. Antioch. in Marc. 14. Facundus Hermianenſis Defenſ. Trium Capitulor. Lib. 9. Cyril. Alexandrin. Com. in Eſa. 25. item paſſim in Glaphyris ſuper Geneſ. Exod. Levit. *Stiles it* Eulogia, *which is the ſame as* Euchariſt *or Benediction.* Vid. Albertin. de Euchariſt. Lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 21.

as that which conſecrates the *Euchariſt*. Which is not much different from this; for the Thankſgiving was always a Part of the Euchariſtical Prayers. And therefore ſome join them both together, as *Juſtin Martyr* and *Irenæus*, in the Places now mentioned. And ſo *Origen* [*a*] tells *Celſus*, that by Thankſgiving and Prayer they made Bread an Holy Body, ſanctifying ſuch as received and eat it with a pure Mind. And St. *Auſtin*, who in ſome Places calls it barely the Benediction [*b*] or Thankſgiving, in other Places ſays more expreſly that the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated by Prayer. We call that the Body of CHRIST, which is taken from the Fruits of the Earth, and conſecrated [*c*] by myſtical Prayer in a ſolemn manner, and ſo received by us unto Salvation in Memory of our Lord's Suffering for us. And writing againſt the *Donatiſts*, [*d*] who deny'd the Validity of the Sacraments when they were conſecrated and adminiſtred by Sinners, he asks them, How then does GOD hear a Murderer, when he prays either over the Water of Baptiſm, or the Oyl for Unction, or over the *Euchariſt*, or over the Heads of thoſe that receive Impoſition of Hands? Implying, that the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*, as well as the reſt of the Things mentioned, was performed by Prayer.

TO this mighty Cloud of Witneſſes, the *Romaniſts* have nothing material to oppoſe, but a few miſtaken Paſſages of the Ancients, which the Reader may find

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[*a*] Orig. cont. Celſ. Lib. 8. p. 390. μετὰ εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς. &c. [*b*] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. [*c*] Aug. de Trinitate. Lib. 3. cap. 4. Corpus Chriſti dicimus illud, quod ex frugibus terræ acceptum, & Myſtica Prece conſecratum rite, ſumimus ad Spiritalem Salutem, in memoriam Dominicæ pro nobis Paſſionis. [*d*] De Baptiſmo. Lib. 5. cap. 20. Quomodo ergo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel ſuper aquam Baptiſmi, vel ſuper Oleum, vel ſuper Euchariſtiam, vel ſuper capita eorum quibus manus imponitur?

find related with proper Anſwers in that excellent Book of Mr. *Aubertine* upon the *Euchariſt* [*e*]. I ſhall only take notice of one, which carries the faireſt Pretence, out of *Chryſoſtom*, who in one of his *Homilies* [*f*] ſpeaks of the Conſecration after this manner: It is not Man that makes the Elements become the Body and Blood of CHRIST, but CHRIST himſelf that was crucified for us. The Prieſt ſtands fulfilling his Office, and ſpeaking thoſe Words; but the Power and Grace is of GOD. CHRIST ſaid, *This is my Body*: This Word conſecrates the Elements. And as that Word, which ſaid, *Increaſe, and multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, was ſpoken but once, yet at all Times is effectual in Deed to ſtrengthen our Nature to beget Children: So this Word once ſpoken, from that Time to this Day, and until his Coming again, perfects and conſummates the Sacrifice on every Table throughout the Churches. The Meaning of which is not, as the *Romaniſts* miſtake, that the pronouncing of theſe Words by the Prieſt, is the Thing that makes the Sacrifice; but that CHRIST, by firſt ſpeaking thoſe Words, gave Power unto Men to make his ſymbolical Body; as by once ſpeaking thoſe Words, *Increaſe and multiply*, He gave them Power to procreate Children. CHRIST's Words are the original Cauſe of the Conſecration; but ſtill Prayer, and not the bare Repetition of his Words, is the inſtrumental Cauſe and Means of the Sanctification. As *Chryſoſtom* himſelf ſays plainly in another Place [*g*] where he attributes the Conſecration of the Elements to the Invocation of the Spirit, and the Spirit's Deſcent purſuant to ſuch

[*e*] Albertin. de Euchariſtia. Lib. 1. cap. 7. [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 30. de Proditione Judæ. T. 5. p. 463. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 32. in Cœmeterij Appellationem. T. 5. p. 487. It. de Sacerdot. Lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 93. T. 4. Et de Sacerdot. Lib. 3. cap. 4.

to ſuch Invocation. What meaneſt thou, O Man, ſays he? When the Prieſt ſtands by the holy Table, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and invocating the Holy Spirit, to come down and touch the Elements, there ſhould then be great Tranquillity and Silence. When the Spirit grants his Grace, when He comes down, when He touches the Elements, when thou ſeeſt the Lamb ſlain and offered, doſt thou then raiſe a Tumult and Commotion, and give way to Strife and Railing? In which Words, it is plain, *Chryſoſtom* attributes the Conſecration to the Power of CHRIST and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and efficient Cauſe; to Prayer and Supplication, as the inſtrumental Cauſe, operating by way of Condition and Means, to ſanctify the Elements according to CHRIST's Command, by a ſolemn Benediction, and to the Words, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, as ſpoken by CHRIST in the firſt Inſtitution, implying a Declaration of what was then done, and what ſhould be done by his Power and Concurrence to the End of the World. So that in all Things relating to the Conſecration, we find the Practice of the Ancients exactly correſponding and agreeing to the Order preſcribed in the *Conſtitutions*. And whereas the Author of the *Conſtitutions* makes it a very great Part of the Conſecration-Prayer, that they who partake of the *Euchariſt* may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and obtain Remiſſion of Sins, may be delivered from the Devil, and his Impoſtures, may be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy of CHRIST, and obtain eternal Life: St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*] evidently refers to ſuch a Prayer, when he ſays, In the Oblation we offer up our Sins, and ſay, *Pardon us whatever Sins we have committed either willingly or unwillingly.*

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1870.

ly. We firſt make mention of them, and then ask Pardon for them. And ſo it is in the *Liturgy* which goes under St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Name: *We offer unto Thee this Rational and Unbloody Service, beſeeching Thee to ſend Thy Holy Spirit* [i] *upon us and theſe Gifts; Make the Bread the precious Body of Thy Chriſt, and that which is in the Cup, the precious Blood of Thy Chriſt; tranſmuting them by Thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the Receivers for the Waſhing of their Souls, for Pardon of Sins, for Participation of the Holy Ghoſt, for obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, for Boldneſs towards Thee, and not for Judgment and Condemnation.*

Sect. 12. *After this followed Prayer for the whole Catholick Church.*

IMMEDIATELY after the Conſecration, followed Prayer for the whole Catholick Church, as redeemed by the Precious Blood of CHRIST, which was then commemorated in the Oblation and Sacrifice of the Altar. Thus it is repreſented in the *Conſtitutions*, and thus alſo in St. *Chryſoſtom*, [k] who ſpeaking of *Euſtathius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſays, he had the Care of the whole Church upon him; which he learned to be his Duty from the Prayers of the Church. For if Prayers ought to be made for the Catholick Church from one End of the Earth to the other, much more did he think it his Duty to ſhew his Concern for the whole Church, and watch for their Preſervation. In another Place [l] he ſays, The Prieſt, when the Sacrifice was offered, bid the People to pray, or give Thanks rather, for the whole World, for thoſe that were abſent, and thoſe that were preſent; for thoſe

[i] Chryſ. Liturg. T. 4. p. 614. It. p. 619. Συγχώρησόν μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ τὰ πλημμελήματά μου καὶ τὰ ἐκούσιά τε καὶ ἀκούσια, &c.
[k] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in Euſtath. T. 1. p. 649.
[l] Chryſ. Hom 26. in Mat. p. 259.

thoſe that were before them, and for thoſe that were then living, and for thoſe that ſhould be after them. And again [*m*], he ſpeaks of Prayer for the World, the Church, and the common Peace and Tranquillity of Mankind. He ſays [*n*], The Prieſt prayed at the Altar in the Time of Oblation for the whole City, and not for the whole City only, but for the whole World. So *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*o*] ſays, As ſoon as the ſpiritual Sacrifice was offered, they beſought GOD for the common Peace of the Church, and the Tranquillity of the World, *&c.* And *Vigilius* in a Letter to *Juſtinian* reminds him, how it was cuſtomary, from ancient Tradition, for all Biſhops in offering the Sacrifice, to beſeech GOD to unite all Men in the Catholick Faith, and to protect and keep it throughout the World. Nay, *Optatus* ſays [*p*], the *Donatiſts* continued to uſe this Prayer in the Celebration of the Sacramental Myſteries, though their Doctrine and Practice were the abſolute Reverſe of it. They ſaid, they offered for the Church, which was one, diffuſed over all the World: But their Practice gave their Prayers the Lye: For they divided it into two, and confined the true Church to a Corner of *Africk*, and the Party of *Donatus*. However this ſhews, it was the Practice both of *Donatiſts* and *Catholicks* to pray for the Univerſal Church.

MORE

[*m*] Hom. 37. in Act. p. 329. [*n*] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. Lib. 6. cap. 4. T. 3. p. 93. [*o*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6.

[*p*] Vigil. Ep. 4. ad Juſtinian. Imperator. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 315. Omnes Pontifices, antiqua in offerendo Sacrificia traditione, depoſcimus, ut Catholicam Fidem adunare, regere Dominum, & cuſtodire toto orbe dignetur.

[*q*] Optat. Lib. 2. p. 53. Vos illud Legitimum in Sacramentorum Myſterio præterire non poſſe. Offerre vos dicitis pro Eccleſia, quæ Una eſt. Hoc ipſum mendacij pars eſt, unam vocare, de qua feceris duas. Et offerre vos dicitis pro una Eccleſia, quæ ſit in toto terrarum orbe diffuſa, &c.

Sect. 13. *More particularly for the Biſhops and Clergy.*

MORE particularly they now repeated their Prayers again for the Biſhops and Clergy of the whole Catholick Church, and that Church eſpecially whereof they were Members. Which is not only noted in the *Conſtitutions*, but by *Epiphanius* [r] in his Letter to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, where he wipes off a ſlander, which ſome had falſely ſuggeſted to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as if he had prayed Publickly, that GOD would grant him an Orthodox Faith, implying that he was in Error: Which he denies, telling them, That however he might pray for him after that manner privately in his Heart, yet he never did ſo in the Oblation of the Sacrifice; for in offering thoſe Prayers, according to the Order of the holy Myſteries, they were uſed to ſay both for him and all other Biſhops: *Keep him, O Lord, that preacheth the Truth*: Or elſe after this manner: *Preſerve him, O Lord, and grant that he may preach the Truth*; according as the Occaſion and Order of Prayer repuired. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo takes notice of this ſolemn Praying for Biſhops and the Clergy, and among many other Particulars, when the Oblation was offered. Some, ſays he [s], are ſo inconſiderate, diſſolute and vain, as to ſtand and talk, not only in the time of the Catechumens, (that is, when Prayers were made for them in the firſt Service) but alſo at the time of the Faithful (or when

[r] Epiphan. Ep. ad Joan. Hieroſol. p. 313. Dixerunt quod in Oratione, quando offerimus ſacrificia Deo, ſoleamus pro te dicere: Domine præſta Joanni, ut recte credat. Noli nos in tantum putare ruſticos. &c. Quando autem complemus Orationem ſecundum Ritum Myſteriorum, & pro omnibus & pro te quoque dicimus: Cuſtodi illum qui prædicat veritatem. Vel certe ita: Tu præſta Domine, & cuſtodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis, ſicut Occaſio Sermonis ſe tulerit, & habuerit Oratio Conſequentiam. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745.

when their Prayers were offered at the Altar.) And this, ſays he, is the Subverſion and Ruin of all Religion, that at that Time when Men ought chiefly to render GOD propitious to them, they go away provoking his Wrath againſt them. For in the Prayers of the Faithful, we are commanded to ſupplicate the Merciful GOD for Biſhops, for Presbyters, for Kings, for all that are in Authority; for the Earth and Sea, for the Temperature of the Air or good Weather, and for the whole World. When therefore we, who ought to have ſo much Boldneſs and Freedom as to pray for others, are not vigilant enough to pray for ourſelves with an attentive Mind; What Excuſe can we make? What Pardon can we expect? We cannot deſire a plainer Evidence than this of *Chryſoſtom*, that all theſe Things were the ſubject Matter of their Petitions, when the Oblation was made upon the Altar.

Sect. 14. *For Kings and Magiſtrates.*

AND therefore hence it appears, that as they prayed for the Biſhops and the Clergy, ſo they repeated their Supplication for Kings and Magiſtrates in this Prayer alſo. I have noted before [*] the ſeveral Authors that take Notice of their praying for Kings in the Prayers before the Oblation, and here I will ſubjoin ſuch as mention it in the Oblation-Prayer. *Euſebius* deſcribing the Dedication of the Church which *Conſtantine* built at *Jeruſalem*, ſays, ſome of the Biſhops then preſent made Panegyrical Orations upon *Conſtantine*'s great Reſpect for the common Saviour, and the Magnificence of his Temple; others preached upon Points of Divinity proper to the Occaſion; others explained the Myſtical Senſe of Scripture; and others, who could not

[*] Book XIII. chap. x. 5. It. Book XV. chap. i. n. 3.

not attain to this, celebrated the Myſtical Service and offered the Unbloody Sacrifice to GOD, making Prayers for the common Peace [*t*] of the World, for the Church of GOD, for the Emperor himſelf the Founder of the Church, and for his Pious Children. In like manner *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* deſcribing the Order of the Communion-Service, ſays, After the ſpiritual Sacrifice, and the Unbloody Service of the propitiatory Oblation is compleated, we beſeech GOD for the common Peace of the Churches, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings, for their Armies, for their Allies, for thoſe that are ſick and afflicted, and in ſhort for all that ſtand in need of Help and Aſſiſtance. St. *Chryſoſtom* elſewhere mentions both Private and Publick Prayers [*u*] for Kings, the later of which may be underſtood of theſe Prayers after the Oblation, as well as any others. *Arnobius* ſays expreſsly [*x*] they prayed at once for the Magiſtrates, for their Armies, for Kings, for their Friends, and for their Enemies, for the living, and for the Dead. Where his mentioning the Dead plainly ſhews, that he ſpeaks of thoſe Prayers which were made after the *Euchariſt* was conſecrated, in which, as we ſhall ſee by and by, a particular Commemoration was made of all thoſe that were departed in the Faith.

Sect. 15. *For the Dead in general.*

NEXT after Prayer for Kings followed Prayer for the Dead, that is, for all that were departed in the true Faith in CHRIST. For ſo it is

in

[*t*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. Lib. 4. cap. 45.

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 20. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 258.

[*x*] Arnob. Lib. 4. p. 181. Cur immaniter Conventicula noſtra dirui meruerint? In quibus ſummus oratur Deus, Pax cunctis & venia poſtulatur Magiſtratibus, Exercitibus, Regibus, Familiaribus, Inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, & reſolutis corporum vinctione.

in the *Conſtitutions*. *We offer unto Thee for all Thy Saints, that have lived well-pleaſing in Thy Sight from the Foundation of the World, for Patriarchs, Prophets, Holy Men, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, Laymen, and all whoſe Names thou knoweſt.* And that this was the general Practice of the Church, to pray for all without Exception, appears from the concurrent Teſtimony of all the Writers of the Church. We have heard *Arnobius* ſay already [*y*] that they prayed for the Living and the Dead in general. And long before him *Tertullian* [*z*] ſpeaks of Oblations for the Dead, for their Brith-days, that is, the Day of their Death, or a New Birth unto Happineſs, in their annual Commemorations. He ſays every Woman [*a*] prayed for the Soul of her deceaſed Husband, deſiring that he might find Reſt and Refreſhment at preſent, and a Part in the firſt Reſurrection, and offering an annual Oblation for him on the Day of his Death. In like manner [*b*] he ſays the Husband prayed for the Soul of his Wife, and offered annual Oblations for her. St. *Cyprian* often mentions the ſame Practice, both when he ſpeaks of Martyrs and others. For the Martyrs they offered the Oblation of Prayer, and of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; for others, Prayers chiefly. Thoſe for the Martyrs he calls [*c*] Oblations and Sacrifices of Commemoration,

[*y*] Arnob. Lib. 4. p. 181. *cited in the laſt Section.*

[*z*] Tertul. de Coron. Militis. cap. 3. Oblationes pro Defunctis, pro Natalitiis, annua die facimus. [*a*] De Monogamia. cap. 10. Pro anima ejus orat, & Refrigerium interim adpoſtulat ei, & in prima reſurrectione conſortium, & offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus. [*b*] Exhortat. ad Caſtitat. cap. 11. Jam repete apud Deum pro cujus Spiritu poſtules, pro qua Oblationes annuas reddas. [*c*] Cypr. Ep. 37. al. 22. ad Clerum. p. 28. Celebrentur hic à nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob Commemorationes eorum.

on, which they offered eſpecially on the Anniverſary-Days of their Martyrdom [*d*], giving GOD Thanks for their Victory and Coronation. But for others they made ſolemn Supplications and Prayers, as appears from what he ſays of one *Geminius Victor* [*e*], that becauſe he had appointed a Presbyter to be his Executor contrary to Law, no Oblation ſhould be made for his Reſt or Sleep, nor any Deprecation be uſed in his Name according to Cuſtom in the Church. The Author under the Name of *Origen* upon *Job* [*f*] ſays, they made devout mention of the Saints, and their Parents and Friends, that were Dead in the Faith; as well to rejoice in their Refreſhment, as to deſire for themſelves a pious Conſummation in the Faith. And *Origen* [*g*] himſelf, ſays, They thought it convenient to make mention of the Saints in their Prayers, and to excite themſelves by the Remembrance of them. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* in deſcribing the Prayer after Conſecration, ſays, We offer this Sacrifice in Memory of all thoſe that are faln aſleep [*b*] before us, firſt Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, that GOD by their Prayers and Interceſſions may receive our Supplications; and then we pray for our holy Fathers and Biſhops, and all that are faln aſleep before us, believing it to be a conſiderable Advantage to their Souls to be prayed for, whilſt the holy and tremendous

[*d*] Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 77. Sacrificia pro eis Semper, ut meminiſtis, offerimus, quoties Martyrum Paſſiones & Dies Anniverſaria commemoratione celebramus.

[*e*] Ep. 66. al. 1. p. 3. Non eſt quod pro Dormitione ejus apud vos fiat Oblatio, aut Deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Eccleſia frequentetur. [*f*] Orig. in Job. Lib. 3. T. 1. p. 437.

[*g*] Orig. Lib. 9. in Rom. 12. T 2. p. 607 Meminiſſe Sanctorum ſive in Collectis ſolennibus, ſive pro eo ut ex Recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum & conveniens videtur.

[*b*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6.

Sacrifice lies upon the Altar. *Epiphanius* diſputes at large againſt the *Arians*, who ridiculed all Prayers for the Dead. For they ſaid, If the Prayers of the Living will advantage the Dead, then it was no Matter for being Pious or Vertuous; a Man only needed to get his Friends to pray for him after Death, and he would be liable to no Puniſhment, nor would his moſt enormous Crimes be required of him. To whom *Epiphanius* replies, that they had many good Reaſons for mentioning the Names of the Dead; becauſe it was an Argument that they were ſtill in Being, and living with the LORD; becauſe it was ſome advantage to Sinners, though it did not wholly cancel their Crimes; becauſe it put a Diſtinction between the Perfection of CHRIST, and the Imperfection of all other Men: Therefore they prayed for righteous Men, Fathers, Patriarchs [*i*], Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Biſhops, Hermits, and all Orders of Men. And it appears from all the ancient *Liturgies* under the Names of St. *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Cyril* [*k*], that they prayed for all Saints, the Virgin *Mary* herſelf not excepted. And it is remarkable, that in the old Roman *Miſſal* they were uſed to pray for the Soul of St. *Leo*, as *Hincmar* [*l*] a Writer of the ninth Age, informs us, who ſays the Prayer ran in this Form, *Grant, O Lord, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to the Soul of Thy Servant* Leo, *which Thou haſt appointed to be for the Relaxation of the Sins of the whole World.* But this was thought

[*i*] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7. [*k*] *See theſe quoted by Biſhop* Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge.* p. 136. Et Dallæus de Pœnis & Satisfaction. Lib. 5. cap. 8. [*l*] Hincmar. de Prædeſtin. Lib. 1. cap. 34. Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc proſit Oblatio, quam immolando totius mundi tribuiſti relaxari delicta. Tom. 1. p. 297.

thought ſo Incongruous in the following Ages, that in the later *Sacramentaries* or *Miſſals* it was changed into this Form: *Grant O Lord, we beſeech Thee, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to us by the Interceſſion of St.* Leo, as Pope *Innocent* the Third [*m*] aſſures us it was in his Time. And ſuch another Alteration was made in Pope *Gregory's Sacramentarium.* For in the old *Greek* and *Latin Edition* [*n*] there is this Prayer: *Remember, O Lord, all Thy Servants, Men and Women, who have gone before us in the Seal of the Faith, and ſleep in the Sleep of Peace: We beſeech Thee, O Lord, to grant them, and all that Reſt in Chriſt, a Place of Refreſhment, Light and Peace through the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* But in the new reformed *Miſſals* [*o*] it is altered thus, *Remember, Lord, Thy Servants and Handmaids* N. *and* N. *that have gone before us,* &c. That they might not ſeem to pray for Saints as well as others that were in Purgatory. Which makes it very probable, that St. *Cyril's* Catechiſm has alſo been tampered with, and a Clauſe put in, which ſpeaks of their Praying to GOD by the Interceſſion of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs: Since the ancient *Liturgies* prayed for them as well as for all others. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays expreſsly [*p*] they offered for the Martyrs. And ſo it is in his *Greek Liturgy* [*q*], *We offer unto Thee this reaſonable Service for the faithful deceaſed, our Fore-fathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets and Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Religious Perſons, and every Spirit perfected in the Faith; but eſpecially for our moſt Holy, Immaculate, moſt bleſſed*

[*m*] Innoc. Epiſt. in Decretal. Gregor. Lib. 3. Tit. 41. cap. 6. p. 1372. Annue nobis, quæſumus Domine, ut Interceſſione Beati Leonis, hæc nobis proſit Oblatio. Miſſal. Feſt. Leonis. Jun. 28. [*n*] Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 129. [*o*] Miſſal. Roman. in Canone Miſſæ. p. 301. [*p*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. in Act. T. 4. Edit. Savil, p. 736. [*q*] Chryſ. Lirurg. T. 4. p. 614.

Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary. Though, as Bp. *Uſher* [r] has obſerved, ſome of the *Latin* Tranſlators have alſo given a perverſe Turn to theſe Words, rendring them thus, *We offer unto Thee this reaſonable Service for the faithfull Deceaſed, our Forefathers and Fathers, by the Interceſſion of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and all the Saints.* For it ſounded ill to the *Latin* Ears to hear St. *Chryſoſtom* ſay, The ancient Church prayed for Saints and Martyrs. And yet he ſays it, not only in the forementioned Places, but over and over again in others. In his forty-firſt *Homily* upon the firſt of *Corinthians* [s] ſpeaking againſt immoderate Sorrow for the Death of Sinners, he ſays, they are not ſo much to be lamented, as ſuccoured with Prayers and Supplications and Alms and Oblations. For theſe Things were not deſigned in Vain, neither is it without Reaſon that we make mention of thoſe that are deceaſed in the Holy Myſteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is ſlain to take away the Sins of the World; but that ſome Conſolation may hence ariſe to them. Neither is it in vain, that he who ſtands at the Altar when the tremendous Myſteries are celebrated, cries, *We offer unto Thee for all thoſe that are aſleep in Chriſt, and all that make Commemorations for them.* For if there were no Commemorations made for them, theſe Things would not be ſaid.—Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our Aſſiſtance, and offering Prayers for them. For the common Propitiation of the whole World is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole World, and Name them with Martyrs, with Confeſſors, with Prieſts, for we are all one Body, though

[r] Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge* p. 136. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 41. in 1 Cor. p. 701.

though one Member be more excellent than another; and we may obtain a general Pardon for them by our Prayers, by our Alms, by the help of those that are named together with them. He supposes here that the Saints prayed for Sinners, though at the same time the Church prayed both for the Saints and Martyrs and Sinners together. In another Place [*t*] he says, Prayers were made in general for all those that were deceased in the Faith, and none but Catechumens dying in a voluntary Neglect of Baptism, were excluded from the Benefit of them. At that Time, says he, when all the People stand with their Hands lift up to Heaven, and all the Company of Priests with them, and the tremendous Sacrifice lies upon the Altar, how shall we not move GOD to Mercy, when we call upon him for those that are deceased in the Faith? I speak of them only: For the Catechumens are not allowed this Consolation, but are depriv'd of all Assistance, except only giving Alms for them. This then was a Punishment inflicted upon the Catechumens, of which *Chrysostom* speaks in other Places [*u*]; and it appears to have been a settled Rule by some ancient Canons [*x*] of the Church, of which I have had Occasion to speak in a former Book [*], to deny Catechumens the Benefit of the Churches Prayers after Death. *Chrysostom* says again [*y*] that a Bishop is to be Intercessor for all the World, and to pray to GOD to be merciful to the Sins of all Men, not only the Living, but the Dead also. *Cassian* says also the *Biothanati*, as they called them, that is, Men that laid violent Hands upon themselves, were excluded

[*t*] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Phillip. p. 1225. [*u*] Chrys. Hom. 24. in Joan. p. 159. Hom. 1. in Act. p. 14. [*x*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 35. [*] Book X. Chap. ii. n. 18. [*y*] Chrys. de Sacerdot. Lib. 6. cap. 4. Vid. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 307.

from the Benefit of the Churches Prayers. And therefore when one *Hero* an old Hermit had by the Deluſions of Satan caſt himſelf into a deep Well, *Paſnutius* the Abbot could hardly be prevailed upon to let him be reckoned any other than a Self-murderer, and unworthy [z] of the Memorial and Oblation that was made for all thoſe that were at Reſt in Peace. Which is alſo noted in the Council of *Braga* [a], where Catechumens and Self-murderers are put in the ſame Claſs together, as Perſons that deſerved neither the Solemnities of Chriſtian Burial, nor the uſual Prayers and Commemoration that was made for the Reſt of Chriſtians at the Altar.

ST. *Auſtin* indeed had a ſingular Opinion in this Matter about Prayer for the Dead. For he thought the Martyrs were not properly to be prayed for as other Men, becauſe they were admitted to the immediate Fruition of Heaven. There goes a common ſaying under his Name (which Pope *Innocent* the Third quotes [b] as Holy Scripture) That he who prays for a Martyr, does Injury to the Martyr, becauſe they attained to Perfection in this Life, and have no need of the Prayers of the [c] Church, as all

[z] Caſſian. Collat. 2. cap. 5. Vix a Presbytero Abbate Paſnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter Biothanatos reputatus, etiam Memoria & Oblatione pauſantium judicaretur indignus.

[a] Conc Bracar. 1. can. 35. [b] Innoc. in Decretal. Gregorij. Lib. 3. Tit. 41. cap. 5. Sacræ Scripturæ dicit auctoritas, quod injuriam facit Martyri, qui orat pro Martyre.

[c] Aug. Ser. 17. de Verbis Apoſtoli. T. 10. p. 132. Perfectio in hac vita nonnulla eſt, ad quam Sancti Martyres pervenerunt. Ideoque habet Eccleſiaſtica Diſciplina, quod Fideles noverunt, cum Martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipſis oretur, pro cæteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria eſt enim pro Martyre orare, cujus nos debemus Orationibus commendari.

all others have. Therefore he ſays [*d*], when they were named at the Altar, and their Memorials celebrated, they did not commemorate them as Perſons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that reſted in Peace, but rather as Men that prayed for the Church on Earth, that we might follow their Steps, who had attained to the Perfection of Charity in laying down their Lives for CHRIST, according to that Aphoriſm of CHRIST himſelf, *Greater Love than this hath no Man, that he lay down his Life for his Friend.* Upon this Account St. *Auſtin* thought the Oblations and Alms, that were uſually offered in the Church for all the Dead that had received Baptiſm, were only Thankſgivings for ſuch as were very good [*e*]; and Propitiations for thoſe that were not very bad; and for ſuch as were very Evil, though they were no Helps to them when they were Dead, yet they were ſome Conſolation to the Living. But as Biſhop *Uſher* [*f*] rightly obſerves, this was but a harſh Interpretation of the Prayers of the Church, to imagine that one and the ſame Act of praying ſhould be a Petition for ſome, and for others a Thankſgiving only: And therefore it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Church de-

[*d*] Aug Tract. 84. in Joan. T. 9. p. 185. Ad ipſam menſam non ſic eos commemoramus, quemadmodum alios qui in Pace requieſcunt, ſed magis ut (orent) ipſi pro nobis, ut eorum veſtigiis adhæreamus, quia impleverunt ipſi Charitatem, *&c.*

[*e*] Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. Cum ergo ſacrificia ſive Altaris ſive quarumcumque Eleemoſynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis Gratiarum actiones ſunt: pro non valde malis Propitiationes ſunt: pro valde malis etſi nulla ſunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualeſcunque vivorum Conſolationes ſunt. Quibus autem proſunt, aut ad hoc proſunt, ut ſit plena Remiſſio, aut certe tolerabilior fiat ipſa Damnatio. [*f*] Uſher's *Anſwer to the Challenge.* p. 142.

ſigned to pray for all; eſpecially ſince St. *Auſtin* [g] himſelf owns that the Church made Supplications for all that died in the Society of the Chriſtian and Catholick Faith, as all the ancient Forms of Prayer do manifeſtly evince beyond all Poſſibility of Exception.

Sect. 16. *Upon what Grounds the Ancient Church prayed for the Dead, Saints, Martyrs, Confeſſors, as well as all others.*

SUPPOSING then, that the Ancient Church made Prayers for Saints and Martyrs, as well as all others, it remains to be enquired, Upon what Grounds and Reaſons She obſerved this Cuſtom: Whether upon the Modern Suppoſition of a Purgatory-Fire, or upon other Reaſons more agreeable to ſuch a general Practice? That ſhe did not do it upon the Suppoſition of Purgatory, appears evidently from what has been already obſerved out of the publick Offices of the Church, that She prayed for all the Saints, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and even the Virgin *Mary* herſelf, and all other holy Men and Women from the Foundation of the World, who were ſuppoſed to be in a Place of Reſt and Happineſs, and not in any Place of Purgation or Torment. And this appears farther from the private Prayers made by St. *Ambroſe* [h] for the Emperors *Theodoſius*, and *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, and his own Brother *Saturus*; and the Directions he gives to *Fauſtinus* [i], not to weep for his Siſter, but to make Prayers and Oblations for her. For all theſe

[g] Aug. de Cura pro Mortuis. cap. 4. Non ſunt prætermittendæ ſupplicationes pro Spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in Chriſtiana & Catholica ſocietate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, ſub generali Commemoratione ſuſcepit Eccleſia. [h] Ambroſ. de Obitu Theodoſij. De obitu Valentin. De Obitu Fratris.

[i] Ep. 8. ad Fauſtin.

theſe were Perſons, of whom he had not the leaſt Doubt, but that their Souls were in Reſt and Happineſs. As all the Funeral-Service of the Ancients ſuppoſes, where they uſually ſung thoſe Verſes of the *Pſalms*, *Return again unto thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee*: And again, *I will fear no Evil, becauſe Thou art with me*: And again, *Thou art my Refuge from the Affliction that compaſſeth me about.* Which St. *Chryſoſtom* [*k*] often bids his Hearers remember, that whilſt they prayed for the deceaſed Party, they ſhould not weep and lament immoderately, as the *Heathen* did, but give GOD Thanks for taking him to a Place of Reſt and Security. Which is utterly inconſiſtent with their going into the dreadful Pains of Purgatory. St. *Auſtin* both prayed in private for his Mother *Monicha* [*l*], and alſo ſpeaks of the Church's Prayers for her at her Funeral, and afterward at the Altar; and yet he made no queſtion of her going hence from a State of Piety here to a State of Joy and Felicity hereafter. And after the ſame manner *Gregory Nazianzen* [*m*] prays GOD to receive the Soul of his Brother *Cæſarius*, who was lately regenerated by the Spirit in Baptiſm. It is certain theſe Prayers were not founded on a Belief of a Purgatory-Fire after Death, but upon a Suppoſition that they were going to a Place of Reſt and Happineſs, which was their firſt Reaſon for praying for them, That GOD would receive them to Himſelf, and deliver them from Condemnation. 2. Upon the ſame Preſumption ſome of their Prayers for the Dead were always Euchariſtical, or Thankſgivings for their Deliverance out of the Troubles of this

[*k*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1785. Hom. 39. de Dormientibus. T. 5. p. 423. Vid. Caſſian. Collat. 2. cap. 5.

[*l*] Aug. Confeſs. Lib. 9. cap. 12. & 13. [*m*] Naz. Orat. 10. p. 176.

this ſinful World. As appears not only from the foremention'd Teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtom*, but from the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [n], who in deſcribing their Funeral-Service, ſpeaks of the εὐχὴ εὐχαριστίας, the Euchariſtical Prayers, whereby they gave GOD Thanks not only for Martyrs, but all Chriſtians that died in the true Faith and Fear of GOD. A third Reaſon of Praying for them, was, Becauſe they juſtly conceived all Men to die with ſome Remainders of Frailty and Corruption, and therefore deſired that God would deal with them according to his Mercy, and not in ſtrict Juſtice according to their Merits. For no one then was thought to have any real Merit or Title to eternal Happineſs, but only upon GOD's Promiſes and Mercy. St. *Auſtin* diſcourſes excellently upon this Point in the Caſe of his Mother *Monicha*, after this manner: *I now pour out unto Thee, my God, another ſort of Tears for Thy Handmaid, flowing from a trembling Spirit, in Conſideration of the Danger that every Soul is in that dies in* Adam. *For although ſhe was made alive in Chriſt, and lived ſo in the Days of her Fleſh, as to bring Glory to Thy Name by her Faith and Practice: Yet I dare not ſay, that from the Time ſhe was regenerated by Baptiſm, no Word came out of her Mouth againſt Thy Command. And Thou haſt told us by him who is Truth itſelf, That* whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother, Thou Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire. *And wo to the moſt laudable Life of Man, if Thou ſhouldſt ſift and examine it without Mercy. But becauſe Thou art not extream to mark what is done amiſs, we have Hope and Confidence to find ſome* [o] *place and room for Indulgence with Thee. But who-*

[n] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 7. p. 408. [o] Aug. Confeſs. Lib. 9. cap. 13. Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia vero non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem apud te locum invenire

whoever reckons up his true Merits before Thee, what does he more than recount Thy own Gifts? O that all Men would know themſelves, and they that glory, glory in the Lord! I therefore, O my Praiſe, and my Life, the God of my Heart, ſetting aſide a little her good Actions, for which I joyfully give Thee Thanks, now make Interceſſion for the Sins of my Mother. Hear me through the Medicine of his Wounds, who hanged upon the Tree, and now ſitteth at Thy Right Hand to make Interceſſion for us. He adds a little after, that he believed GOD had granted what he asked: Yet he prays, That *the Lion and the Dragon might not interpoſe himſelf, either by his open Violence or ſubtilty. For ſhe would not anſwer, That ſhe was no Debtor, leſt the crafty Adverſary ſhould convict her and lay hold of her; but ſhe would anſwer, That her Sins were forgiven her by Him, to whom no Man can return what He gave to us without any Obligation. Let her therefore reſt in Peace with her Husband; And do Thou, my Lord God, inſpire all thoſe Thy Servants that read this, to remember Thy Handmaid* Monicha *at Thy Altar with* Patricius *her Conſort.* This was not a Prayer for Perſons in the Pains of Purgatory; but for ſuch as reſted in Peace, only without Dependance upon their own Merits, and with an humble Reliance upon GOD's Mercy, that He would not ſuffer them to be devoured by the roaring Lion, nor deal extreamly with them for the Sins of human Frailty. 4. Another like Reaſon for theſe Prayers, is that which we have heard before out of *Epiphanius* [p] That it was to put a Diſtinction between the Per-

invenire Indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera Merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? &c. Ego itaque, Laus mea & Vita mea, Deus cordis mei, ſepoſitis pauliſper bonis ejus actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meæ deprecor te, &c. Et credo jam feceris quod te rogo, &c. [p] Epiphan. Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7.

Perfection of CHRIST, and the Imperfection of all other Men, Saints, Martyrs, Apoſtles, Prophets, Confeſſors, *&c.* He being the only Perſon, for whom Prayer was not then made in the Church. 5. They prayed for all Chriſtians, as a Teſtimony both of their Reſpect and Love to the Dead, and of their own Belief of the Soul's Immortality; to ſhew, as *Epiphanius* words it in the ſame Place, That they believed, that they who were deceas'd were yet alive, and not extinguiſhed, but ſtill in Being, and living with the LORD. 6. Whereas the Soul is but in an imperfect State of Happineſs till the Reſurrection, when the whole Man ſhall obtain a compleat Victory over Death, and by the laſt Judgment be eſtabliſhed in an endleſs State of conſummate Happineſs and Glory; the Church had a particular Reſpect to this in Her Prayers for the Righteous, that both the Living and the Dead might finally attain this bleſſed Eſtate of a glorious Reſurrection. It is obſerved by ſome [*q*], that there are ſome Prayers yet extant in the *Roman Maſs*, which are conformable to this Opinion, as that which prays, That *God would abſolve the Souls of his Servants from every Bond of Sin, and bring them to the Glory of the Reſurrection*, &c.

ALL theſe were general Reaſons of Praying for the Dead, without the leaſt Intimation of their being tormented in the temporary Pains of a Purgatory-Fire. Beſides which, they had ſome particular Opinions, which tended to promote this Practice. For firſt, A great many of the Ancients believed, That the Souls of all the Righteous, except Martyrs, were ſequeſtred out of Heaven in ſome Place inviſible to mortal Eye, which they called *Hades*, or *Paradiſe*, or *Abraham's Boſom*, a Place of Refreſhment and

[*q*] Vid. du Moulin. *Novelty of Popery.* Lib. 7. chap. i. p. 459.

and Joy, where they expected a compleater Happineſs at the End of all Things. This is the known Opinion of *Hermes Paſtor*, *Juſtin Martyr*, Pope *Pius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Caius Romanus*, *Victorinus Martyr*, *Novatian*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Prudentius*, *Auſtin* and *Chryſoſtom*. Therefore in Praying for the Dead, they may be ſuppoſed to have ſome Reference to this, and to deſire that the Souls of the Righteous thus ſequeſtred for a time, might at laſt be brought to the perfect Fruition of Happineſs in Heaven. 2. Many of the Ancients held the Opinion of the *Milleniunm*, or the Reign of CHRIST a thouſand Years upon Earth, before the final Day of Judgment: And they ſuppoſed likewiſe, That Men ſhould riſe, ſome ſooner, ſome later to this happy State, according to their Merits and Preparations for it. And therefore ſome of them prayed for the Deceaſed on this Suppoſition, That they might obtain a Part in this Reſurrection, and a ſpeedier Admittance into this Kingdom: It being reckoned a Sort of Puniſhment, not to be admitted with the firſt that ſhould riſe to this State of Glory. *Tertullian* plainly refers [*r*] to this, when he ſays, Every little Offence is to be puniſhed by delaying Mens Reſurrection. And therefore he ſays [*s*], They were wont to pray for the Souls of the Deceaſed, That they might not only reſt in Peace for the Preſent, but alſo obtain Part in the firſt Reſurrection.

And

[*r*] Tertul. de Anima, cap. 58. Modicum quodque delictum mora Reſurrectionis luendum, &c. [*s*] De monogam. cap. 10. Pro anima ejus orat, & Refrigerium interim adpoſtulat ei, & in prima Reſurrectione conſortium. Confer. L. 3. cont. Marcion. cap. 24. Poſt mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur Sanctorum Reſurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius reſurgentium, &c.

And for this Reaſon St. *Ambroſe* [*t*] prayed for *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, That GOD would raiſe them with the firſt, and recompence their untimely Death with a timely Reſurrection. And he ſays elſewhere [*u*], That they that come not to the firſt Reſurrection, but are reſerved unto the ſecond, ſhall be burned until they fulfill the Time between the firſt and ſecond Reſurrection; or if they have not fulfilled that, they ſhall remain longer in Puniſhment. Therefore let us pray, That we may obtain a Part in the firſt Reſurrection. Biſhop *Uſher* [*x*] alſo ſhews out of ſome *Gothick Miſſals*, That the Church had anciently ſeveral Prayers directed to this very Purpoſe. 3. Many of the Ancients believed, that there would be a Fire of Probation, through which all muſt paſs at the laſt Day, even the Prophets and Apoſtles, and even the Virgin *Mary* herſelf not excepted. Which is aſſerted not only by *Origen* [*y*], *Irenæus* [*z*] and *Lactantius* [*a*], but alſo by St. *Ambroſe*, who ſays [*b*] after *Origen*, That all muſt paſs through the Flames, though it be *John* the Evangeliſt, though it be *Peter*. *The Sons of* Levi *ſhall be purged by Fire* [*c*], *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, &c. And theſe having been tried by Fire, ſhall ſay, We have paſſed through Fire and Water. And St. *Hilary* much after

[*t*] Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentin. ad finem. Te quæſo ſumme Deus, ut chariſſimos Juvenes matura reſurrectione ſuſcites & reſuſcites; ut immaturum hunc vitæ iſtius curſum matura reſurrectione compenſes. [*u*] Id. in Pſal. 1. Qui non veniunt ad primam Reſurrectionem, ſed ad ſecundam reſervantur, iſti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam & ſecundam reſurrectionem: aut ſi non impleverint, diutius in ſupplicio permanebunt. Ideo ergo rogemus, ut in prima reſurrectione partem habere mereamur. [*x*] Uſher. *Anſw. to the Challenge*, p. 151. [*y*] Orig. Hom 3. in Pſal. 36. p. 446. [*z*] Iren. Lib. 4. cap. 9. [*a*] Lactant. Lib. 7. cap. 21. [*b*] Ambroſ. Ser. 20. in Pſal. 118. [*c*] Id. Hom. 3. in Pſal. 36.

after the ſame manner [†], They that are baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, are yet to be perfected by the Fire of Judgment. For ſo he interprets thoſe Words of the Evangeliſt, *He ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire.* And again [*d*], Do we deſire the Day of Judgment, in which we muſt undergo the exact Scrutiny of Fire? in which we muſt give an Account of every idle Word: in which thoſe grievous Puniſhments for expiating Souls from Sin, muſt be endured? If the Virgin herſelf, who conceived God in her Womb, muſt undergo the Severity of Judgment, who is ſo bold as to deſire to be judged by GOD? There are many like Paſſages in *Gregory Nazianzen* [*e*], and *Nyſſen* [*f*], and St. *Jerom* [*g*], and St. *Auſtin* [*h*], which the *Romiſh* Writers commonly produce for the Fire of Purgatory, when as they plainly relate to this Purging Sacrament, as *Origen* [†] calls it, or in St. *Auſtin*'s Language, the Purging Pains of the Fire of Judgment at the laſt Day. And the Fear of this was another Reaſon of their Praying for the Dead. 4. Some of the Ancients thought likewiſe, that the Prayers of the Church were of ſome Uſe to mitigate the Pains of the damned Souls, though not effectual for their total Deliverance. And laſtly, That they ſerved to augment the Glory of the Saints in Happineſs. St. *Auſtin* [*i*] ſays, they were of Uſe to render the Damnation

[†] Hilar. in Mat. Canon. 2. p. 148. Quia baptizatis in Spiritu Sancto reliquum ſit conſummari igne Judicij.

[*d*] Id. Enarrat. in Pſal. 118. voce Gimel. p. 254. Cum ex omni ocioſo verbo rationem ſimus præſtituri, diem Judicij concupiſcemus, in quo nobis eſt indefeſſus ignis obeundus; in quo ſubeunda ſunt gravia illa expiandæ à peccatis animæ ſupplicia? &c. [*e*] Naz. Orat. 42. [*f*] Nyſſen. De Dormientibus. [*g*] Hieron. in Eſa. 66. [*h*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 20. cap. 25. [†] Orig. Hom. 14. in Luc. p. 223.

[*i*] Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. pro valde malis valere, ut tolerabilior ſit damnatio.

nation of the Wicked more tolerable. And this was the Opinion of *Prudentius* [*k*] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [*l*], who adviſes Men to pray for the Dead upon this Account, that it would bring ſome Conſolation to them, though but a little; or if none at all to them, yet it would be accepted of GOD as a pleaſing Sacrifice from thoſe that offered it. And the like may be read in *Paulinus* [*m*] and the Author of the Queſtions to *Antiochus*, under the Name of *Athanaſius* [*n*]. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays [*o*] farther, That their Prayers and Alms were of uſe to procure an Addition to the Rewards and Retribution of the Righteous. Theſe are all the Reaſons we meet with in the Ancients for Praying for Souls departed, none of which have any relation to their being tormented in the Fire of Purgatory, but moſt of them tend directly to overthrow it. Whence we may ſafely conclude, That though the Ancients generally prayed for the Dead, at leaſt from the Time of *Tertullian*, who firſt ſpeaks of it; yet they did it not upon thoſe Principles, which are now ſo ſtifly contended for in the *Romiſh* Church. Which is alſo evident from many ancient Forms ſtill remaining in the *Maſs-Book*, and the *Liturgies* of the Modern *Greeks*, who continue to pray for the Dead without any Belief of Purgatory, as it were eaſy to demonſtrate out of their Rituals, but that it is wholly foreign to the Deſign of the preſent Diſcourſe.

THERE

[*k*] Prudent. Cathemerinon. Carm. 5. de Cereo Paſchali. Sunt & Spiritibus ſæpe nocentibus Pœnarum celebres ſub Stygе Feriæ, Illa nocte ſacer qua rediit Deus Stagnis ad ſuperos ex Acheronticis. [*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. 21. in Act. & Hom. 32. in Mat. [*m*] Paulin. Ep. 19. [*n*] Athanaſ. Quæſt. ad Antioch. Q. 34. [*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 307. πρόδηλον γένηται μιᾶς καὶ ἀνταδόσεως.

Sect. 17.
A ſhort Account of the Diptychs, *and their Uſe in the ancient Church.*

THERE is one Thing more to be noted upon this Matter, That ſome time before they made Oblation for the Dead, it was uſual in ſome Ages to recite the Names of ſuch eminent Biſhops, or Saints or Martyrs, as were particularly to be mentioned in this Part of the Service. To this Purpoſe they had certain Books, which they called their holy Books, and commonly their *Diptychs*, from their being folded together, wherein the Names of ſuch Perſons were written, that the Deacon might rehearſe them, as Occaſion required, in the time of Divine-Service. Cardinal *Bona* [p] and *Schelſtrate* make three ſorts of theſe *Diptychs*; one, wherein the Names of Biſhops only were written, and more particularly ſuch Biſhops as had been Governours of that particular Church: A 2d, wherein the Names of the Living were written, who were eminent and conſpicuous either for any Office and Dignity, or ſome Benefaction and good Work, whereby they had deſerved well of the Church; in this Rank were the Patriarchs and Biſhops of great Sees, and the Biſhop and Clergy of that particular Church; together with the Emperors and Magiſtrates, and others moſt conſpicuous among the People: The 3d was, the Book containing the Names of ſuch as were deceaſed in Catholick Communion. The firſt and the laſt of theſe ſeem to be much the ſame, and the Conſideration of them is only proper to this Place. For the Recital of the Names of the Living, as Benefactors by their Oblations, has been ſpoken of already [*], and here

[p] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 12. n. 1. Schelſtrat. de Concilio Antiocheno. Can. 2. cap. 6. p. 216.

[*] Book XV. Chap. ii. n. 4. and Book II. Chap. xx. n. 5.

here we are only concerned with the Dead. Of this there is no mention made in the *Conſtitutions*, which ſeems to argue, that the Cuſtom of Rehearſing the *Diptychs* was not brought into the Rituals of that Church whence the Compiler of that Book made his Collections. But *Cyprian* [q] and *Tertullian* [r] ſpeak of them under another Name; and *Theodoret* mentions them in the Caſe of St. *Chryſoſtom*, whoſe Name for ſome time was left out of the *Diptychs*, becauſe he died excommunicate (though unjuſtly) by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and other *Eaſtern* Biſhops, with whom the *Weſtern* Church would not communicate [s] till they had reſtored his Name to the *Diptychs* again. The Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [t] gives this Account of them: That after the Salutation of the Kiſs of Peace, the *Diptychs* were read, which ſet forth the Names of thoſe who had lived righteouſly, and had attained to the Perfections of a vertuous Life; which was done, partly to excite and conduct the Living to the ſame happy State by following their good Example; and partly to celebrate the Memory of them as ſtill living, according to the Principles of Religion, and not properly dead, but only tranſlated by Death to a more divine Life. It appears from this Author, that theſe *Diptychs* were then read before the Conſecration, immediately after the Kiſs of Peace. And ſo it is in the Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas*, which makes frequent mention of them, and particularly in one Place [u] notes the Time of Reading them, namely after the Reading of

[q] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Plebem Furnitan. [r] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [s] Theod. Lib. 5. cap. 34.
[t] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 3. p. 253. & 254.
[u] Conc. Conſtant. ſub Menna. an. 536. Act. 5. Conc. Tom. 5. p. 181.

of the *Goſpel* and the *Creed:* For by this time the *Creed* was alſo become a Part of the Communion-Service in the *Eaſtern* Church: Therefore it is ſaid, after the Reading of the *Goſpel*, when the Communion-Service was begun (not ended, as the *Latin* Tranſlation falſely renders it) the *Creed* was read accotding to Cuſtom, τῆς ἁγίας μαθήματος καὶ τὸ συμβολικὸν λεχθέντος (not the Prayers and Prefaces going before the Oblation, as ſome Learned Men [x] not underſtanding the true Meaning of the Word, μάθημα, render it *Lectio*, and interpret it Prayers and Prefaces, which moſt certainly [*] ſignifies the *Creed* in this Place:) Then, after the Reading of the *Creed*, in the Time of the *Diptychs*, all the People ran and ſtood about the Altar with great Silence, to give Attention; and when the Deacon had named the four holy Synods, and the Archbiſhops of bleſſed Memory, *Euphemius*, *Macedonius* and *Leo*, they all with a loud Voice cried out, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, and after that with great Tranquillity the Divine-Service was piouſly performed. It is here obſervable, that the Recital of the *Diptychs* was before the Conſecration-Prayer, as it is repreſented in the Hierarchy of *Dionyſius* (though in the *Latin* Church it ſeems to have been otherwiſe) and that now it was uſual to mention the four firſt general Councils, to ſhew their Approbation of them. Which may be alſo evidenced from one of *Juſtinian*'s Letters to *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, now extant in the *Code* [y], wherein he aſſures him, That it was in vain for any

[x] Schelſtrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 217. [*] *See this proved before*, Book X. Chap. iii. n. 3. [y] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Tit. 1. de ſumma Trinitate Leg. 7. Nullus fruſtra nos turbet, ſpe vana innixus, quaſi nos contrarium quatuor Conciliis fecerimus, aut fieri à quibuſdam permittamus, aut aboleri eorundem Sanctorum Conciliorum piam Memoriam ex Eccleſiæ Diptychis ſuſtineamus. Vid. Evagrium. Lib. 4. c. 4. & 11.

one to trouble him upon any falſe Hopes, as if he had done, or ever would do, or ſuffer any other to do any thing contrary to the four Councils, or allow the pious Memory of them to be eraſed out of the *Diptychs* of the Church. Theſe therefore were of Uſe, partly to preſerve the Memory of ſuch eminent Men as were dead in the Communion of the Church, and partly to make honourable mention of ſuch General Councils as had eſtabliſhed the chief Articles of the Faith: And to eraſe the Names either of Men or Councils out of theſe *Diptychs*, was the ſame thing as to declare that they were Heterodox, and ſuch as they thought unworthy to hold Communion with, as Criminals, or ſome ways deviating from the Faith. Upon this Account St. *Cyprian* ordered the Name of *Geminius Victor* to be left out among thoſe that were commemorated at the holy Table [*a*], becauſe he had broken the Rules of the Church. And *Evagrius* obſerves [*b*] of *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, that his Name was ſtruck out of the holy Books, that is, the *Diptychs*, upon the Account of his heretical Opinions, after Death. And St. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, whom the *Donatiſts* falſely accuſed of being ordained by *Traditores*, or Men who had delivered up the *Bible* to be burned in Time of Perſecution, tells them, that if they could make good any real Charge againſt him, they would no longer name him among the reſt of the Biſhops, whom they beliveved to be faithful and innocent, at the Altar.

HAVING

[*a*] Cypr. Ep. 66. al. 1. ad Pleb Furnitan. [*b*] Evagr. Lib 4. cap. 38. ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλείφθη δ έλ]ων. &c. [*c*] Aug. Serm. 37. ex editis a Sirmondo. T. 10. p. 840. Inventus ſit prorſus reus, &c. deinceps eum ad altare inter Epiſcopos, quos fideles & innocentes credimus, non recitabimus.

HAVING made this ſhort Digreſſion concerning the *Diptychs* of the Church, I now return to the Order of the Service laid down in the *Conſtitutions*. Where next after Prayer for the Dead, Supplication is made for the living Members of that particular Church then aſſembled, and every diſtinct Order of Perſons in it. *We offer unto Thee* [*d*] *for this People, that Thou wouldſt make them, to the Glory of Thy Chriſt, a Royal Prieſthood and an Holy Nation; for all that live in Virginity and Chaſtity; for the Widows of the Church; for all that live in honeſt Marriage; for the Infants of Thy People; that none of us may be a Caſt-away; We pray Thee for this City, and all that dwell therein.* St. *Auſtin* likewiſe ſpeaks [*e*] of theſe Prayers at the Altar, for the faithful, that they by the Gift of GOD may perſevere in that wherein they have begun. Again [*f*], who ever heard the Prieſt praying over the Faithful, and ſaying, *Grant, O Lord, that they may perſevere in Thee unto the End,* and durſt either in Word or Thought reprehend that Prayer, and not rather anſwer *Amen* to ſuch a Benediction? *Chryſoſtom* in like manner deſcribing the Biſhop's Office, ſays [*g*], it is his Buſineſs to pray for a whole City, and not for a whole City only, but as an Ambaſſador for the whole World, That GOD would be propitious and merciful both

Sect. 18. *Next to the Dead, Prayer made for the Living Members of that particular Church, and every Order in it.*

[*d*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 12. [*e*] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Pro Fidelibus, ut in eo quod eſſe cæperunt, ejus munere perſeverent. [*f*] De Dono Perſeverantiæ cap. 23. Tom. 7. p. 571. Quis Sacerdotem ſuper Fideles Dominum invocantem, ſi quando dixit, Da illis Domine in te perſeverare uſque in finem, non ſolum voce auſus eſt, ſed ſaltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius ſuper ejus talem Benedictionem & corde credente & ore confitente reſpondit, Amen?

[*g*] Chryſ. de Sacerdot. Lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 93.

both to the Sins of the Living and the Dead. Which makes it the more probable, that the Prayers of the like Kind that occur in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s *Liturgy* [*b*], are but a Copy of ſuch Prayers as were then commonly uſed in the ancient Church.

Sect. 19. *For thoſe that are in Sickneſs, Slavery, Baniſhment, and Proſcription, and that travail by Sea or by Land.*

THE next Petition in the *Conſtitutions* is for all that are in Affliction, whether by Sickneſs, or Slavery, or Baniſhment, or Confiſcation and Proſcription: And for all that are expoſed to any Perils upon the Account of their neceſſary Travels by Sea or by Land. Of theſe Petitions I find no particular mention made in other Writers, ſave only in *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who ſays [*i*], after they had prayed for the common Peace of the Church, and the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings, and for their Armies and Allies, they alſo beſought GOD for all that were ſick and afflicted, or in any Kind of Want: And laſt of all they prayed for the Dead. By which we may judge, that though the Order of the Petitions was a little varied in the *Liturgies* of different Churches, yet the Subſtance was the ſame. And there is little Queſtion but the Sick and Diſtreſſed were remember'd in theſe Prayers in all the Churches; ſince in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer before the Oblation, there is expreſs Direction given to the People, to pray for the Sick, and thoſe that travel by Sea or by Land, and thoſe that are in the Mines, in Baniſhment, in Priſon, in Bonds and in Slavery, as I have ſhewed out of ſeveral Paſſages in St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Baſil*, and St. *Auſtin*, comparing them with the Form of

[*b*] Chryſ. Liturg. T. 3. p. 616. [*i*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 6.

of Bidding-Prayer for the whole State of CHRIST's Church in the *Conſtitutions* related before in the firſt Chapter of this Book. n. 2. and 3.

Sect. 20. *For Enemies and Perſecutors, Hereticks and Unbelievers.*

THE next Petition in the *Conſtitutions* is for their Enemies and Perſecutors, for Hereticks and Unbelievers, thoſe that are without the Pale of the Church, and wandring in Error; that GOD would convert them to good, and mitigate their Fury. And of this there are frequent Examples in the Writings of the Ancients. For nothing was more ſtrictly obſerved by the Ancients than to pray for their Enemies and Perſecutors, for Jews, Infidels and Hereticks; of which Dr. *Cave* [*k*] has given ſeveral Inſtances out of *Cyprian* [*l*], *Juſtin Martyr* [*m*], and *Irenæus* [*n*]. Which becauſe they may ſeem only to refer to their private Prayers, I will add a few more which more expreſsly relate to their publick Devotions. *Tertullian* [*o*] tells the Heathen, they were taught by the Scriptures (which they themſelves might read) to exhibit a more than ordinary Kindneſs toward Men, in praying to GOD for their Enemies, and wiſhing all good to their Perſecutors. For they had no greater Enemies or Perſecutors in thoſe Days than thoſe very Emperors for whom they made Supplications to GOD [*p*] as oft as they met in Publick, and for their Officers, and for the State of the World, and for the Peace and Tranquillity of their Affairs, and for the Duration of their Empire. *Arnobius* ſays their Churches were Oratories

[*k*] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Part 3. chap. 2 p. 242. [*l*] Paſſio Cypriani. [*m*] Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryphon. p. 254, 323, 333. [*n*] Iren Lib. 3. cap. 46. [*o*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 31.

[*p*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Coimus in cœtum— Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro miniſtris eorum, pro Statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.

[q], wherein they prayed for Peace and Pardon, for the Magiſtrates and Princes, for their Armies, for their Friends and for their Enemies. St. *Auſtin* [r] particularly notes, that the Prieſt was wont to exhort the People at the Altar to pray for Unbelievers, that GOD would convert them to the Faith. And again, when does not the Church [†] pray for Infidels and her Enemies, that they may believe? In like manner Pope *Celeſtine* [s] ſays, the whole Church prayed with the Prieſt for Infidels, that Faith might be given unto them; for Idolaters, that they might be delivered from the Errors of their Impiety; for Jews, that the Veil being taken away from their Heart, the Light of Truth may appear unto them; for Hereticks, that they may repent by returning to the Catholick Faith; for Schiſmaticks, that they may receive the Spirit of Charity reviving from the Dead. And the ſame is repeated by *Gennadius* [t], or whoever was the Author of the Book *de Eccleſiaſticis Dogmatibus* under the Name of St. *Auſtin*. And in both Places it is ſaid, that this Practice was derived from the Apoſtles, and uniformly obſerved in the whole Catholick Church throughout the World. Nay it is evident they prayed for many Hereticks, whom they looked upon as guilty of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. For they did not eſteem that Sin abſo-

[q] Arnob. Lib. 4. p. 181. [r] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem. &c.

[†] De Dono Perſeverantiæ cap. 23. Quando non oratum eſt in Eccleſia pro Infidelibus atque Inimicis ejus ut crederent?

[s] Cœleſtin. Ep. 1. ad Gallos. cap. 11. Poſtulant & precantur, ut Infidelibus donetur fides, ut Idololatræ ab impietatis ſuæ liberentur errore, ut Judæis, ablato cordis velamine, lux veritatis appareat, ut Hæretici Catholicæ fidei perceptione reſipiſcant, ut Schiſmatici Spiritum redivivæ charitatis accipiant. &c. [t] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. chap. 30.

abſolutely Unpardonable, but only puniſhable in both Worlds, on Suppoſition that Men did not repent of it. Therefore St. *Auſtin* [*u*] and others ſay, they prayed that they might repent and be ſaved; and accordingly admitted them to the Peace and Communion of the Church upon their Repentance. In a Word, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays [*x*], they prayed for the whole World without Exception; they prayed that all Men whatſoever might be converted.

Sect. 21. *For the Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents.*

NEXT after Hereticks and Unbelievers, Prayer is made in the *Conſtitutions* for the Catechumens of the Church, that GOD would perfect them in the Faith; for the Energumens, that were vexed with evil Spirits, that GOD would cleanſe and deliver them from the Power and Agitation of the wicked One; and for the Penitents, that GOD would accept their Repentance, and pardon both them and the whole Church whatever Offences they had committed againſt him. Whence we may obſerve, that theſe ſeveral Orders were three diſtinct Times prayed for in Divine-Service; firſt in the Prayers that were ſaid for them in their Preſence, in the firſt Service, called, the Service of the Catechumens; ſecondly in the Deacons Bidding-Prayer for the whole State of the Church before the Oblation; and now again thirdly after the Oblation, when all Orders of Men were prayed for at the Sacrifice of the Altar. This laſt is particularly noted by St. *Auſtin* [*y*] who ſays, the Prieſt at

[*u*] Aug. Retractat. Lib. 1. cap. 19. De quocunque peſſimo in hac vita conſtituto non eſt utique deſperandum; nec pro illo imprudenter oratur, de quo non deſperatur.

[*x*] Chryſ. Hom. in 1 Theſ. p. 1413. Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. [*y*] Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vitalem. Audis ſacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro Incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, & pro Catechumenis ut eis deſiderium Regenerationis inſpiret.

at the Altar was uſed to exhort the People to pray for the Catechumens, that GOD would inſpire them with a Deſire of Regeneration. And ſo it is ſaid by *Celeſtine* [z], and *Gennadius* [a] in the ſame Words, that they prayed for the Lapſers, that GOD would grant them the Remedy of Repentance; and for the Catechumens, that GOD would bring them to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and open to them the great Treaſure of his heavenly Mercy.

Sect. 22. *For healthful and fruitful Seaſons.*

IN the next Place they prayed for Health and Proviſion; for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increaſe of the Fruits of the Earth, as the *Conſtitutions* word it, that they participating of the good Things which GOD beſtows upon Men, might without ceaſing praiſe him, who giveth Food to all Fleſh. St. *Chryſoſtom* among other particulars of this Prayer notes the ſame [b] when he ſays they prayed for the Earth and Sea, for the Air, and for the whole World. And though *Tertullian* does not particularly ſpeak of this Prayer, yet he intimates in general, that they were uſed to pray for Temporal Bleſſings, and among theſe for Rain, as in the German Expedition of *Marcus Aurelius* when his Army was ſaved from periſhing for Want of Water by the Prayers of the Chriſtians, which never failed [c] to drive away Drought upon other Occaſions. The like Obſervation is made by *Cyprian*

[z] Celeſtin. Ep. 1. ad Gallos. cap. 11. Poſtulant & precantur, ut Lapſis pœnitentiæ remedia conferantur; ut denique Catechumenis ad regenerationis Sacramenta perductis, cœleſtis miſericordiæ aula reſeretur. [a] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogmat. cap. 30. [b] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745.

[c] Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. 4. Quando non Geniculationibus & Jejunationibus noſtris ſiccitates ſunt depulſæ?

Cyprian [*d*] that they offered continually Supplications and Prayers Night and Day for Victory over their Enemies, for obtaining Rain, for averting or moderating all Adverſities, and for the Peace and Safety of the Publick. Which being their continual Prayer Night and Day, 'tis not to be doubted but that it was Part of thoſe Prayers which they now more ſolemnly offered at the Altar.

Sect. 23. *For all their abſent Brethren.*

THE laſt Petition, mentioned in the *Conſtitutions*, is for all thoſe that upon Juſt and reaſonable Cauſe were then Abſent from the Aſſembly, that GOD would preſerve both the Abſent and Preſent in Godlineſs, and keep them without Change, Blame, or Rebuke, and finally gather them all into the Kingdom of his CHRIST, the Univerſal King, and God of all Things in Nature both viſible and inviſible. The like Petition is mentioned by *Chryſoſtom* in one of his *Homilies* upon St. *Matthew* [*e*] according to the old Tranſlation of *Anianus:* The Prieſt, ſays he, when he ſtands at the Altar, bids us give Thanks, for the whole World, for thoſe that are Abſent and thoſe that are Preſent, for thoſe that are gone before us, and thoſe that ſhall be after us, while the Sacrifice lies upon the Altar.

Sect. 24. *Concluding with a* Doxology *to the whole Trinity.*

THE Concluſion of this long Prayer in the *Conſtitutions* is a *Doxology* to the whole Trinity: And this was of old the conſtant Cuſtom of the Church, as is evident from

[*d*] Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 193. Pro arcendis hoſtibus & imbribus impetrandis, & vel auferendis vel temperandis adverſis, rogamus ſemper & preces fundimus. &c.

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 26. in Mat. p. 259. Altari aſſiſtens Sacerdos, pro univerſo orbe terrarum, pro abſentibus atque præſentibus, pro his qui poſtea futuri ſunt, Sacrificio illo propoſito, Deo nos gratias jubet offerre.

from what has been largely diſcourſed before [*] both concerning the Adoration of the whole Trinity, as the true and only Object of Divine Worſhip, and alſo concerning the Uſe of Divine Hymns and *Doxologies to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.* Of which I need ſay no more in this Place to confirm the Order laid down in the *Conſtitutions,* ſave only to obſerve, That two of the moſt ancient Writers we have, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* [*f*] do both mention one Part of this *Doxology,* as particularly uſed at the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt. Irenæus* ſays the *Valentinians* made it an Argument for their *Æones,* that the Catholicks uſed to ſay εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων in their Euchariſtical Service; referring to the laſt Words of this *Doxology, World without End.* And *Tertullian* particularly asks thoſe who frequented the Roman Games, how they could give Teſtimony to a Gladiator, with that Mouth wherewith they had anſwered *Amen* at the *Euchariſt?* Or ſay, *World without End* to any other but CHRIST their GOD? implying, that the Glorification of CHRIST with this *Doxology* was then a noted Cloſe of the Conſecration Prayer, as the Author of the *Conſtitutions* repreſents it.

Sect. 25. *To which the People with one Voice anſwered,* Amen.

AND from this Paſſage of *Tertullian* it is no leſs apparent, that the People were uſed to ſubjoin their *Amen* to the End of this Prayer. Which was a Cuſtom as Ancient as the Apoſtles. For St. *Paul* ſeems plainly to allude to it 1 *Cor.* xiv. 16. When thou

[*] Book XIII. Chap. ii. Book XIV. Chap. ii. n. 1.

[*f*] Iren. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt — ex ore quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, Gladiatori teſtimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alij omnino dicere, niſi Deo Chriſto? *See* Chryſoſtom. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. *in the next Section.*

thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit, that is, bleſs the Cup of Bleſſing, or the *Euchariſt*, in an unknown Tongue, *How ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayſt?* *Juſtin Martyr* [†] in deſcribing the Chriſtian Rites in celebrating the *Euchariſt*, takes Notice of this among the reſt, that when the Preſident had ended his Prayers and Thankſgivings over the Bread and Wine, all the People aſſented with their Acclamations, ſaying, *Amen.* And *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* [g] ſpeaking of one who had never been truly baptized, but had often notwithſtanding been Partaker of the *Euchariſt*, ſays, they would not rebaptize him, becauſe he had for a long Time heard the Thankſgiving, and joined with the People in the common *Amen.* And ſo *Chryſoſtom* interpreting thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *How ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayſt?* Plainly refers to this Cuſtom: For he ſays, ἰδιώτης, which we render, unlearned, ſignifies a private Man or Lay-man: And if thou bleſſeſt in an unknown Tongue [*b*], not underſtanding what thou ſayſt, nor being able to interpret it, the Lay-man cannot anſwer, *Amen.* For he not hearing thoſe Words, *World without End*, which is the Cloſe of the Thankſgiving, cannot ſay, *Amen.* Where we may obſerve, both that the Conſecration Prayer ended with a known *Doxology* to the Holy Trinity, whereof thoſe Words, *World without End*, were a Part; and that the People hearing them anſwered, *Amen.*

THERE

[†] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. [g] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 9. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. p. 640.

Sect. 26. *Then followed the* Creed *in ſuch Churches as had made it a Part of their* Liturgy.

THERE is no mention made in the *Conſtitutions* of the formal Rehearſing either of the *Creed* or the *Lord's Prayer* in this Place immediately after Conſecration: And the Reaſon is, That when that Author made his Collections, it was not yet become the Cuſtom to uſe the *Creed* in any other Service, but only that of Baptiſm in any Church whatſoever. The firſt that brought the Rehearſing of the *Creed* into the *Liturgy*, was *Peter Fullo* Biſhop of *Antioch* about the Year 471. And after that about the Year 511, *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* brought it into Uſe in the *Liturgy* of that Church, as we learn from the Hiſtory of *Theodorus* [*i*] *Lector*. After that we find it mentioned in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas*, *An.* 536, as being rehearſed [*k*] according to Cuſtom between the Reading of the *Goſpel* and the *Diptychs*. After this about the Year 589, it was brought into the *Spaniſh* Church at the Petition of King *Recaredus*, by the Order of the third Council of *Toledo*, and that after the Example of the *Eaſtern* Churches: And then it was ordered to be ſaid [*l*] with a loud Voice after the Conſecration, immediately before the *Lord's Prayer*, to be an Inſtruction, and Declaration of the Peoples true Faith, who were lately converted from *Arianiſm*, and to prepare

[*i*] Theodor. Lector. Lib. 2. p. 563. & 566. [*k*] Conc. Conſtant. Sub Menna. Act. 1. p. 41. Edit. Crab. quæ eſt Act. 5. Edit. Labbe. [*l*] Conc. Tolet. 3. can. 2. Conſultu Reccaredi Regis conſtituit Synodus, ut per omnes Eccleſias Hiſpaniæ & Galliciæ, ſecundum formam Orientalium Eccleſiarum, Concilij Conſtantinopolitani, hoc eſt, centum quinquaginta Epiſcoporum Symbolum Fidei recitetur: Et priuſquam Dominica dicatur Oratio, voce clara prædicetur, quo fides vera manifeſta ſit & teſtimonium habeat, &c,

prepare their Hearts, thus purified by Faith, to the following Reception of the Body and Blood of CHRIST. It was not thus uſed in the *Gallican Liturgy* till the Time of *Charles the Great*; nor in the *Roman Liturgy*, till the Beginning of the eleventh Century, as I have more fully ſhewed [*] in a former Book. But as it had earlier Admittance in the *Spaniſh* Churches, ſo the Rehearſal of it appears to have been appropriated to the Time after Conſecration, between that and the *Lord's Prayer*, which in moſt Churches they were uſed to repeat alſo toward the Concluſion of theſe Prayers following the Oblation.

Sect. 27. *And the* Lord's Prayer.

FOR though there be no mention made of the *Lord's Prayer* in this Part of the Service in the *Conſtitutions*, (as probably not in Uſe in that Church whence the Author made his Collections) yet we are aſſured it was almoſt generally uſed in all Churches. For not only the forementioned Council of *Toledo*, and the fourth of the ſame Name [*m*], ſpeak of the *Lord's Prayer* as coming before the Reception of the Bread and Wine in the *Spaniſh* Churches; but St. *Auſtin* ſays [*n*], the whole Church almoſt concluded the Oblation Prayers with it. And I have already confirmed his Obſervation from ſeveral other Paſſages of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and St. *Jerom*, and *Gregory the Great* [*], who was alſo of Opinion that the Apoſtles uſed no other Prayer to conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, [*o*] but

[*] Book X. Chap. 4. n. 17. [*m*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. [*n*] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. [*] *See theſe cited at large*, Book XIII. Chap. vii. n. 3.

[o] but the *Lord's Prayer*. In which he was ſomething ſingular. For there is little queſtion, but that the Apoſtles conſecrated as the Lord had done before them. As to the Practice of the Church in uſing the *Lord's Prayer* at this Time, *Optatus* [p] ſays it was become ſo cuſtomary by neceſſary Preſcript, that the *Donatiſts* themſelves did not pretend to omit it. And in ſome of the *French* Councils [q] an Order was made, That no Lay-man, even of thoſe that did not communicate, ſhould leave the Aſſembly before the *Lord's Prayer* was ſaid.

Sect. 28. Abſolution *of Renitents immediately before the* Lord's Prayer, *with occaſional Benedictions.*

IT appears from the laſt mentioned Place of *Optatus*, that when any Penitents were to receive a ſolemn *Abſolution*, in the *African* Church, it was uſually given them about this time between the offering of the Oblation and the *Lord's Prayer*. For he tells the *Donatiſts* [r] that the very Moment after they had given Penitents Impoſition of Hands and Pardon of Sins, they were obliged to turn to the Altar, and ſay the *Lord's Prayer*. Which implies that *Abſolution* was commonly given at this Seaſon. And here we may ſuppoſe ſeveral of thoſe Prayers of Thankſgiving or Benediction, mentioned in the Seventh and Eighth Books of the *Conſtitutions*, to have had their place, ſuch as the Benediction of the holy Oyl, and the Thankſgiving for the Firſt-fruits of the Earth [s]: There being no Time more proper for ſuch

[o] Greg. Lib. 7. Ep. 64. orationem Dominicam idcirco mox poſt Precem dicimus, quia mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo orationem Oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent.

[p] Optat. Lib. 2. p. 57. [q] Conc. Aurelian. 3. can. 28. De Miſſis nullus Laicorum ante diſcedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio. &c. [r] Optat. ibid. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis, & delicta donatis, mox ad altare converſi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non poteſtis.

[s] Vid. Conſtit. Lib. 7. cap. 42. Lib. 8. cap. 40.

ſuch Things, than the Time of the Oblation. But as nothing is ſaid poſitively and expreſsly of this Matter, I only mention it by way of Conjecture.

Sect. 29. *Benediction after the* Lord's Prayer.

BUT there is more Evidence of another ſort of Benediction following the *Lord's Prayer* in many of the *Weſtern* Churches. For the third Council of *Orleance* [*t*] had a Canon which orders all Lay-men to ſtay till they had heard the *Lord's Prayer*, and received the Biſhop's Benediction. Cardinal *Bona* [*u*] underſtands this of the final Benediction, which followed the Communion; but *Mabillon* more truly interprets it of the Benediction before Communion [*x*], immediately following the *Lord's Prayer*. Concerning which there is a Canon in the Council of *Toledo* [*y*] which cenſures ſome Prieſts for Communicating immediately after the *Lord's Prayer*, without giving the Benediction to the People; and orders, That for the future, the Benediction ſhould follow the *Lord's Prayer*, and after that the Communion. And by this we are to interpret ſome [*z*] other Canons of the Councils of *Agde* and *Orleance*, which order the People not to depart till the Biſhop has given his Benediction. Which is to be underſtood of the Benediction before the Communion, and not that which came after it. And this

[*t*] Conc. Aurel. 3. can. 28. De Miſſis nullus Laicorum ante diſcedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio, & ſi Epiſcopus fuerit præſens, ejus Benedictio expectetur. [*u*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 16. n. 2 [*x*] Mabil. de Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 4. n. 14. [*y*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. Nonnulli Sacerdotes poſt dictam Orationem Dominicam ſtatim communicant, & poſtea Benedictionem in populo dant: quod deinceps interdicimus: ſed poſt Orationem Dominicam Benedictio in populum ſequatur, & tunc demum Corporis & ſanguinis Dominici Sacramentum ſumatur. [*z*] Conc. Agathen. Can. 44. & 47. Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 28.

agrees with the Order in the *Conſtitutions*; where after the long Prayer of the Conſecration and Oblation is ended [*a*], the Biſhop is appointed to give this ſhort Benediction, *The Peace of God be with you all*: And then after the Deacon has rehearſed a Bidding-Prayer (much to the ſame Purpoſe with the former, for the whole Church, and every Order in it, and particularly for the Sacrifice then offered, That GOD would receive it to his Altar in Heaven for a ſweet-ſmelling Savour by the Mediation of CHRIST) the Biſhop again recommends the People to GOD in another Prayer, which the *Greeks* call εὐλογία, and the *Latins Commendatio*, and *Benedictio*, the Commendation, or Benediction, beſeeching GOD to ſanctify their Bodies and Souls, and to make them worthy of the good Things He has ſet before them; which relates both to their worthy Reception of the *Euchariſt*, and their obtaining eternal Life. This is what I conceive thoſe *Latin* Councils call the Biſhop's Benediction, of which there are ſome Inſtances in the *Moſarabick Liturgy*, and many more in the old *Gothick* and *Gallican Miſſals* lately publiſhed by *Mabillon*, where the Prayer that follows the Collect after the *Lord's Prayer*, is always ſtyled, *Benedictio Populi*, the Benediction of the People: And theſe are commonly different Prayers, compoſed with ſome reſpect to the ſeveral Feſtivals to which they were appropriated, like the *Collects* before the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* in our preſent *Liturgy*. But I return to the ancient Service.

Sect. 30. *Of the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer after the Conſecration.*

THERE is one Petition in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer after the Conſecration in the *Conſtitutions*, which is not to be paſſed over in Silence; that is, That GOD would receive the Gift that was then offered to Him, to his Altar

[*a*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

Altar in Heaven, as a ſweet-ſmelling Savour, by the Mediation of his CHRIST. This Form ſeems as ancient as *Irenæus*: For he ſays, We have an Altar [*b*] in Heaven, and thither our Prayers and Oblations are directed. And ſo it is in all the *Greek Liturgies*, with a ſmall Variation. And frequently in the *Mozarabick Liturgy* [*c*] and the old *Gothick Miſſal* publiſhed by *Mabillon* [*d*], there are Prayers for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt to ſanctify the Gifts, and make them the Body and Blood of CHRIST, even after the Repetition of the Words, *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Blood*; which evidently ſhews, that the ancient Formers of the *Liturgy*, did not think the Conſecration to be effected by the bare Repetition of thoſe Words, but by Prayer for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Elements of Bread and Wine. And it is very remarkable, that even in the preſent Canon of the *Roman Maß*, there is ſtill ſuch a Prayer as this remaining after what they call Conſecration: The Prieſt offering the *Hoſt*, ſays, *Be pleaſed to look upon theſe Things with a favourable and propitious*

[*b*] Iren. Lib. 4. cap. 34. Eſt altare in cœlis, illuc Preces noſtræ & Oblationes diriguntur. [*c*] Miſſa Mozarab. in Natali Domini. Item Dominica 2. & 5. Poſt Epiphan. & Domin. 1. & 3. Quadrageſimæ. Die Paſchatis. & Domin. 3. poſt Paſch. *cited by* Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 5. [*d*] Miſſal. Gothic. ap. Mabil. Lib. 3. p. 314. in Feſto Aſſumptionis. Deſcendat, Domine, in his Sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coæternus & cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut Oblationem quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porrigimus, cœleſti permutatione, te Sanctificante, ſumamus: ut tranſlata fruge in Corpore, Calice in Cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis, &c. It. Miſſa in Circumciſione ibid. p. 202. Hoc Sacrificium ſuſcipere & benedicere & Sanctificare digneris, ut fiat nobis Euchariſtia Legitima, &c. Vid. ibid. Miſſa 20. in Cathedra Petri. p. 228. & Miſſa 65. in Feſto Leodegarij. p. 285. & Miſſa 27. in Symboli Traditione. p. 235. Miſſa 77. Dominicalis. p. 296.

Eye [*e*], *as Thou wert pleaſed to accept the Gifts of* Abel *Thy righteous Servant.* He adds, *We beſeech Thee, Almighty God, to command that theſe Things may be carried by the Hands of Thy holy Angels to Thy Altar on high.* Concluding, *By Chriſt our Lord, by whom Thou doſt always create, ſanctify, quicken and bleſs theſe good Things unto us.* Theſe Words in this Prayer, as our *Polemical* Writers [*f*] have rightly obſerved, were uſed before *Tranſubſtantiation* was invented, and when the Conſecration was thought to be made by Prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the Words, *This is my Body.* And then they were good Senſe, when they were ſaid over Bread and Wine, to conſecrate them into the Memorial and Symbols of CHRIST's Body and Blood. But now they are become abſurd and contrary to the primitive Intention. For how can the real Body and Blood of CHRIST be called theſe Gifts? or be compared to the Sacrifice of *Abel*, who offered a Beaſt? How can Men pray (without Indignity to the Son of GOD) That the Sacrifice of GOD's only Son may be as acceptable to GOD as the Sacrifice of *Abel* was? Or how does CHRIST, who ſits at the Right Hand of the Father, need the Mediation of Angels to be carried or preſented to his Father at the heavenly Altar? With what Propriety of Speech can CHRIST be called, *All theſe good Things?* And the good Things *which God createth always, and quickneth, and ſanctifieth always?* Doth GOD

[*e*] Miſſal. Roman. in Canone Miſſæ. p. 300. Antwerp. 1574. Supra quæ propitio ac ſereno vultu reſpicere digneris, ut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui juſti Abel —Supplices te rogamus Deus Omnipotens, jube hæc perferri per manus ſancti angeli tui in ſublime altare tuum.— Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, per quem Domine hæc omnia ſemper nobis bona creas, ſanctificas, vivificas, benedicis. [*f*] Vid. Du Moulin. *Novelty of Popery.* Lib. 7. chap. 5. p. 730. *and* Buckler *of Faith.* p. 510.

GOD create, and quicken, and bleſs JESUS CHRIST by JESUS CHRIST? It is proper to ſay all this of the Gifts, ſuppoſing them ſtill to be real Bread and Wine; but altogether improper, if they are tranſubſtantiated into the Natural Fleſh and Blood of CHRIST. Whence we may conclude, that the firſt Compilers of this Prayer knew nothing of the new Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which makes this Prayer abſurd in every Syllable of it; to enter here no farther upon a Debate concerning the Change which is made in the Elements by Conſecration, which every one knows where to find diſcuſſed at large in our Polemical Writers, and ſomething will be ſaid of it hereafter under the Head of Adoration, *Chap.* V. *n.* 4.

Sect. 31. *Of the Form,* Sancta Sanctis, *and the Hymn,* Glory be to God on high.

IMMEDIATELY after the Benediction of the Biſhop, the Deacon in the *Conſtitutions* is appointed to ſay, προσχωμεν, Let us give Attention. And then the Biſhop calling to the People, ſays, ἁγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy Things for thoſe that are Holy.* To which the People anſwer, *There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jeſus Chriſt, to the Glory of God the Father, who is Bleſſed for ever,* Amen. *Glory be to God in the Higheſt, and on Earth Peace, good Will towards Men. Hoſanna to the Son of* David. *Bleſſed be God the Lord, that came in the Name of the Lord, and appeared unto us; Hoſanna in the Higheſt. Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* takes Notice of one Part of this in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, where it came immediately after the *Lord's Prayer.* After that, ſays he [g], the Prieſt ſays, Holy Things for Holy Men. Holy are the Elements which lie before us, when they have received the Illapſe of the

[g] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 16.

Holy Ghoſt upon them. Holy are ye alſo, when ye are endowed with the Holy Ghoſt: And therefore Holy Things agree to Holy Men. Then ye ſay, There is one Holy, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt. There is one truly Holy, who is Holy by Nature: Ye alſo are Holy, not by Nature, but by Participation, by Exerciſe and Prayer. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo [*h*] takes Notice of the ſame, comparing the Service of the Church to the Olympick Exerciſes, where the Herald ſtands and cries with a loud Voice, Does any one accuſe this Man? Is he a Thief? Is he a Slave? Is he an Immoral Man? So the Eccleſiaſtical Herald, the Prieſt, ſtanding on high, calls ſome, and rejects others, not with his Hand, but with his Tongue: For when he ſays, Holy Things for Holy Men, he ſays this, If any one be not Holy, let him not come here. He does not barely ſay, If he be free from Sin, but, if he be Holy: For it does not make a Man Holy, merely to be free from Sin, but to be endowed with the Spirit, and to abound with good Works. Therefore he ſays, I would not have you only free from Mire, but White and Beautiful. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo often ſpeaks of the Hymn, *Glory be to God on High*, and tells us particularly that it was ſung at the *Euchariſt*, as well as upon other Occaſions. GOD, ſays he [*i*], firſt brought the Angels down hither, and then carried Men up to them. The Earth was made an Heaven, becauſe Heaven was about to receive the Things of the Earth. Therefore, εὐχαειστοῦντες λέγομεν, when we give Thanks, or celebrate the *Euchariſt*, we ſay, *Glory be to God on high, in Earth Peace, good Will towards Men.* And that by the Thankſgiving he here means the *Euchariſt*,

[*h*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1873. *See alſo* Hom. 123. Tom. 5. p. 809, 810. Edit. Savil. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Coloſ. p. 1337.

riſt, is evident from another Place, where he more preciſely ſpecifies the Time of uſing it in the Communion-Service: ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, &c. They who are Communicants know [*k*] what Hymn is ſung by the Spirits above; what the Cherubims ſay above; what the Angels ſaid, *Glory be to God on high.* Therefore our Hymns come after our Pſalmody, as ſomething more perfect. Meaning that Pſalms were ſung in the Service of the Catechumens; but theſe Hymns, the Cherubical Hymn and the Angelical Hymn, more peculiarly in the Communion-Service.

Sect. 32. *Of the Pſalm inviting to the Communion.*

ST. *Cyril* adds [*m*] that after the Hymn, *One Holy*, a Pſalm was ſung inviting them to participate of the Holy Myſteries, which was the Thirty-firſt Pſalm, and particularly thoſe Words, *Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious.* Which, he tells them, was not to be eſtimated or diſcerned by their corporeal Taſte, but by the Certainty of Faith. For they were not bid to taſte Bread and Wine, but the Antitype or Sign of the Body and Blood of CHRIST. This was a diſtinct Pſalm from thoſe which were uſed to be ſung afterward whilſt the People were Communicating: For this was an Invitatory to communicate, but the other were for Meditation and Devotion whilſt they were actually partaking; of which there will be Occaſion to ſay ſomething farther in the next Chapter.

Sect. 33. *The Conſecration always performed with an audible Voice.*

HERE we muſt note two Things more which concern the Conſecration in general, in Oppoſition to the Corruptions of later Ages. Firſt, That as all Divine-Service was in a known Tongue, ſo particularly

[*k*] Hom. 9. in Coloſ. p. 1380.

[*l*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 17.

cularly the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt* was ordered to be pronounced both intelligibly and audibly, that the People might hear it, and anſwer, *Amen.* The contrary Practice now prevails in the *Roman* Church: But both *Habertus* [*m*] and *Bona* [*n*] own it to be an Innovation, of which there is no Footſtep till the tenth Age, when firſt the ancient Cuſtom was ſuperſeded. It would be Impertinent to produce Authorities for a Thing that is ſo plainly confeſs'd and beyond Diſpute. And therefore I ſhall only note one Thing upon this Point, that when ſome little grumbling of this Diſeaſe began to appear in the Time of *Juſtinian*, he checked it in its firſt Symptoms, by a ſevere Law [*o*], commanding all Biſhops and Presbyters to make the Divine Oblation, and the Prayers us'd in Baptiſm, not in ſecret, or with a low and muttering Voice, but ſo as all the faithful People might hear them, to the greater Devotion of their Souls, and the greater Praiſe and Glory of GOD. For ſo the Holy Apoſtle teaches, ſaying in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *If thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit only, how ſhall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Therefore if any Biſhop or Presbyter contemn this Rule, they muſt give an Account hereof in the dreadfull Judgment of our GOD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST; and we, when they come to our Knowledge, will not ſuffer

[*m*] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſer. 9. p. 145.

[*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 1.

[*o*] Juſtin. Novel. 137. cap. 6. Jubemus omnes Epiſcopos & Presbyteros non in Secreto, ſed cum ea Voce quæ à fideli Populo exaudiatur, Divinam Oblationem & Precationem quæ fit in Baptiſmate Sancto, facere, ut inde audientium animi in majorem Devotionem & Dei Laudationem & Benedictonem efferantur, &c.

ſer them to remain quiet and unpuniſhed. It is well for the Roman Church, that the Canon Law is ſuperior to the Civil: Elſe ſuch an horrible Abuſe of all righteous both Divine and Human Laws would not go without its juſt Revenges. This is one of thoſe many good Laws for which the Church is beholden to that learned Emperor; whom yet *Baronius* [p] for the Sake of theſe very Laws does beſpatter and rally, as an ignorant *Analphabetus*, an impious Heretick, an Invader of Divine Rights, a Man ſick of the common Diſtemper of Kings, and whatever a partial Hiſtorian could think of, that was indecent to be ſaid, who was himſelf indeed ſick with Prejudice in Favour of the common Abuſes and Corruptions of his own Church, among which this is one of the moſt flaming and intolerable, to pray every Day in an unheard and unknown Tongue, ſo contrary to the Authority of the Apoſtle, and the Rules of the Primitive Church, and the Edification of Chriſtian People, and the common Senſe and Reaſon of Mankind. [q]

Sect. 34. *And with breaking of Bread to repreſent our Saviour's Paſſion.*

THE other Ceremony to be noted in the Practice of the Ancients is, that in conſecrating the *Euchariſt* they always brake the Bread in Conformity to our Saviour's Example, to repreſent his Paſſion and Crucifixion. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks of this as a general Cuſtom [r], when the *Euchariſt* was divided or broken, to let every one of the People take his Part. And St. *Auſtin* [s] ſays the whole Church obſerved

[p] Baron. an. 528. Tom. 7. p. 144. [q] *See* Chamier *againſt* Bellarmin, *and* Jewel *againſt* Harding *upon this Subject.*

[r] Clem. Strom. Lib. 1. p. 318. [s] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin.

obſerved it, in Bleſſing the Bread, to break it for Diſtribution. The Reader that pleaſes may find other Teſtimonies collected by *Hoſpinian* [*t*] out of *Irenæus* [*u*] *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [*x*], *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* [*y*] and *Cyril* of *Alexandria* [*z*] and St. *Chryſoſtom* [*a*]. Neither does *Bona* [*b*] himſelf deny this, but proves it farther from *Gregory Nazianzen* [*c*] and *Cæſarius Arelatenſis*, and all the older *Ritualiſts*, and *Liturgies*, of which he ſays there is not any that does not preſcribe this breaking of Bread, the *Greeks* into four Parts, the *Latins* into three, and the *Mozarabick Liturgy* into Nine Parts. Which is alſo noted by *Mabillon* [*d*] who adds, that theſe Nine Parts in that *Liturgy* are characterized by ſo many ſeveral Names, *viz.* Incarnation, Nativity, Circumciſion, Epiphany or Manifeſtation, Paſſion, Death, Reſurrection, Glory and Kingdom. Which is a little Deviation from the Simplicity of the ancient Church, yet not ſo culpable as the Practice of the preſent Roman Church, where inſtead of breaking Bread for the Communicants to partake of it, they only break a ſingle Wafer into Three Parts (of which no one partakes) only to retain a Shadow of the ancient Cuſtom. *Bona* indeed calls this breaking of Bread according to CHRIST's Inſtitution, or rather breaking of CHRIST's Body under the Species of Bread, when yet according to their Doctrine CHRIST's Body is not broken, neither is it Bread but the Species of Bread, nor com-

[*t*] Hoſpin. Hiſt. Sacrament. p. 30.
[*u*] Iren. Lib. 4. cap. 34. [*x*] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hier. cap. 3.
[*y*] Theoph. Ep. Paſchal. 1. [*z*] Cyril. in Joan. Lib. 14.
[*a*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. [*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. [*c*] Naz. Ep. 240. ad Amphiloc. [*d*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gall. Lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 12. Sub hæc frangit Hoſtiam in novem particulas, quæ his nominibus deſignantur, Corporatio, Nativitas, Circumciſio, Apparitio, Paſſio, Mors, Reſurrectio, Gloria, Regnum.

common Bread, but a Wafer, whereof the ſpecies is only broken, not the Subſtance, and that not for communicating, but a ſhow, to make Men believe they are Retainers of an ancient Cuſtom. The firſt Diſputers againſt the Reformation are more Ingenuous. They freely own, that the *Roman* Church has made an Alteration [*e*], only they ſay ſhe had good Reaſons for it, leſt in breaking the Bread ſome Danger might happen, and ſome Crumbs or Particles of it periſh; and then again, becauſe the Pope has Power to alter any Thing relating to the Sacrament, according to the Exigency of Time and Place, if it only concerns the Ornament or Accidentals of it. As if CHRIST himſelf could not have foreſeen any Dangers that might happen, or given as prudent Orders as the Pope concerning his own Inſtitution! But it is ſufficient to have obſerved this Variation of the Church of *Rome*, though in a ſmaller Matter, from the Primitive Practice, together with their Reaſons for ſuch a Change; of which the Reader may ſee more in *Chamier* or Bp. *Jewel*, who have more particularly canvaſſed and examined all the Pleas that are offered on the other ſide by the Advocates of that Church for this and many other Alterations [*f*]. I now go on with the Primitive Account, which leads us next to conſider the Communicants themſelves who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the Manner of Communicating and receiving it.

[*e*] Salmero. Tract. 30. in Act. ap. Chamier. de Euch. Lib. 7. cap. 11. n. 26. p. 384. [*f*] Vid. Chamier. *ubi ſupra.* Jewel. *Reply to* Harding. *Artic.* 11. p. 327.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Communicants, or Perſons who were allowed to receive this SACRAMENT, *and the Manner of receiving it.*

Sect. 1. *All Perſons except Catechumens, and Penitents obliged to receive the* Euchariſt.

NOW that we are come to the Act of Communicating, we muſt firſt conſider what Perſons were allowed, or rather obliged, to receive this Holy Sacrament, and then after what Manner they received it. For the firſt, we are to remember, what has been often obſerved before, That as ſoon as the Service of the Catechumens was ended, a Deacon was uſed to call upon all Catechumens and thoſe that were under Penance, to withdraw; and admoniſh all others to ſtay at the Prayers of the Faithful, and make their Oblation, and receive the Communion. Whence it is evident, that the moſt ancient and primitive Cuſtom, was for all that were allowed to ſtay and communicate in Prayers, to communicate in the participation of the *Euchariſt* alſo, except only the laſt Claſs of Penitents, who were admitted to hear the Prayers, but not to make their Oblation, nor receive the Communion; whence they had the Name of *Conſiſtentes*, Co-ſtanders, becauſe they might ſtay to communicate in the Prayers, but ſtill λίχα προσφορᾶς, without the Oblation, as the ancient Canons word it. Theſe only excepted, all other baptized Perſons were not only permitted, but by the Rules of the Church obliged to communicate in the *Euchariſt*, under Pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. The moſt ancient Canons are very expreſs to this Purpoſe. Among thoſe called the

the *Apoſtolical Canons* [*a*] there is one runs in theſe Words: "All ſuch of the Faithful as come to Church, and hear the Scriptures read, but ſtay not the Prayers, and to partake of the Holy Communion, ought to be ſuſpended as Authors of Diſorder in the Church. Which the Council of *Antioch* [*b*] repeats with a little Enlargement: All ſuch as come into the Church of GOD, and hear the Holy Scriptures read, but "do not" communicate with the People in Prayer, "and refuſe to partake of the *Euchariſt*; which is a "diſorderly Practice, ought to be caſt out of the "Church, till they confeſs their Fault, and bring "forth Fruits of Repentance; when if they ask Par-"don, they may obtain it." *Martin Bracarenſis* [*c*] puts this Canon into his Collection for the Uſe of the *Spaniſh* Church. And *Gratian* [*d*] alledges a Decree of Pope *Anacletus*, which orders all to communicate when the Conſecration was ended, if they would not be caſt out of the Church: For ſo the Apoſtles appointed, and the holy *Roman* Church obſerved that Order. Which though it be a ſuppoſititious Decree, yet it is made in Conformity to the ancient Diſcipline, and ſhews the Practice that was then prevailing even in the *Roman* Church.

Sect. 2. *When and how this Diſcipline began firſt to relax.*

IN St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Time ſome began to deſire they might have Liberty to ſtay during the Performance of the whole Office, and yet not be obliged to communicate. They were not willing to be accounted Penitents, and

[*a*] Canon. Apoſt. 10. Vid. can. 8. ibid. *for the Clergy*.
[*b*] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. [*c*] Martin. Bracarent. Collect. Canon. c. 18. [*d*] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 10. Peracta Conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apoſtoli ſtatuerunt, & Sancta Romana tenet Eccleſia.

and be driven out with them; and yet they would not be Communicants, and orderly partake with the Church. Againſt theſe St. *Chryſoſtom* inveighs, after his uſual manner, with a great deal of Eloquence, and becoming Sharpneſs. Are you unworthy of the Sacrifice, and unfit to partake [*e*] of it? (For that was their Plea:) Neither then are you worthy of the Prayers. Do you not hear the Church's Herald ſtanding, and proclaiming, All ye that are Penitents, withdraw? All they that do not communicate, are Penitents. If thou art of the Number of Penitents, thou mayſt not partake. For he that is not a Partaker, is a Penitent. Why does he ſay, All ye that cannot pray, be gone? And why do you impudently ſtay? You are not one of thoſe, you'll ſay, but of thoſe that may partake. Conſider, I pray, and ſeriouſly weigh the Matter. The Royal Table is prepared, the Angels ſtand miniſtring by, the LORD Himſelf is preſent, and do you ſtand yawning as an idle Spectator only? Your Garments are defiled, and are you under no Concern? Yea, but, ſay you, they are clean. Then ſit down, and partake. The King comes daily to ſee the Gueſts, and diſcourſes with them all: And now He ſays in your Conſciences, Friends, How come you to ſtand here, not having on a Wedding Garment? He ſaid not, Why art thou ſet down? But before he was ſet down, before he was entred, He pronounced him unworthy. For He ſaid not, Why art thou ſet down? But, *Why cameſt thou in hither?* The ſame now He ſays to every one of us, that ſtand here with an impudent Boldneſs. For every one that does not partake, is ſhameleſs and impudent. They that are in Sin, are for this Reaſon firſt caſt out. As

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051.

As therefore none of thoſe, who are not initiated, ought to be preſent; ſo neither any of thoſe who are initiated, if they be defiled. Tell me, if any one that is invited to a Feaſt, waſhes his Hands, and ſits down, and is ready for the Table, and yet after all eats not, does he not affront him that invited him? Were it not better, that ſuch a Man ſhould not be preſent? Likewiſe thou alſo art preſent, thou haſt ſung the Hymn, and made Profeſſion with the reſt that thou art one of thoſe that art Worthy, in that thou didſt not depart with the Unworthy. How is it that thou remaineſt, and yet doſt not partake at the Table? Thou ſayſt, I am unworthy. Thou art then unworthy alſo of the Communion of Prayers. I have tranſcribed this long, but elegant Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom*, to ſhew, that in his Time by the Rules of the Church none were allowed to refrain from partaking of the *Euchariſt* upon the Pretence of Unworthineſs, who were not deemed unworthy to be preſent at the Prayers alſo.

BUT in the very next Age this Diſcipline was a little relaxed, and Men who would not communicate, were not only permitted, but injoyned to ſtay during the whole Service, till after the *Lord's Prayer* and the Biſhop's Benediction; which, as has been ſhewed in the laſt Chapter (*n.* 29.) was not till the whole Conſecration was ended, immediately before the Act of Partaking: At which Time this Sort of Non-Communicants were diſmiſſed with a ſolemn Prayer, called the *Benediction*, as appears from the Councils of *Orleance* and *Agde*, before referred to. For the Council of *Agde* gives ſpecial Order [*f*], That

[*f*] Conc. Agathen. can. 44. Miſſas die Dominica Secularibus audire ſpeciali Ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante Benedictionem Sacerdotis egredi populus non præſumat. &c.

That all Secular Men on the *Lord's Day*, ſhould ſtay to hear *Maß*, and not depart before the Biſhop's Benediction. And the Council of *Orleance* [g] ſays the ſame, That the People ſhould not depart before the Solemnity of the *Maß* was ended; that is, till the Conſecration Prayers were compleated; and then, if the Biſhop were not preſent, they ſhould receive the Benediction of the Prieſt. So that what in *Chryſoſtom*'s Time was reckoned a Crime, was preſently after accounted a Piece of Devotion, for the People to ſtay and hear the whole Solemnity of the Service to the Time of Communicating, and then they might depart without partaking of the Communion. Which was plainly a Relaxation of the ancient Diſcipline, and a Deviation from the primitive Practice.

Sect. 3. *When firſt the Uſe of* Eulogiæ *came in, inſtead of the* Euchariſt, *for ſuch as would not communicate.*

AND this brought in another Innovation along with it, That ſuch as would not communicate, might yet partake of the *Eulogiæ*, or a ſort of conſecrated Bread diſtinct from the *Euchariſt*. The *Eulogiæ* in the more ancient Writers, is the very ſame with the *Euchariſt*, and uſed by them to ſignify the ſame Thing as St. *Paul* means, when he ſays, *The Cup of Bleſſing*, ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, *which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt?* 1 Cor. x. 16. And ſo it is always uſed by *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Chryſoſtom*, as Learned Men [h] have obſerved out of many Places of their

[g] Conc. Aurelian. 1. can. 28. Cum ad celebrandas Miſſas in Dei nomine convenitur, populus non ante diſcedat, quam Miſſæ ſolennitas compleatur: Et ubi Epiſcopus non fuerit, Benedictionem accipiat ſacerdotis.

[h] Vid. Caſaubon. Exercit. 16. in Baron. n. 33. Albertin. de Euchariſt. p. 749. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce εὐλογία. *And* Bona *himſelf owns it.*

their Writings. But in after-Ages it was diſtinguiſhed from the *Euchariſt*, as ſomething that after a ſort ſupplied the Room of it. The Council of *Nante* [*i*] about the Year 890, ordered the Presbyters to keep ſome Part of the Peoples Oblations till after the Service, that ſuch as were not prepared to communicate, might on every Feſtival and Lord's Day receive ſome of this *Eulogia*, when bleſſed with a proper Benediction. Some Collectors of the Canons [*k*] aſcribe this Decree to Pope *Pius* the Martyr, who lived in the ſecond Century: But *Bona* ingenuouſly owns [*l*] that to be a Forgery, and ſays farther, that the Men who father this Decree upon him, conſidered not that in his Time there was no ſuch Thing as this Kind of *Eulogia* in the Church, about which *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and all their Co-temporaries are altogether ſilent; becauſe in thoſe Days all that were preſent at the Sacrifice, were wont to communicate; but theſe *Eulogiæ* were invented in after-Ages for thoſe who could not or would not be Partakers of the Holy Myſteries. This is an ingenuous Confeſſion of that Learned Writer, who, where the Cauſe of his Church is not deeply concerned, commonly ſpeaks his Mind with a great deal of Freedom, and uſes a juſt Liberty in taxing the Innovations of the Monks and Schoolmen.

Sect. 4. *The Corruption of private and ſolitary* Maſs, *unknown to former Ages.*

BUT in the Buſineſs of private or ſolitary *Maß*, where the Credit and Intereſt of the *Roman* Church is more immediately concerned, he acts a little more like an Artiſt, and labours to palliate what he can-

[*i*] Conc. Nannetens. can. 9. Partes inciſas habeat in vaſe nitido & convenienti, ut poſt Miſſarum Solennia, qui communicare non fuerint parati, Eulogias omni die Dominico, & in diebus Feſtis exinde accipiant, quæ cum Benedictione prius faciat.

[*k*] Crab. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 87. [*l*] Bona. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 12.

not either heartily or ſolidly defend. That we call *ſolitary Maſs*, where the Prieſt receives alone without any other Communicants, and ſometimes ſays the Office alone without any Aſſiſtants: Such are all thoſe private and ſolitary *Maſſes* in the *Roman* Church, which are ſaid at their private Altars in the Corners of their Churches, without the Preſence of any but the Prieſt alone, and all thoſe publick *Maſſes*, where none but the Prieſt receives, though there be many Spectators of the Action. As there is no Agreement of either of theſe with the Inſtitution of CHRIST, but a direct Oppoſition to it: (For that was deſigned to be a Communion among many: *We being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are all Partakers of that one Bread*: Which is impoſſible where there are no Comunicants:) So there is not the leaſt Footſtep of any ſuch Practice in the Primitive Church. *Bellarmin* offers faintly ſome poor Conjectures about it, whilſt he fairly owns [*m*], that there is no expreſs Teſtimony to be found among the Ancients, that they ever offered the Sacrifice without the Communion of one or more Perſons beſide the Prieſt. All his Conjectures are meer Trifles, and the firſt of them directly againſt himſelf. For he would have his Reader conjecture from the Council of *Nante* cited by *Ivo* [*n*], that the Ancients allowed of ſolitary *Maß* by the Prieſt alone, becauſe that Council takes Occaſion to mention the Practice, only

[*m*] Bellarmin. de Miſſa. Lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 821. Nuſquam expreſſe legitur à Veteribus oblatum Sacrificium ſine Communione alicujus vel aliquorum præter ipſum Sacerdotem.

[*n*] Conc. Nannetenſ. apud Ivonem. Part. 3. cap. 70. Definivit Sanctum Concilium, ut nullus Presbyter ſolus præſumat Miſſam celebrare. Cui enim dicit, Dominus vobiſcum, ſurſum Corda, aut Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro, cum nullus ſit qui reſpondeat? — Si hæc muris & parietibus inſuſurraverit, ridiculoſum erit. Quapropter illa periculoſa Superſtitio maxime à Monaſteriis Monachorum exterminanda eſt. &c.

only to forbid and cenſure it. Which it does in very ſevere Terms, which it will not be amiſs here to tranſcribe, to ſhew what Oppoſition the Corruption met with, as ſoon as it began to appear among the Monks, who were the firſt Inventers of it. The holy Council, ſay they, gives ſtrict Order, That no Presbyter ſhall preſume to celebrate *Maß* by himſelf alone. For to whom ſhall he ſay, *The Lord be with you*; or *Lift up your Hearts*; or *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God*; when there is none to anſwer him? Or how ſhall he ſay thoſe Words in the Canon itſelf, *All that are here preſent*, when there is no one preſent with him? Or whom does he invite to pray, when he ſays, *Let us pray*; when there is no one to pray with him? Therefore he muſt either paſs over theſe Things in Silence; and ſo not only make the Sacrifice imperfect, and incur that terrible Sentence which ſays, *If any one ſhall take away from this, God ſhall take away his Part out of the Book of Life*: Or elſe, if he mutters theſe Things to the bare Stones and Walls, it will be ridiculous. Therefore this dangerous Superſtition is by all means to be exterminated, eſpecially out of the Monaſteries of the Monks. And let all Prelates take care, that the Preſbyters in Convents and other Churches have always ſome Fellow-workers or Attendants in the Celebration of *Maß*. One muſt needs conclude, that *Bellarmin* was driven to very hard Shifts in Defence of a deſperate Cauſe, when he was forced to alledge this Canon as a Proof of the Practice of ſolitary *Maſs* among the Ancients, which does not ſo much as prove it to be a lawful Practice among the Moderns, but is ſuch a flaming Evidence againſt it, as a Novelty, that makes Nonſence of all their Service, and makes them ſpeak to the Walls, and is by all means to be exterminated out of the Monaſteries, where it firſt began, as a dangerous and ridiculous Superſti-

tion. Cardinal *Bona* is not much happier than *Bellarmin* in his Management of this Point. For in one Chapter he undertakes [o] to prove ſolitary *Maſs* a Novelty, unknown to the ancient Church, and againſt the very Tenour of the preſent *Roman* Canon: And in the next Chapter he pretends to prove, That private *Maſs*, without Communicants or Aſſiſtants, is a very ancient and laudable Practice. Firſt he tells us, That the very Tenour of the *Maſs*, and the Practice of the ancient Church evince, that the Sacrifice was originally inſtituted principally to be publickly and ſolemnly performed by the Clergy and People ſtanding, offering and communicating together [p]. For all the Prayers, and the very Words of the Canon are ſpoken in the Plural Number, as in the Name of Many. Hence it is, that the Prieſt inviting the People to pray, ſays, *Let us pray.* And when he ſalutes them, he ſays, *The Lord be with you.* And then the People being admoniſhed to lift up their Hearts unto GOD, anſwer, *We lift them up unto the Lord.* Hence it is, that in the very Canon he always prays in the Name of the People gathered together, of which giving ſeveral Inſtances, he infers, that from thence it is clear, that the *Maſs* is nothing elſe but the Action of the Prieſt and whole Congregation; which he ſays, is prov'd farther from thoſe Words of the Prayer, *Omnium circumſtantium*, &c. *All that ſtand here, whoſe Faith and Devotion is known to Thee:* Which cannot be wreſted to any other Senſe. And that all that were perſent did communicate, he ſays appears from thoſe Words of the Prieſt, when he prays, That *the Body and Blood of Chriſt may be to all that receive to Eternal Life.* And

[o] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 13. n. 2.

[p] Et quidem ab initio ſic Sacrificium principaliter inſtitutum fuiſſe, ut publice ac ſolenniter fieret, Clero & Populo aſtante, offerente, ac communicante, ipſe Tenor Miſſæ & Veteris Eccleſiæ Praxis evincunt, &c.

And after the Communion, he ſays, *What we have received with our Mouths, let us receive with a pure Mind:* And, *Thou haſt filled Thy Family with Thy Gifts:* And almoſt all the Prayers, which are ſaid after Communicating, are of the ſame Tenour, becauſe no others could be preſent but ſuch as could offer and partake of the Sacrament. Which he proves from *Cyprian* and Pope *Leo*, and the *Apoſtolical Canons*, and the Council of *Antioch*. To theſe he adds the Teſtimonies of *Micrologus*, and *Odo Cameracenſis*, and *Stephanus Eduenſis*, concerning the ſame Practice of the Primitive Church, which they own was different from that of their own Times, when ſolitary *Maſs* was brought in by the Monks. Nay, he adds, that ſolitary *Maſs* was forbidden by ſeveral Councils and Canons expreſsly, when it began to appear. Among which he relates the forementioned Canon of the Council of *Nante*, and the Council of *Mets* under *Leo* III. Can. 43. and the *Capitular* of the Kings of *France*, collected by *Benedictus Levita*, Lib. 5. cap. 93. and the *Capitular* of *Theodulphus Aurelianenſis*, cap. 7. And the *Synodical Epiſtle* of *Ratherius Veronenſis*, publiſhed by *Dacherius. Spicileg.* Tom. II. And the Synod of *Paris* under *Gregory* IV. *An.* 829. Which is moſt remarkable, becauſe it ſhews us both the Original, and the Grounds and Motives that introduced this Corruption. A very culpable Cuſtom, ſay they, [q] is crept in in many Places, partly by

[q] Conc. Paris. Lib. 1. cap. 48. Irrepſit in pleriſque locis partim Incuria partim Avaritia, reprehenſibilis uſus & congrua emendatione dignus, eo quod nonnulli Preſbyterorum ſine Miniſtris Miſſarum ſolennia frequentent. Unde conveniendus, imo interrogandus nobis videtur hujuſmodi corporis & Sanguinis Domini ſollicitarius Conſecrator, quibus dicit, Dominus vobiſcum, & à quo illi reſpondetur, Et cum Spiritu tuo: Vel pro quibus Supplicando Domino inter cætera, Memento Domine, & Omnium circumſtan-

Negligence, and partly by Covetouſneſs, which ought by all means to be reformed, that ſome Preſbyters celebrate *Maſs* without any Attendants. Whence it is proper to convene, and ask every ſuch buiſy Conſecrator of the Body and Blood of the Lord, To whom he uſes thoſe Words, *The Lord be with you?* And who anſwers him, *And with Thy Spirit?* Or for whom he ſupplicates the LORD, when he ſays among other Things, *Remember thoſe that ſtand about me*; when there are none ſtanding about him? Which Cuſtom therefore, being contrary to Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and bringing a Reproach upon ſo great a Myſtery, it ſeems good to us all in common to inhibit it for the future; and that every Biſhop take Care, That no Presbyter within his Dioceſe ſhall preſume to celebrate *Maſs* by himſelf alone. *Bona* owns, that all theſe Councils prohibited ſolitary *Maſs* upon this Ground, That it made all ſuch Expreſſions as thoſe, *The Lord be with you*; and, *Lift up your Hearts*, &c. to be Non-ſence and abſurd. And he adds ſome Canons out of *Gratian* [r] under the Name of Pope *Soter* and *Anacletus*, which ordain, That no Presbyter ſhould preſume to celebrate *Maſs*, except there be at leaſt two preſent beſide himſelf. Upon which he takes Occaſion to make this juſt Reflection, That theſe could not be the Decrees of thoſe ancient Biſhops, becauſe [s] ſolitary *Maß* was a thing never heard of in their Age, and he could not think they would make Laws to take away

cumſtantium, cum nullus circumſtet, dicit? Quæ conſuetudo, quia Apoſtolicæ & Eccleſiaſticæ authoritati refragatur, & tanto Myſterio quandam Dehonorationem irrogare videtur, omnibus nobis in commune viſum eſt, ut deinceps hujuſmodi uſus inhibeatur, provideatque unuſquiſque Epiſcoporum, ne in ſua Parochia quiſquam Presbyterorum Miſſam ſolus celebrare præſumat. [r] Grat. De Conſecrat. Diſt. 1. cap. 61.

[s] Bona. Lib. 1. cap. 13. n. 6.

away an Abuſe, which crept not in till ſome Ages after among the Monks. Would it not now perfectly amaze a Man after all this, to hear the ſame Author declare in the very firſt Words of his next Chapter, that the laudable Cuſtom of private *Maſs*, without any Communicants, or the preſence of any but one Prieſt, was always the Practice of the Church? And that the Hereticks who hate *Liturgy* (ſo he wrongfully [*t*] ſlanders the Proteſtants) could never demonſtrate that it was prohibited; when he himſelf has ſo fully demonſtrated it to their Hands. But now he will undertake to demonſtrate on the contrary, That private *Maſs*, in whatever Senſe we take it, was always lawful and in uſe, from the moſt approved Teſtimonies and Examples of the primitive Fathers. And yet when he comes to the Proof, he offers not ſo much as one Inſtance of that Sort of private *Maſs*, where the Prieſt miniſters alone without the Preſence of the People, which is called ſolitary *Maſs*, though he approves of it; nor ſays he any thing material for that Sort of private *Maſs*, where the Prieſt partakes without any other Communicants, though in the Preſence of all the People; but only urges a miſtaken Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom* (urg'd before by *Bellarmin* and *Harding*, and anſwered by *Chamier*) where he ſays, In vain do we ſtand at the Altar, in vain is the daily Sacrifice offered, there is [*u*] no one that communicates. As if *Chryſoſtom*

[*t*] Bona. ibid. cap. 14. n. 1. Semper viguit in Eccleſia Privatæ Miſſæ, uno ſaltem præſente & miniſtrante, laudabilis conſuetudo, quam Hæretici Miſoliturgi aliquando prohibitam fuiſſe nunquam poterunt demonſtrare. Sive enim dicatur Privata ex eo quod ſolus ſacerdos in ea communicet; ſive quia vel unus duntaxat vel pauci ei interſint, ſive alia quacunque ex cauſa: Semper eam licitam, ſemperque in uſu fuiſſe, probatiſſimis Patrum Teſtimoniis & exemplis demonſtrabo.

[*u*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ.

had had neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor any of the People to communicate with him above once a Year in the great Churches of *Antioch* or *Conſtantinople*, becauſe many were ſo negligent as not to communicate oftner; whom he juſtly reproves in an hyperbolical way of ſpeaking, which does not mean that he communicated by himſelf alone, but that many were guilty of a groſs Neglect, whilſt others, as *Chryſoſtom* himſelf ſays, were more aſſiduous and zealous. And yet this is one of the beſt Proofs *Bona* can give after all his Boaſts of Demonſtration. which ſhews, that he was as hard put to it to defend an indefenſible Cauſe, as Pope *Innocent* III, was, when to anſwer the Objection that is urged in this very Argument, How the Prieſt can ſay, *Orate pro me Fratres, Pray for me Brethren*; ſeeing he is alone without Aſſiſtants? he is forced to ſay [x], That it is piouſly to be believed, that the Angels of GOD are our Aſſociates in Prayer. Which Anſwer does not untie the Knot [y]: For though they are preſent, they are not preſent as Communicants to eat and drink with us the Body and Blood of CHRIST. Neither can the Prieſt be ſuppoſed to ſay to the Angels, *Take eat, this is my Body*; according to CHRIST's Command. Evident therefore it is beyond all Contradiction, That whether we conſider the Inſtitution itſelf; or the Practice of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Church; or the Tenour of all the ancient *Liturgies*, which the Reader may find collected in *Chamier* [z], with the Teſtimonies of the Fathers upon the Subject; or even the Tenour of the *Roman Maſs* itſelf; or the Oppoſition this Corruption met with

[x] Innoc. de Offic. Miſſæ. Lib. 2. cap. 25. ap. Juel. Art. 1. p. 51. [y] Bona. Lib. 2. cap. 5. n. 1. *Says, This Anſwer of the Pope is Piouſly meant, but not ſolid and true.* [z] Chamier. de Euchar. Lib. 7. chap. 17, 18, 19.

with at its firſt Appearance; the *Euchariſt* was not intended as a Sacrifice to be offered by a ſingle Prieſt in a Corner, without Communicants or Aſſiſtants, or for the Intention, or at the Coſt of ſome particular Perſon paying for it; but for a Communion to the whole Church, as the primitive Church always uſed it; and there is not an Example to be found of the contrary Practice.

Sect. 5. *Other Corruptions countenanced ſometime in the Roman Church, as the* Miſſa Sicca *and* Nautica, *and thoſe call'd* Biſaciata & Triſaciata.

BUT this was not the only Abuſe which crept into the Church in later Ages againſt the ancient way of celebrating the Holy Communion. For *Bona* himſelf [a] takes Notice of two more, which he cenſures as heartily as one could wiſh, though they found great Encouragement in their Time. They are Corruptions not commonly met with in other Authors, and therefore I will give the Reader an Account of them from him. The one was called *Miſſa Sicca, Dry Maſs*, which, he ſays, took its Original from the Indiſcreet and private Devotion of ſome, to which the Prieſts were too indulgent. It is a mere Mask and Counterfeit of the true Maſs, properly dry and jejune, as wanting not only the Conſecration, but the Participation of the Body of CHRIST, like that Supper of Wood and Stones, which *Lampridius* and other Hiſtorians tell us was exhibited by *Heliogabalus* to his Gueſts. Yet it ſo prevailed, that for ſome Time it was not diſpleaſing to holy and learned Men. *Gulielmus de Nangiaco* the Monk, in his Book of the Actions of St. *Lewis*, tells how that moſt religious King, returning from beyond Sea into *France*, had the Body of CHRIST in the Ship

[a] Bona. Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 15. n. 6.

Ship with him, and there ordered all the whole Divine Office and the Mass, except the Canon, to be daily celebrated. *Genebrard* commends the same in his Book of the Apostolical *Liturgy*, cap. 30. for those that cannot be in the Morning at the whole Mass, and for those that are at Sea, and for the sick, and for any that are buried in the Afternoon; to which purpose he says it was used in his Time, and he himself was present at *Turin*, *an.* 1587. at the Funeral of a Nobleman, who was buried in the Evening with such a Mass sung by a Deacon and a Subdeacon. *Durandus* describes the Manner of celebrating it in his *Rationale*, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. where he says the whole Office may all be used except the Canon, although in the Preface the Angels seem to be invocated to the Consecration of the Body and Blood of CHRIST. This, *Durantus* in his Book *de Ritibus* Lib. 2. cap. 4. says, is called the Seamens Mass, *Missa Nautica*, because it was used to be celebrated at Sea and upon the Rivers, where by Reason of the Motion and Agitation of the Waves the Sacrifice could hardly be offered without Danger of Effusion. *Estius* declaims bitterly against it in his thirteenth Theological Oration, and *Laurentius Laudmeter* Lib. 2. *de Veteri Clerico & Monacho* cap. 84. who both think it began a little before the Time of *Guido de Monte Rocherij*, who commends and approves it in his Book, called, *Manipulus Curatorum*. Tract. 4. cap. 7. which he wrote, *An.* 1333. but they were mistaken, because, as we have seen, it was in Use in the Time of King *Lewis* the Saint, who died *An.* 1270. and *Durandus* describes it, who lived at the same Time. And *Petrus Cantor* who flourished *An.* 1200. mentions it in his Book called, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, c. 29. Where he says, Dry Mass is without the Grace and Moisture of the consecrated *Eucharist*, and profits the Faithful nothing. *Bona* adds, that now by the provi-

provident Care of Biſhops, he thinks, this Abuſe is abrogated and deſtroyed all over the World. But he forgets to tell his Reader one Thing, which *Durantus* tells us [*b*] freely out of *Navarre*, that the Book called [*c*], *Liber Sacerdotalis*, where this *Miſſa Nautica*, is deſcribed, was approved by *Leo* the tenth, and that St. *Antonine* ſpeaks of it as uſed at *Tholouſe* by way of Funeral Office in the Afternoon. By which we may judge, how great Corruptions may creep into the Church, and then gain the Approbation both of their Popes and Saints, by their own Confeſſion. And when it is ſo, they will never Want Advocates to plead their Cauſe, and put the Face of Antiquity upon them. As in this very Caſe, though *Bona* and others cenſure this Abuſe as an Innovation, yet *Durantus* derives its Original from the Primitive Church, and tells us, it was practiſed at *Alexandria* in the time of *Socrates*, becauſe he ſays [*d*] that on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* they had the Scriptures read, and Expoſitions made upon them, and all other Things belonging to religious Aſſemblies, except the Celebration of the Myſteries: Which indeed is very true; but altogether foreign to his Purpoſe, unleſs we ſhall ſay, That there can be no Prayers, nor Sermons, nor Pſalmody, nor Reading the Scriptures in the Church, but preſently it muſt be called dry *Maſs*, that is, uſing the Conſecration-Service without a Conſecration.

THE other Corruption, which *Bona* cenſures as a deteſtable Abuſe, is that which they call *Miſſa Bifaciata* and *Trifaciata*, which he ſays, *Petrus Cantor* in the forementioned Book, ſharply rebukes. For ſome Prieſts in his Time had got a Trick of throw-

[*b*] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 2. cap. 4. n. 8. [*c*] Navar. de Oratione. Miſcel. 53. Antonin. Part 3. Tit. 13. cap. 6. n. 4.
[*d*] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

throwing many *Maſſes* into one, ſaying the *Maſs* of the Day, or ſome ſpecial *Maſs* as far as the *Offertory*, and then beginning another as far as the ſame Place; and after that a third and a fourth in the ſame manner. After that they ſaid as many ſecret Prayers as they had begun *Maſſes*, and then made one Canon ſerve them all, adding as many *Collects* in the End, as they had repeated in the Beginning. *Petrus Cantor* aſcribes the Original of this Abuſe to the Covetouſneſs of the Prieſts, who knowing it to be unlawful for 'em to celebrate more than once in one Day, invented this Grafting of many *Maſſes* upon one Stock, that by once Celebrating they might ſatisfy the Devotion of many together, who deſired the Sacrifice to be offered for them, by which Means they got the Pay of ſeveral *Maſſes* for one Sacrifice. Theſe *Maſſes*, *Petrus Cantor* calls by a barbarous Name, *Bifaciatas* and *Trifaciatas*, becauſe they had a double and a triple Face: Which he abominates and deteſts as monſtrous and contrary to the Inſtitution and Cuſtom of the Church. 'Tis great Pity we have not this Book of *Petrus Cantor*, called his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, or *Short Work*, here at hand in ſome of our Libraries. It is a Book ſo rare, that I find no mention made of it in Dr. *Cave*. But *Du Pin* gives a ſhort Account [e] of the Author. He ſays, He was Chanter of the Church of *Paris* in the Beginning of the thirteenth Century; that he compoſed a Book called *The Word abridg'd*, a Work of great Renown among the Authors of the next Centuries, of which a Part was written againſt the Proprietary Monks. He likewiſe wrote a *Grammar* for Divines, very neceſſary for underſtanding the Scriptures; a Book of *Diſtinctions*; a Treatiſe about ſome *Miracles*; three Books

[e] Du Pin. Biblioth. Cent. 13. p. 54.

Books of the *Sacraments*, and divers *Sermons*, mentioned by *Trithemius*. *Du Pin* adds, That in their Libraries they had his *Gloſſes upon the Bible*, and *A Collection of Caſes of Conſcience*. But none of them are Printed beſide the *Verbum Abbreviatum*. *Trithemius* [*f*] ſays he was a Biſhop afterwards, as he had heard reported, and he gives him this Character, That he was excellently well learned in the Scriptures, and eminent in all Philoſophical Knowledge; that he was Rector of the *Theological* School at *Paris* for many Years, where he trained up many eminent Diſciples. Were his Books now to be ſeen, we might doubtleſs find many other ſuch Abuſes of the Monks as ſeverely handled in them, as thoſe which we have here noted out of *Bona*.

WHILST I am upon this Head of Abuſes, the Reader will not be diſpleaſed, If I note another of this Kind, which *Baronius* himſelf takes notice of [*g*] out of the 17th Council of *Toledo*, where there is Canon to cenſure and correct it. Some Prieſts in *Spain* were ſo corrupt as to gratify revengeful Men by ſaying the Service of the Dead for the Living, for no other End, but that they for whom the Office was ſaid, might incur the Danger of Death, by having a Sacrifice offered for them; and ſo that which was deſigned for Mens Salvation, was perverſly abuſed at the Inſtigation of wicked Men to their Deſtruction. Againſt ſuch Compliers with the deteſtable Requeſts of wicked Men, the Council [*b*] pronounces the

[*f*] Trithem de Scriptor. p. 81. [*g*] Baron. an. 694. n. 9.

[*b*] Conc. Tolet. 17. can. 5. Miſſam pro requie Defunctorum promulgatam fallaci voto pro vivis ſtudent celebrare hominibus, non ob aliud, niſi ut is, pro quo idipſum offertur Officium, ipſius ſacroſancti libaminis interventu, mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum: & quod cunctis datum eſt in ſalutis remedium, illi hoc perverſo inſtinctu quibuſdam eſſe expetunt in interitum, &c.

the ſevere ſentence of Depoſition and Excommunication. We may alſo note another Abuſe mentioned in the twelfth Council of *Toledo* [*i*], which was, That ſome Prieſts having Occaſion to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* more than once in a Day, would not communicate themſelves every time, but only at the laſt Conſecration. Which was another Sort of private *Maſs*, but as it were the Reverſe of that of the *Romiſh* Church. For as now the Prieſt communicates without the People: (Pardon the Abſurdity of the Expreſſion, when I call that Communicating where there is no Communion:) So then the People were forced to communicate without the Prieſt: Both which the Council thought prepoſterous and abſurd, and therefore re-inforces the ancient Diſcipline, That both Prieſt and People ſhould communicate together: Which was ever the conſtant and univerſal Practice of the whole Primitive Church, to whoſe Laws and Rules about Communicants, leaving theſe Abuſes and Innovations, I now return.

Sect. 6.

The Communion not given to Hereticks and Schiſmaticks without Confeſſion and Reconciliation.

As all Perſons were obliged to receive the Communion conſtantly, who were within the Pale of the Church in the largeſt Acceptation of the Word, except Catechumens and excommunicate Perſons: So we muſt note, to avoid Ambiguity, that Hereticks and Schiſmaticks were commonly rank-

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[*i*] Conc. Tolet. 12. can. 5. Quale erit illud Sacrificium cui nec ipſe Sacrificans particeps eſſe cognoſcitur? Ergo modis omnibus eſt tenendum, ut quotieſcunque Sacrificans corpus & ſanguinem Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri in altario immolat, tot ties perceptionis corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti participem ſe præbeat. Vid. Gratian. De Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 10.

ed in the ſame Claſs with excommunicate Perſons; ſometimes being formally cut off from the Church by her Cenſures, and ſometimes voluntarily by their own Separation; and therefore till they had made Confeſſion and Renunciation of their Errors, and were reconciled by Impoſition of Hands and Abſolution, they were reckoned in the number of thoſe to whom the Communion of Prayers and this Holy Sacrament was denied; and that whether they had been baptized in the Church, or were baptized in Hereſy and Schiſm. Sometimes they were allowed with all others to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached, as has been ſhewed [†] in a former Book: But then when the Service of the Catechumens was over, they were obliged to depart with them; the Deacon's Admonition commonly running in theſe Terms, as we have often heard before, *Let no Catechumen, no Penitent, no Unbeliever, no Heretick or Heterodox Perſon be preſent at the Holy Myſteries.* After what manner they were received and reconcil'd upon their Confeſſions, belongs to another Subject; which has in ſome Meaſure been handled already [*k*], and will come again under Conſiderarion in the next Volume, when we treat of the Diſcipline of the Church: At preſent it is ſufficient to obſerve, that whilſt they continued in Hereſy or Schiſm, they were of the Number of thoſe to whom the Church refuſed to give the Sacrament, as Perſons not being in full Communion with her.

Sect. 7. *Yet given to Infants and Children for ſeveral Ages.*

ON the other Hand it is beyond Diſpute, that as ſhe baptized Infants, and gave them the Unction of Chriſm with Impoſition of Hands for Confirmation, ſo ſhe immediately

[†] Book XIII. Chap. i. n. 2.
[*k*] Scholaſt. *Hiſt. of Baptiſm.* Part 1. chap. 1. n. 21.

ly admitted them to a Participation of the *Euchariſt*, as ſoon as they were baptized, and ever after without Exception. Some Evidence has been given of this already, for at leaſt eight Centuries, in ſpeaking of Confirmation [†], out of *Gennadius* and *Alcuin*, and the *Ordo Romanus*, and *Feſſe Ambianenſis*, and other publick Offices of the Church containing the Rules of Baptiſm and Confirmation, where Orders are alſo given to communicate Infants as ſoon as they were baptized. Here I will add the Teſtimony of the more ancient Writers, that it may not be thought a Novelty and Invention of latter Ages. [*l*] *Cyprian* often mentions it as the common Practice: In his Book of thoſe that lapſed in Time of Perſecution, he ſpeaks of ſome Parents, who took their little Children in their Arms, when they went to Sacrifice at the Heathen Altars: And he brings in thoſe Infants thus Complaining: We did nothing ourſelves, neither did we leave the Bread and Cup of the Lord to run of our own accord to the profane Contagions: It was the Treachery of others that deſtroyed us, we fell by the Hands of our Parents. A little farther he ſpeaks of another Infant, who was carried by her Nurſe, unknown to her Parents, to the Magiſtrates to partake of the Idol Sacrifice; who when ſhe was brought by her Mother afterwards [*m*] to receive the *Euchariſt*, vomited

[†] Book XII. Chap. i. n. 2.

[*l*] Cypr. de Lapſis. p. 125. Infantes quoque Parentum manibus vel impoſiti vel attracti, amiſerunt parvuli, quod in primo ſtatim nativitatis exordio fuerant conſecuti. Nonne illi, cum judicij dies venerit, dicent: Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto Cibo & Poculo Domini ad profana contagia ſponte properavimus. Perdidit nos aliena perfidia, Parentes ſenſimus Parricidas. [*m*] Ibid. p. 132. In corpore atque ore violato Euchariſtia permanere non potuit. Sanctificatus in Domini Sanguine potus de pollutis viſceribus erupit.

mited up the Wine that was given her to drink in the Communion. By which it is undeniable that Infants were then admitted to communicate in both Kinds, if they were capable of receiving them. Upon this Account the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [n] in his Invitation of the Faithful to the Communion, bids Mothers bring their Children with them. And again [o], deſcribing the Order in which they communicated, he ſays, Firſt let the Biſhops receive, then the Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, and Aſceticks; among the Women, the Deaconeſſes, Virgins and Widows; after that the Children, and then all the People in their Order. The Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* [p] ſays the ſame, That Children were admitted not only to Baptiſm, but the *Euchariſt*, though they did not underſtand the Reaſons of either Myſtery. St. *Auſtin* not only mentions the Practice in *Cyprian*'s Time [q], citing the foreſaid Paſſages out of his Book *De Lapſis*; but alſo ſeems to ſay it was neceſſary for Infants in order to obtain eternal Life; grounding upon that Saying of our SAVIOUR, *Joh.* vi. *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood* [r], *ye have no Life in you.* Which he ſays, is to be underſtood not of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Table, where no one is rightly admitted but he that is baptized. And dare any one be ſo bold, as to ſay, that this Sentence does not appertain

[n] Conſt. Lib. 8. cap. 12. [o] Ibid. cap. 13.

[p] Dionyſ. Eccl. Hierar. cap. 7. p. 360. [q] Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. [r] Aug de Peccator. Merit. Lib. 1. cap. 20. Dominum audiamus non quidem hoc de Sacramento Sancti Lavacri dicentem, ſed de Sacramento Sanctæ Menſæ ſuæ, quò nemo rite niſi baptizatus accedit, Niſi manducaveritis carnem meam, &c. An vero quiſquam audebit etiam hoc dicere, quod ad Parvulos hæc ſententia non pertineat, poſſuntque ſine participatione corporis hujus & ſanguinis in ſe habere vitam?

tain to little Children, or that they can have Life without partaking of this Body and Blood? He repeats the ſame frequently in his Diſputes with the *Pelagians* [*s*], and his Sermons on the Words of the Apoſtle [*t*], and in his Epiſtle to *Boniface*, [*u*] written joyntly by him and *Alipius* againſt the *Pelagians*. And Pope *Innocent* his Co-temporary ſeems to have had the ſame Opinion: For he argues in his Epiſtle to St. *Auſtin* and the Council of *Milevis* [*x*] for the Neceſſity of Baptizing Infants, from the Neceſſity of their eating the Fleſh, and drinking the Blood of the Son of Man. There is great Diſpute among the *Romiſh* Doctors about the Senſe of St. *Auſtin* and this Pope *Innocent* upon this Point. *Bona* [*y*] and others think it would be a great Reproach to their Church, to have it thought that the Council of *Trent* ſhould condemn the Opinion of the Neceſſity of Communicating Infants, whilſt two ſuch great Men as St. *Auſtin* and their own Pope *Innocent*, were conceived to be of that Opinion: And therefore they ſay, Though the Ancients gave the Communion to Infants; yet they did not think it neceſſary to Salvation. This is the *Salvo* which the Council of *Trent* put into their Mouths: For having condemned the Opinion itſelf as Heretical; yet to bring

[*s*] Cont. duas Epiſt. Pelag. Lib. 1. cap. 22. Nec illud cogitatis, eos vitam habere non poſſe qui fuerint expertes corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, dicente ipſo, Niſi manducaveritis, &c.

[*t*] Serm. 8. de Verbis Apoſtoli. p. 110. Infantes ſunt, ſed menſæ ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in ſe vitam.

[*u*] Ep. 106. ad Bonifac. p. 185. Nullus qui ſe meminit Catholicæ fidei Chriſtianum, negat aut dubitat Parvulos non acceptа gratia regenerationis in Chriſto ſine cibo carnis ejus & ſanguinis potu, non habere in ſe vitam. [*x*] Innoc Ep. 93. inter Epiſt. Auguſtini. Parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis etiam ſine Baptiſmatis gratia donari poſſe, perfatuum eſt: Niſi enim manducaverint ſanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in ſemetipſis. [*y*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 1.

bring off the Ancient Church, which was known to practiſe it, ſhe adds [z]: We do not hereby intend to condemn Antiquity for obſerving this Cuſtom in ſome Places. For as thoſe holy Fathers had a probable Reaſon, conſidering the State of the Times they lived in, for their Practice; ſo it is certainly and without all Controverſy to be believed, that they did not do it upon any Opinion of its being neceſſary to Salvation. But *Maldonate* would not take the Council's Word for this: For without any Regard to their Interpretation or Authority, he aſſerts roundly, That the Ancients, and particularly St. *Auſtin* and Pope *Innocent* did believe, that Infants could not be ſaved without partaking of the *Euchariſt* [†], and that they were induced to believe this by thoſe Words of our SAVIOUR, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* And indeed any one that reads but with half an Eye the Teſtimonies of St. *Auſtin* now alledged (which *Bona* thought fit to conceal from his Reader, only making a ſhort Reference to ſome of them) may eaſily perceive what was his Opinion in the Matter. And it were abſurd to think, that the whole Primitive Church *Greek* and *Latin* from St. *Cyprian's* Time, ſhould give the Communion to Infants without imaging any manner of Neceſſity from any Divine Command to do it. But *Bona* endeavours to ſupport his and the Council's Senſe from the Authority of *Fulgentius*, who was one of St. *Auſtin's* Diſciples, and who, as he repreſents him, ſays, That actual Com-

[z] Conc. Trident. Seſſ. 21. cap. 4. Neque ideo tamen damnanda eſt Antiquitas, ſi eum morem in quibuſdam locis ſervavit. Ut enim ſanctiſſimi illi Patres ſui facti probabilem cauſam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt; ita certe eos nulla ſalutis neceſſitate id feciſſe ſine controverſia credendum eſt.

[†] Maldonat. Com. in Joan. 6. 53. p. 326.

munion after Baptiſm is not neceſſary to Salvation. But he only abuſes his Reader with a falſe State of the Caſe, and a falſe Aſſertion grounded on it. For *Fulgentius* does not ſay that the actual Participation of the *Euchariſt* is not neceſſary after Baptiſm for Infants: For he is not ſpeaking of Infants, but Adult Perſons, who die as ſoon as they are baptized without having Opportunity to receive the Communion: Concerning whom he concludes favourably, that though they die before they receive outwardly the Elements of Bread and Wine, yet they are not to be deſpaired of, becauſe they were made Partakers of the Body and Blood of CHRIST in Baptiſm: Which in ſuch Caſes of great Neceſſity [*a*] was ſufficient to anſwer the End of the Communion, when Men were deſirous of it, but had no Opportunity to receive it. So that he believed the *Euchariſt* ordinarily to be neceſſary both for Infants and Adult Perſons, but in extraordinary Caſes of extreme Neceſſity, not to be neceſſary for either.

BUT to ſet aſide the Queſtion of Right, and only purſue Matter of Fact, we find that this Cuſtom continued even in the *Roman* Church for many Ages: *Maldonat* ſays for ſix Centuries, but *Bona* makes it double the Number; for he ſays, it was not abrogated in *France* till the twelfth Century. In *Gregory's Sacramentarium* [*b*] there is an Order concerning Infants, That they ſhould be allowed to ſuck the Breaſt

[*a*] Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis. cap. 11. p. 611. Nullus debet moveri Fidelium in illis, qui etſi legitime ſana mente baptizantur, præveniente velocius morte, carnem Domini manducare, & ſanguinem bibere non ſinuntur, propter illam videlicet ſententiam ſalvatoris qua dixit, Niſi manducaveritis carnem Filij hominis, &c. Quod quiſquis— Myſterij veritatem conſiderare poterit, in ipſo Lavacro ſanctæ Regenerationis hoc fieri providebit. [*b*] Gregor. Sacramentar. in Officio Sabbati Sancti. Non prohibentur lactari ante ſacram Communionem, ſi neceſſe fuerit.

Breaſt before the holy Communion, if Neceſſity ſo required. And the old *Ordo Romanus* [*c*], a Book compoſed in the ninth Century, has a Direction to the ſame Purpoſe; That Infants after they were baptized, ſhould not eat any Food, nor ſuck the Breaſt without great Neceſſity, till they had communicated in the Sacrament of the Body of CHRIST. So *Alcuin*, or whoever wrote under his Name in the Time of *Charles the Great*, ſays, the Order then was [*d*], That when Infants were baptized, they were immediately confirmed by the Biſhop, if he were preſent, and admitted to communicate; but if the Biſhop was abſent, they ſhould receive the Communion from the Presbyter. *Baluzius* [*e*] alledges two Manuſcript *Pontificals* of the ſame Age, which have *Rubricks* to the ſame Purpoſe. And the Orders of *Jeſſe* Biſhop of *Amiens* [*f*] call it Confirming Children with the Body and Blood of CHRIST, as they were confirmed before with Impoſition of Hands and Chriſm. And it is remarkable of *Walter* Biſhop of *Orleance* in the ſame Age, that among his Synodical Rules there is one to this Purpoſe:

[*c*] Ordo Rom. Bibl. Patr. T. 10. p. 84. De Parvulis providendum, ne poſtquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur ſine ſumma neceſſitate, antequam communicent Sacramento corporis Chriſti. [*d*] Alcuin. de Officiis. Cap. de Sabbato Sancto. ibid. p. 259. Si Epiſcopus adeſt, ſtatim confirmari oportet (Infans tinctus) Chriſmate, & poſtea communicare: Et ſi Epiſcopus deeſt, communicetur à Presbytero, &c. Sed & hoc providendum eſt ut nullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur antequam communicent. [*e*] Baluz. Not. in Reginonem. Lib. 1. cap. 69. [*f*] Jeſſe Ambianenſis Epiſt. de Ordine Bapt. ap. Baluz. ibid. Epiſcopus Puerum Chriſmate confirmet; noviſſime autem corpore & ſanguine Chriſti confirmetur ſeu communicetus, ut Chriſti membrum eſſe poſſit.

poſe: That a Presbyter [g] ſhall always have the *Euchariſt* ready by him, that in Caſe any one be infirm, or a young Child ſick, he may give him the Communion, and not let him die without his *Viaticum* or Proviſion for his Journey into the next World. The ſecond Council of *Maſcon*, which was held *An.* 588, and the third Coucil of *Tours* [h] in the Time of *Charles the Great* order the Remains of the *Euchariſt* to be given to innocent Children. *Radulphus Ardens*, who lived in the Beginning of the twelfth Century, ſpeaks of it ſtill as the Cuſtom to give little Children [i] the Sacrament, at leaſt in the ſpecies of Wine immediately after they were baptized, that they might not go without the neceſſary Sacrament. And *Hugo de Sancto Victore* at the ſame Time recommends the giving of it to Children [k] if it might be done without Danger: Tho' he intimates now the Cuſtom was almoſt generally laid aſide; there being only a mere Form and Shadow of it remaining, which was to give Children newly baptized common Wine inſtead of conſecrated, which he thinks a ſuperfluous Rite that ought to be laid aſide. And ſo it was, not long after: For *Odo* Biſhop of *Paris An.* 1175, ordered, That neither conſecrated nor unconſecrated Bread ſhould by any means be given to little Children [l]. And ſo ſays *Bona*

[g] Walter. Aurelian. Capitul. 7. Conc. Tom. 8. p. 639. Presbyter Euchariſtiam ſemper habeat paratam, ut quando quis infirmatus fuerit, aut Parvulus ægrotaverit, ſtatim eum communicet, ne ſine Viatico moriatur. *The ſame is in* Anſegiſus Abbas de Legibus Francorum. Lib. 1. cap. 155. al. 161.

[h] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 6. Conc. Turon. 3. can. 19.

[i] Radulph Serm. in Die Paſchæ. de Euchariſtiæ neceſſitate. Statutum eſt ut pueris mox baptizatis ſaltem in ſpecie vini tradatur, ne ſine neceſſario ſacramento diſcedant.

[k] Hugo de S. Victore, de Sacrament. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

[l] Odo Statut. Synodal. cap. 39.

Bona [*m*] The Cuſtom of giving the Communion to Infants was ſuperſeded in the twelfth Age in the *Gallican* Church. It continued a little longer in *Germany*, if *Suicerus* does not miſtake [*n*] in his Author: For he quotes *Joannes Semeca*, ſirnamed *Teutonicus*, who wrote the Gloſs upon *Gratian*, as ſaying, That the Cuſtom prevailed in ſome Places in his Time to give the *Euchariſt* to Children. But there is no ſuch Gloſs in the Place [*o*] he alledges in the *Roman* Edition; ſo that either he miſtakes the Place, or elſe ſome Fraud has been uſed to expurge the Paſſage by the *Roman* Correctors. *Zuinglius* ſpeaks of the Cuſtom continuing long among the *Helvetians*: For he ſays, in the Ritual Book of *Claron*, called their Obſequial, there was this Rubrick: That a newly-baptized Child ſhould have [*p*] the *Euchariſt* in both Kinds miniſtred unto him. And *Hoſpinian* aſſures us from his own Knowledge [*q*], that in *Lorrain* and the adjacent Parts it was uſual for the Prieſt, when he had baptized a Child, to dip his Fingers in the Cup, and drop the Wine into the Childs Mouth, ſaying, The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be of Advantage unto thee to Eternal Life.

The *Greek* Church was a little more tenacious of the ancient Cuſtom. For not only *Baſilius Cilix* [*r*] and *Evagrius* [*s*] and *Johannes Moſchus* [*t*] mention the Communion of Children, and the giving

[*m*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 2. [*n*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. T. 2. p. 1138. [*o*] Grat. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 4. cap. 4. *cited alſo by* Hoſpinian. [*p*] Zuingl. Explanat. Artic. 18. Oper. Tom. 1. Baptizato puero mox detur Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, ſimiliter & Poculum Sanguinis.

[*q*] Hoſpinian. Hiſt. Sacram. Lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 60.

[*r*] Baſil. ap. Photium Cod. 107. [*s*] Evagr. Lib. 4. c. 35.

[*t*] Moſchus, Viridarium. cap. 196.

the Remains of the *Euchariſt* to Children after the Communion was ended; but alſo *Nicephorus*, who lived in the fourteenth Century [*u*] mentions the ſame: And *Suicerus* tells us out of *Metrophanes Critopulus* a Modern *Greek* Writer [*x*], that they ſtill continue to obſerve the Cuſtom to this Day. As he alſo obſerves out of *Oſorius de Geſtis Emanuelis*, Lib. 9. that it continues to be the Practice of the *Ethiopick* or *Abyſſin* Churches. And he cites *Sigiſmundus Baro*'s Hiſtory of *Muſcovy* for the ſame in the *Ruſſian* Churches. Mr. *Brerewood* [*y*] notes the like of the *Ruſſian* Churches out of *Guaguinus*. And Dr. *Smith* [*z*] tells for the preſent *Greek* Church, that they give the *Euchariſt* in both Kinds to little Children of one or two Years of Age, and ſometimes to new-born Infants after Baptiſm, in Caſe of imminent Danger of Death; grounding their belief of an abſolute Neceſſity of this Sacrament upon the Words of our Saviour, *John* vi. 53. *Except ye eat the Fleſh*, &c. and pleading the Practice of the Primitive Church in their own Juſtification. I have, not ſaid any Thing of all this to reduce the Cuſtom into Practice again: (Though Biſhop *Bedle* and ſome others have declared intirely for it:) Becauſe, as learned [*a*] Men have ſhewed, there are good Reaſons to perſuade the contrary; 1. Becauſe it has no firm Foundation in the Word of GOD. 2. Becauſe Infants, which are baptized, are in Effect thereby Partakers of the Body and Blood of CHRIST, which are exhibited ſpiritually in Baptiſm as well as the *Euchariſt*, according to St. *Auſtin* himſelf and all the ancient Fathers, of which I have made full Proof in

[*u*] Niceph. Lib. 14. c. 25. [*x*] Suicer. T. 2. p. 1138. Ex Metroph. Confeſſ. Eccl. Orient. cap. 9. [*y*] Brerewood's *Enquiries*. cap. 18. [*z*] Smith. *Account of the Gr. Church*. p. 161. [*a*] Vid. Hoſpin. & Suicer. locis citatis.

in another [*] Place. 3. Becauſe Infants cannot do this in Remembrance of CHRIST, which he requires all that partake in this Sacrament to do. 4. Becauſe there is the ſame Analogy and Agreement between the Paſchal Lamb and the Lord's-Supper, as there is between Circumciſion and Baptiſm: An Infant *Iſraelite* had a Right to enter the Covenant by Circumciſion, as it was the Seal of it: But he was not to partake of the Paſſover, till he could ask his Parents the meaning of the Myſtery, *Exod.* xii. 26. So an Infant may enter the Chriſtian Covenant by Baptiſm, but not partake regularly of the *Euchariſt*, till he can do it in Remembrance of CHRIST. What I have therefore diſcourſed upon this Head, by deducing the Matter hiſtorically from firſt to laſt, is rather to ſhew the Vanity of that Pretence to Infallibility and unerring Tradition in the Church of *Rome* in Matters of Doctrine and neceſſary Practice; ſince they themſelves have thought fit to alter one Point, which their infallible Popes and Forefathers for ſo many Ages obſerved as neceſſary, in communicating Infants upon a Divine Command; and withall to ſhew, that any other Church has a better Pretence than they, to reform any Practice, however generally obſerved, if upon better Examination it be found not to be grounded upon a good Foundation in the Word of GOD. I now return to the Buſineſs of the ancient Church.

Sect. 8. *Sent to the Abſent Members of their own or other Churches.*

WHERE we find that not only the preſent Members were all Communicants, but they that were Abſent had it ſent to them by the Hands of a Deacon, to teſtify, that while they were Abſent upon any lawful Occaſion, they were ſtill reputed to be in the Com-

[*] Book II. Chap. x. n. 4.

Communion of the Church. Thus *Juſtin Martyr* ſays [*b*] the ſame *Euchariſt*, which was received by them that were preſent, was carried by the Deacons to the Abſent. For as they prayed for thoſe that were Abſent upon a probable or reaſonable Cauſe, ſo they allowed them to communicate in the ſame Sacrament alſo. Upon this Account, as we have ſeen before [*], the *Euchariſt* at *Rome* in the Time of *Melchiades*, *Siricius*, and *Innocent*, was uſually ſent from the Biſhops Church to the *Tituli*, or leſſer Churches, for the Presbyters miniſtring in thoſe Churches to communicate with him, and as ſome think [*c*] for the whole Congregations alſo. For they ſuppoſe, that at firſt there was but one Altar in a City, and That at the Mother Church, where the Biſhop miniſtred, and conſecrated the *Euchariſt*, and ſent it thence to the leſſer Congregations. And ſo they underſtand even that Paſſage in *Juſtin Martyr*. I rather think, the Presbyters had the Privilege to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* in their own Churches; but however a Portion of the *Euchariſt* was for all that ſent them by the Biſhop from his own Church, to teſtify that they were in Communion with him: he did not ſend to the Country Churches, becauſe the Sacraments were not to be carried to Places at too great a Diſtance, as *Innocent* words it in his Letter to *Decentius*. Yet in Caſe of teſtifying their Communion with foreign Biſhops, they were wont to ſend it to far diſtant Churches. As *Irenæus* in his Epiſtle to Pope *Victor* [*d*], when he menaced the *Aſiatick* Churches with Excommunication for their different Way of obſerving *Eaſter*, tells him his Prede-

[*b*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 98. Vid. Juſtinian. Novel. 123. cap. 36. Aut ſanctam eis Communionem portandam.

[*] Book XV. Chap. ii. n. 5. [*c*] Maurice *of* Dioceſan Epiſcopacy. p. 39. [*d*] ap. Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 24.

Predeceſſors never thought of ſuch rough Proceedings againſt them, but notwithſtanding this Difference always ſent them the *Euchariſt* to teſtify their Communion with them. *Valeſius* [e] and others obſerve the ſame in the Acts [f] of *Lucian* the Martyr, and *Paulinus* [g] Epiſtle to *Severus*. This was chiefly, if not ſolely, done at the Paſchal Feſtival in token of their Unity, Love and Charity. But the Council of *Laodicea* [h] for ſome Inconveniencies attending the Practice, abſolutely forbad it; ordering that the Holy Sacraments ſhould not be ſent from one Dioceſe to another under the Notion of *Eulogiæ*, or Benedictions, at the *Eaſter* Feſtival. Yet in ſome Places the Cuſtom continued for ſeveral Ages after. For *Johannes Moſchus* [i] ſpeaks of the Communion being ſent from one Monk to another at ſix Miles Diſtance: Not to mention again the Cuſtom of ſending the *Euchariſt* by *Paulinus*, and the Biſhops of *Rome* from the Mother Church to all the other Churches throughout the City in every Region. But where they left off this Cuſtom of ſending the *Euchariſt*, they introduced another Way of teſtifying their mutual Love and Amity to one another by certain Symbols of Bread, which they bleſſed and ſanctified alſo in Imitation of the *Euchariſt*, but with a different Benediction. And to theſe alſo they gave the Names of *Eulogiæ & Panis benedictus*, conſecrated Bread, which the Modern *Greeks* call ἀντίδωρα, vicarious Gifts, becauſe they were given in many Caſes inſtead of the *Euchariſt*. It has been obſerved [†] already, that they were often given to ſuch as would

[e] Valeſ. in Locum. [f] Acta Lucian. ap. Metaphraſt. 7. Jan. [g] Paulin. Ep. 1. ad Severum. [h] Conc. Laodic. can. 13. περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὰ πάσχα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διαπέμπεσθαι.

[i] Moſch. Pratum Spirituale. cap. 29.

[†] *See before in this Chapter*, n. 3.

would not communicate, when the ancient Fervour of popular and general Communions began to decay. Here we are to obſerve, that they were uſed to be ſent from one Country to another inſtead of the *Euchariſt*, as Teſtimonies of their Amity and Affection. Some not improbably [*k*] thus underſtood that Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*l*], which forbids any to receive the *Eulogiæ*, or Bleſſings of Hereticks, which were to be reckoned Curſes and Abſurdities rather than Bleſſings. As alſo that other Canon [*m*] which forbids them to receive either from Jews or Hereticks, τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορτασικὰ, ſuch Gifts or Preſents as were uſed to be ſent in Feſtivals. Of this Kind was that Bread which *Paulinus* [*n*] and *Therasia* ſent to St. *Auſtin* as a Teſtimony of their Unanimity and cordial Affection, which they deſire him to bleſs by his Acceptance. Some learned Men Miſtake, when they ſay, the ſending of the *Euchariſt* came in the Room of this: For it was plainly the Reverſe: Theſe *Eulogiæ* were invented in the Room of the *Euchariſt*, as appears from the Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, which ſpeaks of ſending the *Euchariſt* as the more ancient Cuſtom.

Sect. 9. *And to thoſe that were Sick, or in Priſon, or under any Confinement, or in Penance at the point of Death.*

AMONG the abſent Members of the Church they had a more eſpecial Regard to thoſe that were Sick, or in Priſon, or under any Confinement, as the Martyrs and Confeſſors, who daily expected their Diſſolution; and ſuch alſo of the Penitents as were ſeiſed with Sickneſs and in imminent danger of

[*k*] Habert. Archieratic. Part 11. Obſer. 3. [*l*] Conc. Laodic. can. 31. vel 32. ὃ δεῖ αἱρετικῶν εὐλογίας λαμβάνειν, αἵτινές εἰσιν ἀλογίαι μᾶλλον ἢ εὐλογίαι. [*m*] Ibid. can. 37.

[*n*] Paulin. Ep. 31. inter Epiſt. Aug. Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio miſimus charitati tuæ, rogamus accipiendo benedicas. Vid. Aug. Ep. 34. ad Paulinum.

of Death. To all theſe they commonly ſent the *Euchariſt*, which in this caſe is more peculiarly ſtiled the ἐφόδιον, or *Viaticum*, their Preparation or Proviſion for their Journey into the next World. Thus in the Council of *Nice* [o] there is a Canon which orders, that all Penitents ſhould have their neceſſary and final ἐφόδιον or *Viaticum*, when they were at the point of Death. Which though *Albaſpinæus* [p] interpret only of *Abſolution*, yet all others with better Reaſon underſtand it of the *Euchariſt*, becauſe it is added in the end of the Canon, that the Biſhop ſhall impart the Oblation to them. And ſo the Council of *Agde* ſays, [q] the *Viaticum* ſhall not be denied to any Penitents at the point of Death. The firſt Council of *Vaiſon* [r] makes a Proviſion for ſuch Penitents as were ſnatched away by ſudden Death without the *Viaticum* of the Sacrament, whilſt they were preparing for it, that their Oblations ſhould be received, and their Funerals and Memorials celebrated according to the Rites of the Church. And the 11th Council of *Toledo* [s] makes another Proviſion for ſuch as by reaſon of extreme Weakneſs could not take the whole *Viaticum* of the Communion, nor ſwallow the Bread, but only drink the Cup, that ſince this proceeded not from any Infidelity, but from mere Infirmity, they ſhould

[o] Conc. Nic. can. 13. [p] Albaſpin. Not. in Locum.
[q] Conc. Agathen. can. 15. Viaticum tamen omnibus in morte poſitis non eſt negandum. [r] Conc. Vaſens. 1. can. 2. Nefas eſt eorum commemorationes excludi à ſalutaribus Sacris, qui ad eadem Sacra fideli affectu contendentes — abſque Sacramentorum Viatico intercipiantur. &c. [s] Conc. Tolet. 11. can. 11. In multorum exitu vidimus, qui optatum ſuis votis ſacræ Communionis Viaticum expetentes, collatam ſibi à Sacerdote Euchariſtiam rejecerunt. Non quod Infidelitate hæc agerent, ſed quod præter Dominici Calicis hauſtum, traditam ſibi non poſſent Euchariſtiam deglutire. Non ergo hujuſmodi à corpore Eccleſiæ ſeparandi ſunt. &c.

ſhould not be cut off from the Body of the Church. The 4th Council of *Carthage* mentions it in ſeveral Canons, and in one Canon particularly [*t*] ſpeaks of a very remarkable Caſe, which ſometimes happened, that a Penitent who deſired to be admitted to Penance in Time of Sickneſs, was ſometimes ſuddenly taken ſpeechleſs, or turned delirious by the Paroxyſm of his Diſtemper, before the Prieſt could come to him: In which Caſe, if they that heard him, could teſtify his deſire, he was to be admitted: And if it was thought he would immediately die, he was to be reconciled by Impoſition of Hands, and then the *Euchariſt* was to be poured into his Mouth. Which is called the *Viaticum* of the *Euchariſt* [*u*] in the two following Canons. As it is alſo in the Council of *Orange* [*x*] and *Girone* [*y*] and many other Places. The *Euchariſt* in theſe Caſes was commonly carried and delivered by a Presbyter or a Deacon, as has been noted out of *Juſtin Martyr*: Yet in Caſes of great Neceſſity it might be carried and given by any other. As appears from that Caſe in *Euſebius* [*z*] related out of an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* to *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, where he tells of one *Serapion*, who having ſacrificed in Time of Perſecution, could not die till he had ſent for the Presbyter

[*t*] Conc. Carth. 4. can. 76. Is qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, ſi caſu, dum ad eum ſacerdos invitatus venit, oppreſſus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in phreneſim verſus fuerit, dent teſtimonium qui eum audierunt, & accipiat pœnitentiam. Et ſi continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manus Impoſitionem, & infundatur ori ejus Euchariſtia. &c.

[*u*] Can. 77. Pœnitentes qui in Infirmitate ſunt, Viaticum accipiant. Can. 78. Pœnitentes qui in Infirmitate Viaticum acceperint, non ſe credant abſolutos ſine manus Impoſitione, ſi ſupervixerint. [*x*] Conc. Arauſican. 1. can. 3. [*y*] Conc. Gerundens. can. 9. [*z*] Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 44.

ter to reconcile him: But the Presbyter being ſick, ſent him a ſmall Portion of the *Euchariſt* by the Hands of the Meſſenger that came for him, giving him orders to dip it firſt and put it into his Mouth, which he had no ſooner done, but the Man gave up the Ghoſt in Peace. But this was forbidden by the Canons [*a*] in Ordinary Caſes.

Sect. 10. *The* Euchariſt *ſometimes conſecrated in Private Houſes for theſe Purpoſes.*

SOMETIMES indeed they uſed Private Conſecrations of the *Euchariſt* in the Houſes of ſick Men or in Priſons, to anſwer theſe pious Ends and Purpoſes: But moſt commonly they reſerved ſome ſmall Portion of it in the Church from Time to Time for this Uſe, as moſt expeditious and convenient for ſudden Accidents and Emergencies. There are very ancient Inſtances and Examples of both Kinds. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of Private Conſecrations made in Priſons for the Martyrs and Confeſſors in Time of Perſecution. For he gives Orders, That neither ſhould the People viſit them *glomeratim*, in great Multitudes, to raiſe Envy; nor the Presbyters, who went to offer [*b*] the *Euchariſt* with them, go more than one at once, and that by Turns, accompanied only with a ſingle Deacon, to decline Envy and Obſervation. There is nothing more certain, than that in Times of Perſecution the Chriſtians performed all Divine Offices in every Place whither Neceſſity drove them: Every Place was then a Temple, as *Dionyſius* [*c*] of *Alexandria* words it in *Euſebius*, for them to hold Religious

[*a*] Vid. Gratian. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 29. [*b*] Cypr. Ep. 5. ad Cler. p. 11. Presbyteri quoque, qui illic apud Confeſſores offerunt, ſinguli cum ſingulis Diaconis per vices alternent: quia & mutatio Perſonarum & viciſſitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. [*c*] ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 22.

Religious Aſſemblies in, whether it were a Field, or a Wilderneſs, or a Ship, or an Inn, or a Priſon. *Lucian*'s Priſon was his Church, and his own Breaſt his Altar to conſecrate the *Euchariſt* upon, for himſelf and thoſe that [*d*] were with him in Confinement. In ſuch a Caſe, *Tertullian* [*e*] ſays, Three were enough to make a Church, when Neceſſity would not allow them a greater Number. It is as evident Private Conſecrations were made in Private Houſes upon the Account of Sickneſs. St. *Ambroſe* was thus invited to offer the Sacrifice in a Private Houſe at *Rome*, as we are told by the Writer of his Life [*f*]. And *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* is ſaid to have ordered an Altar to be prepared for himſelf in his Chamber, where he conſecrated the *Euchariſt* [*g*] in his Sickneſs not many Hours before his Death. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* [*h*] tells us, That his Father conſecrated it in his own Chamber; and that his Siſter *Gorgonia* [*i*] had a Domeſtick Altar. Therefore we have no Diſpute with *Bona* upon this Point, nor ſhould we have any with his Church, if this were all that were meant by Private Maſs in the *Roman* Communion. The Reader may hence obſerve the Miſtake of thoſe Learned Men [*k*], who aſſert, That the Primitive Fathers, though paſſionately indulgent towards their ſick Brethren in granting them their ſpiritual *Viaticum*, yet always took a Care that the Elements ſhould be conſecrated in the Church. For the Inſtances that have been given, both concerning

[*d*] Vita Luciani. Philoſtorg. Lib. 2. cap. 13. [*e*] Tertul. de Fuga. cap. 14. Non potes diſcurrere per ſingulos, ſit tibi & in tribus Eccleſia. [*f*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. Per idem tempus cum trans Tyberim apud quendam clariſſimum invitaretur, ut ſacrificium in domo offerret. &c. [*g*] Uranius. Vit. Paulini. [*h*] Naz. Orat. 19. de Laud. Patris. p. 305. [*i*] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia. p. 187. [*k*] Hamon Leſtrange, Allyan. *Of Div. Offic.* Chap. 10. p. 299.

cerning the Martyrs and the Sick, are undeniable Evidence to the contrary. And there Want not ſome Inſtances of Private Conſecrations upon other Occaſions. Such as that mentioned by St. *Auſtin* in a Private Houſe at *Zubedi*, a Place in his Dioceſe, which was vexed with evil Spirits, whither one of his Presbyters went to pray and offer the Sacrifice [*l*] of the Body of CHRIST, at the requeſt of the owner, that it might be delivered from them. And what the Hiſtorians [*m*] tell us of *Conſtantine*'s Tabernacle, which he carried about with him in his Camp, where all Divine Offices and the Holy Myſteries were celebrated, may be reckoned another Inſtance of ſuch Private Conſecrations.

Sect. 11. *And commonly reſerved in the Church for the ſame Uſe.*

IT was alſo very uſual for the Miniſters to reſerve ſome Part of the conſecrated Elements either in the Church, or with them at their own Houſe, to be in great Readineſs upon all ſuch preſſing Occaſions. As is evident from the forementioned Story of *Serapion* in *Euſebius*. And *Optatus* [*n*] intimates as much in that remarkable Story which he tells of the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, who in their mad Zeal againſt the Catholicks threw the *Euchariſt*, which they found in their Churches, to the Dogs, but not without an immediate Sign of Divine Vengeance: For the Dogs, inſtead of devouring the Elements, fell upon their Maſters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to Pieces, as Robbers and Prophaners of the Holy Body of CHRIST. The ſame is evident from the like

[*l*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 1485. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi Sacrificium corporis Chriſti, orans quantum potuit, ut ceſſaret illa vexatio: Deo protinus miſerante ceſſavit.

[*m*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. Lib. 4. c. 56. Sozom. Lib. 1. cap. 8.

[*n*] Optat. Lib. 2. p. 55.

Complaint of *Chryſoſtom* concerning the Tumult that happened in his Church at *Conſtantinople*, when the Soldiers broke into the Sanctuary [o] where the Holy Myſteries were repoſited, and many of them who were not initiated, ſaw the ſecrets that were concealed within, and the Holy Blood of CHRIST was ſpilt upon the Soldiers Cloathes, as is uſual in ſuch Tumults and Confuſion. We may collect the ſame from what *Victor Uticenſis* [p] ſays of *Valerian* an *African* Biſhop, that he was baniſhed by *Geiſericus* King of the Vandals, becauſe he would not deliver up the Sacrament that was kept in his Church. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in one of his Epiſtles [q] reproves thoſe who ſaid the *Euchariſt* was not to be reſerved to the next Day. And in the Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Mennas* [r] there is mention made of Silver and Golden Doves hanging at the Altar, which moſt probably were then uſed as the Repoſitories of the Sacrament kept in the Churches. Which is alſo mentioned in *Amphilochius*'s Life of St. *Baſil*, but no ſtreſs need be laid upon that, becauſe it is a ſpurious Writing; nor need we deſcend to the Second Council of *Tours* [s] or other Modern Decrees for the Proof of that which has ſo good Authority among the more ancient Writers.

IT

[o] Chryſ. Ep. ad. Innocent. T. 4. q. 681. ἔνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκειντο, &c. [p] Victor. de Perſecut. Vandal. Lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 593.

[q] Cyril. Ep. ad Caloſyrium in Præfat. Lib. cont. Anthropomorph. T. 6. p. 365.

[r] Conc. ſub Menna. Act. 5. Tom. 5. p. 159. [s] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 3.

Sect. 12. *And also for Publick Use upon some Days when they made no new Consecration. This called* Missa Præsanctificatorum. *Its Use and Original.*

IT appears also from a Canon of the Council of *Trullo*, that the *Eucharist* was sometimes reserved for the Publick Use of the Church, to be received some Days after its Consecration, particularly in the Time of *Lent*, when they communicated on such Elements as had been consecrated the *Saturday* or *Sunday* in the foregoing Week, which were the only Days in *Lent* on which they used the Consecration Service, though they communicated on other Days on such Elements as they reserved out of the former Consecration. The Words of the Canon are these [*t*], That on every Day in the Holy Fast of *Lent*, except *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, and the Feast of the Annunciation, the *Liturgy* of the pre-sanctified Gifts shall be performed. This is best understood from another Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* [*u*], which orders, that the *Eucharist* should not be offered in *Lent* on any other Day except the Sabbath and the *Lord's-Day*. Not that they prohibited the Communion to be received on other Days (for it was received every Day) but on these Days they received only that which had been consecrated before on the Sabbath and Lords-Day, and what was reserved for the Communion of these Days without any new Consecration. This is commonly reckoned by Learned Men the Beginning of this Sort of Communions upon reserved Hosts, though it is hard to guess at the Reason of the Observation. *Leo Allatius* who has written [*x*] two peculiar Dissertati-

[*t*] Conc. Trullan. can. 52. ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία γινέσθω. [*u*] Conc. Laodic. can. 49. ὅτι δεῖ τεσσαρακοστὴ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

[*x*] Leo Allat. Epist. ad Naudæum de Libris Eccles. Græcorum. It. Dissert. de Missa Præsanctificatorum. ad calcem Libri de Consensu Eccl. Orient. & Occident.

ons upon this Subject, tells us the Reaſon which the *Greeks* themſelves alledge for it, is, that the Conſecration Service is proper only for Feſtivals, and therefore all other Days in *Lent* beſides *Saturdays* and *Sundays* being Faſt-Days, they did not conſecrate on thoſe Days, but only communicated in the Elements which had been conſecrated before. This he ſhews at large [*y*] out of *Alexius Ariſtenus*, *Matthew Blaſtares*, *Balzamon*, *Zonaras*, *Michael Cerularius* and *Simeon Theſſalonicenſis*. Whether this was the true Reaſon, or whether it be a good Reaſon, is none of my Buſineſs to enquire. I only obſerve, that it was an ancient Practice in the *Greek* Church, as it continues to be [*z*] at this Day, though the *Latin* Church never adopted it into her Service: For they uſed to conſecrate, as well as communicate, about Three in the Afternoon, all the Days of *Lent*, as is evident from *Tertullian* [*a*] St. *Ambroſe* [*b*] and many others, of which there will be occaſion to ſpeak more fully when we come to the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church. *Leo Allatius* thinks this *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum* is intended by *Socrates* [*c*], when he ſays on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* at *Alexandria* they had all Divine Service except the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*: But it does not appear that they communicated at all upon thoſe Days, much leſs upon pre-conſecrated Elements. However he rightly concludes, that *Durantus* and others, who confound this *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum* with the *Miſſa Sicca*, or *Dry Maſs*, as they called it, are wholly miſtaken: Becauſe *Dry Maſs* was a Corruption peculiarly crept into the *Latin* Church, which was condemned by many of their

[*y*] Leo Allat. de Miſſa Præſanctif. n. 12. [*z*] *See Dr.* Smith *of the Greek Church.* p. 175. [*a*] Tertul. de Orat. cap 14. [*b*] Ambroſ. Ser. 8. in Pſal. 118. p. 656.
[*c*] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22. ap. Allatium. Ep. ad Naudæum.

their own Divines, *Eckius*, *Eſtius*, *Laudmeter*, and the *Belgick* Biſhops [*d*], as a mere Novelty, a counterfeit, and a perfect Piece of Pageantry; whereas this *Miſſa Præſanctificatorum* was an ancient and approved Uſage of the *Greek* Church, upon the Account of which a certain Portion of the conſecrated Elements were reſerved for the Publick Uſe of the Church upon thoſe Days of *Lent*, on which they made no new Conſecration.

Sect. 13. *The* Euchariſt *ſometimes reſerved in private by private Men for daily Participation.*

BUT beſides this Reſervation of the Elements for publick Uſe by the Miniſters of the Church, there was another private Reſervation of them allowed ſometimes to religious Perſons, who were permitted to carry a Portion of the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participate of it every Day by themſelves in private. This Cuſtom ſeems to owe its Original to the Times of Perſecution, when Men were willing to communicate every Day, but could not have the convenience of daily Aſſemblies. To compenſate for the Want of which, they took a Portion of the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participated thereof every Day in private. This ſeems very plainly to be intimated by *Tertullian* [*e*], when ſpeaking of a Woman marrying an Heathen Husband, he asks her, Whether her Husband would not know what it was that ſhe eat before all her other Meat? And in another Place [*f*], anſwering the Objection which ſome made againſt receiving the *Euchariſt* on a Faſt Day

[*d*] Allat. de Miſſa Præſanct. n. 10. Miſſa Sicca, recens, & Simulata & Hiſtrionica, confertur cum Cœnis Heliogabali.

[*e*] Tertul. ad Uxor. Lib. 2. c. 5. Non ſciet maritus quid ſecreto ante omnem cibum guſtes? [*f*] De Orat. cap. 14. Accepto corpore Domini, & reſervato (*others read it*, Re ſervata) utrumque ſalvum eſt, & Participatio ſacrificii, & executio Officij.

for Fear of breaking their Faſt, he tells them (according as ſome Copies read it) They might take the Body of the Lord and reſerve it; and ſo they might both participate of the Sacrifice and fulfill their Duty of Faſting. But I lay no ſtreſs upon this, becauſe it is a doubtfull Reading. The Teſtimony of *Cyprian* [g] is more full and pregnant, who tells us a moſt remarkable Story of a Woman, who having ſacrificed at the Heathen Altars, when ſhe came afterward to open her Cheſt, where ſhe kept the Holy Sacrament of the Lord, ſhe was ſo terrified with a ſudden Eruption of Fire, that ſhe durſt not touch it. And the ancient Author who writes againſt the *Roman* Shews, under the Name of *Cyprian* [h] brings in one going immediately from Church, as ſoon as he was diſmiſt, to the Theatre, carrying the *Euchariſt* with him, according to Cuſtom, even among the obſcene Bodies of Harlots. *Gregory Nazianzen* alſo [i] ſpeaks of his Siſter *Gorgonia* having the *Euchariſt* in her Chamber. And *Baſil* [k] ſays, it was cuſtomary in Times of Perſecution for Chriſtians, when they could not have a Prieſt or a Deacon preſent with them, to take the *Euchariſt* with their own Hands. As they who led a ſolitary Life, at a great Diſtance from the Prieſt, commonly took the *Euchariſt* with their own Hands alſo. And it was cuſtomary at *Alexandria* and throughout *Egypt* for the People every one to take the

[g] Cypr. de Lapſis. p. 132. Cum quædam mulier arcam ſuam, in qua Domini Sanctum fuit, indignis manibus tentaſſet aperire, igne inde ſurgente deterrità eſt, ne auderet attingere.

[h] Cypr. de Spectaculis. p. 3. in Append. Qui feſtinans ad ſpectaculum, dimiſſus, & adhuc gerens ſecum, ut aſſolet, Euchariſtiam inter corpora obſcœna meretricum tulit.

[i] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgonia, p. 187. [k] Baſil. Ep. 289. ad Cæſariam Patriciam.

the Sacrament home with them. St. *Jerom* [*l*] alſo intimates the ſame, when he asks thoſe who thought they might ſafely take the Sacrament at home, when they were not prepared to do it in the Church, whether they thought there was one CHRIST in Publick, and another in Private? Why were they afraid to go to Church? If it was not lawful to receive it in the Church, it was not lawful to receive it at Home. St. *Ambroſe* likewiſe in his Funeral Oration upon his Brother *Satyrus* [*m*] ſays of him, that he obtained the Body of CHRIST of ſome that had it in the Ship, wherein he ſuffered Shipwrack. It is true indeed this Cuſtom was diſcouraged in *Spain* in the Beginning of the fifth Century upon the account of the *Priſcillianiſts*, who made uſe of it as a Pretence to cover themſelves among the *Catholicks*, and yet never eat the *Euchariſt* at all. In Oppoſition to whom the Council of *Saragoſſa* [*n*] about the Year 381. made a ſevere Decree, that if any one was found to take the *Euchariſt* in the Church, and not eat it, he ſhould be anathematized. And this was ſeconded by a like Decree [*o*] in the firſt Council of *Toledo*. But as theſe Canons were only made upon a particular Occaſion, and for a particular Country, they did not much affect the reſt of the World. Inſomuch that *Bona* [*p*] himſelf obſerves, out of *Johannes Moſchus* and *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, ſeveral In-

[*l*] Hieron. Ep. 50. ad Pammachium. Quare ad Martyres ire non audent? Quare non ingrediuntur Eccleſias? An alius in Publico, alius in Domi Chriſtus eſt? Quod in Eccleſia non licet, nec domi licet. [*m*] Ambroſ. Orat. de Obitu fratris. T. 3. p. 19. [*n*] Conc. Cæſarauguſt. can. 3. Euchariſtiæ gratiam ſi quis probatur acceptam in Eccleſia non ſumpſiſſe, anathema ſit in perpetuum. [*o*] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 14. Si quis acceptam à ſacerdote Euchariſtiam non ſumpſerit, velut Sacrilegus propellatur. [*p*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 4.

ſtances of the Cuſtom continuing in the ſeventh and eighth Centuries. And doubtleſs it was the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the Adoration of the Hoſt that perfectly aboliſhed this Cuſtom, which was thought inconſiſtent with them.

Sect. 14. *Yet this never allowed in the publick Service.*

IT muſt be noted under this Head, that though the Church for the Reaſons aforeſaid allowed the People to carry the *Euchariſt* home with them, and participate of it in private by themſelves; yet She never permitted any Layman to have any hand in the Adminiſtration of it in her publick Service. As the Biſhops and Presbyters were the only Perſons that were allowed to conſecrate the *Euchariſt*, ſo it was the ordinary Office of Deacons to miniſter it [*] to the People. And when any Laymen preſumed to adminiſter it to themſelves in the Church, they were corrected for it [q] by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. And more eſpecially Women were debarred from this [r] and all other Offices in the publick Miniſtrations, except what belonged to the inferiour Service of the Deaconeſſes, of which I have given a full Account [†] in another Place.

HERE I cannot omit the pertinent Obſervation made by *Morinus* [s], and approved by *Bona* [t] as a judicious and true Remark, That the *Mendicants* were the firſt that introduced the Cuſtom of keeping the Sacrament in the Church for private Men in health to partake of *extra Sacrificium*, out of the time of publick Service in the Church. They freely own

[*] See Book II. Chap. xx. n. 7. and 8. [q] Conc. Trullan. can. 58. [r] Vid. Firmil Ep. 75. inter Epiſt. Cypr. Conc. Paris. an. 829. Lib. 1. cap. 45. [†] Book II. Chap. xxii. [s] Morin. de Pœniten. Lib. 8. cap. 14. [t] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. Chap. 17. n. 6.

own this to be a Novelty, and that againſt the Rules of the *Roman* Ritual, which orders the Sacrament to be kept in the Church only for the Sick. They ſay, the Ancients kept it in the Church only upon this account, for the Sake of the Sick; and that they allowed no uſe of the Communion to Men in health out of the time of the Oblation, ſave only when they permitted the People to carry it home with them, and participate thereof in private, which was a different thing from publick Communicating in the Church [*].

Sect. 15. *A novel Cuſtom noted, of Reſerving the* Euchariſt *for forty Days, and the Inconveniencies attending it.*

WHILST we are ſpeaking of reſerving the Sacrament, it may not be amiſs to make a Remark by the way upon a novel Cuſtom, which is related by ſome of the *Roman* Ritualiſts about the Time of *Charles the Great*. They tell us, it was uſual in thoſe Days, in the Ordination of a Biſhop or Presbyter, not only to give the new ordained Perſon the Communion at that time, but alſo as much of it in reſerve as would ſerve him to partake of for forty Days after. This Cuſtom is mentioned by *Alcuin* [*u*] and the *Ordo Romanus*, and *Fulbertus Carnotenſis*, and *Bona* [*x*] does not pretend to find it in any more ancient Writers. It is hard to

[*] *The Reader that would ſee more Abuſes crept into the Roman Service, may conſult the Twentyfirſt Seſſion of the Council of* Baſil. Cap. De Spectaculis in Eccleſia non faciendis. *or Mr.* Gregory's *Diſſertation, call'd,* Epiſcopus Puerorum, *where he will ſee how the Epiſcopal Office was uſed to be mimicked in Pageantry on* Innocents *Day in many Churches.* [*u*] Alcuin. de Offic. cap. 37. Pontifex ad communicandum porrigit ei Formatam & ſacram Oblationem, quam accipiens communicat ſuper altare, cætera vero reſervat ſibi ad communicandum uſq; ad dies quadragintà. It. Ordo Roma. in Ordinat. Epiſcopi. Et Fulbert. Ep. ad Pinandum. [*x*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 9.

to gueſs at the Reaſons of this Cuſtom, and therefore I content myſelf barely to mention it without farther enquiry into the Myſtery of it. I only obſerve, that ſometimes great Inconveniencies followed upon this long Reſervation of the Sacrament: For it would often grow mouldy, corrupt and ſtink, and then they were hard put to it to determine which way to diſpoſe of it. Sometimes by the Negligence of the Prieſt it was devoured by Mice or other Animals, in which Caſe the Prieſt was to do Penance forty Days for his neglect, as *Gratian* [*y*] cites a Canon out of ſome Council of *Arles* or *Orleance* to this purpoſe. But if it grew ſtale and corrupted, then it was to be burnt, by other Canons cited by *Ivo* [*z*] and *Burchardus* [*a*] out of the Council of *Arles*, ordering, That in this Caſe it ſhould be burnt, and the Aſhes of it buried under the Altar. Which *Algerus* [*b*] aſſures us was the Cuſtom in his Time, as *Bona* [*c*] confeſſes out of him. And the very Canon of the *Maſs* [*d*] has a *Rubrick* ſtill in being, That if a Fly or Spider, or any ſuch Animal, falls into the Cup after Conſecration, the Prieſt, when *Maſs* is ended, muſt take it out and waſh it with Wine, and burn it in the Fire. And ſo he muſt do, if it be ſpilt upon the Ground, he muſt gather up the Earth and burn it. And yet ſome of the *Schoolmen* [*e*] cry out againſt this as an horrible Sacrilege

[*y*] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 94. Qui bene non cuſtodierit Sacrificium, & mus vel aliquod aliud animal illud comederit, quadragiſta diebus pœniteat. [*z*] Ivo. Decret. Par. 2. cap. 56. [*a*] Burchard. Lib. 5. c. 50. [*b*] Alger. de Euchar. Lib. 2. cap. 1. [*c*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 2. [*d*] Miſſal. de Defectibus Miſſæ. can 5. Si muſca, vel aranea vel aliquid aliud ceciderit in calicem—— ſacerdos extrahat eam & lavet cum vino, finitaque Miſſa comburat. &c. [*e*] Petrus Paludanus, in Sent. Lib. 4. Diſt. 9. Quæſt. 1. art. 3. Hoſtias conſecratas quamvis mucidas comburere immane Sacrilegium.

Sacrilege, to burn the conſecrated Hoſt, though it be grown mouldy, which, according to their Opinion, would be to burn the Body of GOD. He that would ſee to what Difficulties the *Roman* Caſuiſts are driven upon this Point, to tell, what becomes of the Body of CHRIST, when the Sacrament happens to be thus corrupted, and how they diſtreſs and confute one another; may conſult the Learned *Aubertin* [*f*], who has particularly conſidered their ſeveral different Anſwers, no leſs than ſeven in Number, and ſhewed the Vanity of them all, in that elaborate Work of his upon the *Euchariſt* againſt the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church. I will not lead my Reader too far out of his Way with long Digreſſions about ſuch Things; but return to the Buſineſs of the ancient Church.

Sect. 16. *The* Euchariſt *ſometimes given to Energumens in the Intervals of their Diſtemper.*

THOUGH they did not receive Energumens, or Perſons vexed with evil Spirits, promiſcuouſly to the Communion, yet neither did they wholly reject them; but in the Intervals of their Diſtemper, if they ſhewed any Signs of Piety and Sobriety, they admitted them to partake of it. This we learn from the Canons of *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who propoſes this Queſtion, whether a Communicant may communicate, if he be poſſeſſed? and anſwers it, If he does not expoſe or blaſpheme [*g*] the Myſteries, he may communicate now and then. And *Caſſian* [*h*] ſays, the ſame Reſolution was

[*f*] Albertin. de Euchar. Lib. 1. c. 19. p. 122. [*g*] Timoth. Reſponſ. Canon. c. 3. ap. Bevereg. Tom. 2. [*h*] Caſſian. Collat. 7. cap. 30. Communionem vero eis ſacroſanctam à ſenioribus noſtris nunquam meminimus interdictam: Quinimo, ſi poſſibile eſſet, etiam quotidie eis impartire eam debere cenſebant. —— Hoc namque modo curatum & Andronicum Abbatem nuper aſpeximus, alioſque quamplures.

was given to the Queſtion by the *Egyptian* Fathers, who did not uſe to interdict them the Communion, but rather deſired they ſhould, if poſſible, communicate every Day. For by this means they had relieved one Abbot *Andronicus* and many others of their Diſtemper. So that though the Canons and Rules of the Church ſeem to drive away the Energumens together with the Catechumens and Penitents, they are to be underſtood with this Exception: Or at leaſt we muſt ſay, the Church obſerved a different Diſcipline in different Places.

Sect. 17. *All Men debarred from it, that were guilty of any notorious Crime, of what Rank or Degree ſoever.*

IT would be endleſs to enumerate here all the particular Crimes for which Men were debarred the holy Communion; we ſhall have a more proper Occaſion to ſpecify them in the next Volume, when we come to treat more perfectly and diſtinctly of the Church's Diſcipline: It may be ſufficient to note here in general, That all who were guilty of any notorious Crimes, were rejected from participating at the holy Table, whatever Rank or Degree they were of, even tho' it were the Emperor himſelf, as appears from the Caſe of *Theodoſius*, whom St. *Ambroſe* reſolutely and abſolutely refuſed for a barbarous Murder committed by his Authority upon ſeven thouſand Men at *Theſſalonica*, till he had both confeſſed his Fault, and made ample Satisfaction, as the Reader may find the Story at large excellently related by *Theodoret* [*i*] in his Hiſtory, and which I will relate from him in the next Volume in its proper Place. Some other particular Caſes are propos'd and anſwered in the Canons of *Dionyſius* [*k*], and *Timothy* [*l*], and by St. *Jerom*,

[*i*] Theod. Lib. 5. cap. 17. [*k*] Dionyſ. Can. 2. *and* 4.
[*l*] Timoth. Can. 5, 7, 12.

Jerom [*m*], which becauſe they are rather private Caſes of Conſcience than Matters of publick Diſcipline, I refer the Reader to their proper Authors for them.

Sect. 18. *The Queſtion of* Digamy, *or ſecond Marriage, ſtated. Whether it debarred Men any time from the Communion.*

THERE is one Queſtion in a doubtful Caſe, which the Obſcurity of ſome ancient Canons has made very perplexed and intricate in the Reſolutions of Learned Men, which therefore may not be ſilently paſs'd over: That is, the Queſtion about *Digamy* or ſecond Marriage, in what Senſe it excluded Men for ſome time from the holy Communion? The Penalty inflicted upon them, is Abſtinence from the Sacrament for one Year or two; which I freely own, as it is ordered and worded by the Canons of *Neocæſarea* [*n*], *Laodicea* [*o*], and St. *Baſil* [*p*], is one of the hardeſt Caſes we meet with in all the Hiſtory of the ancient Church. Biſhop *Beveridge* and ſome others think they mean only ſecond Marriages that are contracted whilſt the firſt remains undiſſolved. And if ſo, there would be no Difficulty in the Caſe: For a ſeverer Penance might be laid upon ſuch as retain two Wives at once. And therefore others think, they intended to diſcourage, though not abſolutely to forbid, ſecond Marriages made ſucceſſively after the Obligation of the firſt was cancelled by Death: But then, how to reconcile this with the Apoſtolical Rules, is not very eaſy to determine. Neither can it be excus'd from inclining to the Errors of the *Novatians* and *Montaniſts*, for which *Tertullian* pleads ſo ſtifly againſt the Church in his Book *De Monogamia*, and other Places.

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[*m*] Hieron. Ep. 20. ad Pammach. cap. 6. [*n*] Conc. Neocæſ. can. 7. [*o*] Conc. Laod. can. 1. [*p*] Baſil. can. 4.

I ſhould rather think theſe Canons intended no more but to diſcountenance marrying after an unlawful Divorce, which was a ſcandalous Practice, however allowed by the Laws of *Jews* and *Gentiles*. And this the rather, becauſe *Tertullian*'s Arguments againſt the *Catholicks* imply, That they allowed of ſecond Marriages ſucceſſively in all except the Clergy, and many Churches admitted *Digamiſts* (in that Senſe) even into Orders too, as I have ſhewed out of *Tertullian* himſelf, and *Chryſoſtom*, and *Theodoret* more fully [*] in another Place. And if theſe Canons intended any thing more, they muſt be looked upon as private Rules, which could not preſcribe againſt the general Senſe and Practice of the Catholick Church.

Sect. 19.

The corrupt Cuſtom of ſome who gave the Euchariſt *to the Dead, cenſured by the Ancients.*

THERE was one very corrupt and ſuperſtitious Practice began to creep pretty early into the *African* Churches and ſome others, which the Fathers cenſure very heartily, as it juſtly deſerved: that was, Giving the *Euchariſt* to the Dead. The third Council of *Carthage* has a Canon to this Purpoſe [q], That the *Euchariſt* ſhould not be given to the Bodies of the Dead: For the Lord ſaid, *Take this and eat:* But dead Bodies can neither take nor eat. Caution alſo is to be uſed, that the Brethren may not through Ignorance believe, that dead Bodies may be baptized, ſeeing the *Euchariſt* may not be given to them. And this with a little Variation is repeated in the *African* [r] Code, where the Cauſe of both Errors

[*] Book IV. Chap. v. n. 4, [q] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 6. Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum Euchariſtia non detur. Dictum eſt enim à Domino, Accipite & edite: Cadavera autem nec accipere poſſunt nec edere. Cavendum eſt etiam, ne mortuos baptizari poſſe fratrum infirmitas credat, quibus nec Euchariſtiam dari licitum eſt. [r] Cod. Afric. can. 18.

Errors as well in Baptiſm as the *Euchariſt*, is aſcribed to the Ignorance of the Presbyters miſguiding the People. A like Canon was made in the Council of *Auxerre* in *France*, *An.* 578, a little [*s*] before the Time of *Gregory the Great*. Which ſhews that the ſame Abuſe had got ſome footing there alſo. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo ſpeaks againſt it [*t*], though he does not intimate that it was practiſed by any *Catholicks*, but rather (if by any) by the *Marcionite* Hereticks, who as they gave a vicarious Baptiſm to the Living for the Dead, ſo perhaps might give the *Euchariſt* to the Dead themſelves: Both which Abſurdities he refutes at once from the Words of our Saviour. To whom did he ſay, *Except ye eat my Fleſh, and drink my Blood, ye have no Life in you?* Did he ſpeak to the Living, or to the Dead? And again, *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God.* It appears alſo that long after St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Time there were ſome Remains of this Error in the *Greek* Church: For the Council of *Trullo* [*u*] repeats the Prohibition in the Words of the Council of *Carthage*: Let no one impart the *Euchariſt* to the Bodies of the Dead; for it is written, *Take, and eat*; but the Bodies of the Dead can neither take nor eat.

Sect. 20. *Parallel to which is the Abuſe of burying the* Euchariſt *with the Dead.*

BONA does not undertake to defend this Abuſe, but he does another which is no leſs abſurd, becauſe he found it in the Practice of St. *Benedict*, and related with Approbation by *Gregory the Great*: that is, The Cuſtom of burying the *Euchariſt* with the Dead: *Bona*

[*t*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 12. Non licet mortuis nec Euchariſtiam nec Oſculum tradi. &c. [*s*] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. [*u*] Conc. Trull. can. 83.

Bona [x] ſays, this was done by St. *Baſil* in the *Greek* Church, as is reported in his Life: But all Men know the Author of that Life to be both a ſpurious and a Legendary Writer. That which he alledges out of *Gregory* [y] is more authentick: For he ſays, St. *Benedict* order'd the Communion to be laid upon the Breaſt of one of his Monks, and to be buried with him. He reckons theſe Things were done either by divine Inſtinct, or by Compliance with received Cuſtom, which is ſince abrogated. But he produces no Rule of his Church to ſhew its Abrogation. And whatever Rules there may be to the contrary, it is certain the Practice contined ſtill. For not only *Balzamon* [z] and *Zonaras* ſpeak of it in their Time; but *Ivo* [a] ſays, When the Body of St. *Othmar* was tranſlated, the Sacrament was taken up out of the Dormitory with him. And a Learned Man [b] now living aſſures us, that he himſelf with many others have ſeen the Chalice in which the ſacred Blood was buried, dug out of the Graves of divers Biſhops buried in the Church of *Sarum*. So that whatever the Laws might prohibit, the Prophanation continued under Pretence of Piety among the greateſt Men, but without any Foundation or real Example in the Practice of the Primitive Church.

Sect. 21. *The Order of communicating.*

WE have hitherto conſidered what related to the Communicants themſelves; we are now to examine the Manner of their communicating. Where

[x] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 6. [y] Greg. Dial. Lib. 2. cap. 24. Juſſit communionem Dominici corporis in pectus defuncti reponi atque ſic tumulari.
[z] Not. in Can. 13. Conc. Trull. [a] Ivo. Vita Othmari. Lib. 2. c. 3. ap. Surium. die 16. Nov. [b] *Dr.* Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip.* Chap 1. p. 26.

Where first of all the Order of their communicating occurs to our Observation: Which is thus described in the *Constitutions*: First let the Bishop receive [c], then the Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, and Asceticks; among the Women, the Deaconesses, Virgins and Widows; after that the Children, then all the People in Order. In *Justin Martyr*'s Time [d] when the Bishop had consecrated, the Deacons distributed both the Bread and the Cup among the Communicants: But in after Ages the Bishop or Presbyter commonly ministred the Bread, and the Deacons the Cup after them. And there are some Canons that expressly [e] forbid a Deacon to minister the Body of CHRIST, when a Presbyter is present, and others enjoining them not [f] to do it without Necessity, and a licence from the Presbyter to do it. And it was ever accounted so great an Absurdity for a Presbyter to receive from the Hands of a Deacon, that the Council of *Nice* [g] thought fit to make a particular Canon to forbid it. But by Permission and Custom it became their ordinary Office to minister the Cup [h], and sometimes both Species [i] to the People, observing the Method prescribed to communicate every one in their proper Order.

Sect. 22. *Some Rules observed for Distinction of Places.*

ANOTHER Distinction was made in placing the Communicants in their proper Stations. For though no Distinction was made in this Case between Rich and Poor; they being

[c] Constit. Lib. 8. cap. 13. [d] Justin. Apol. 2. p. 97.
[e] Conc. Arelat. 2. can. 15. Diaconi corpus Christi, præsente Presbytero, tradere non præsumant. [f] Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 38. Diaconus, præsente Presbytero, Eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget.
[g] Conc. Nic. can. 18. [h] Vid. Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 132. Constit. Lib. 8. c. 13. [i] Conc. Ancyr. can. 2.

all called alike to partake together of the ſame Communion, as Friends of one common Lord [*k*]; yet ſome Diſtinction of Place for Orders Sake was generally obſerved, though not exactly the ſame in all Places, but with ſome Variety according to the different Cuſtoms of different Churches. In the *Spaniſh* Churches it was cuſtomary for the Presbyters and Deacons to communicate at the Altar, and the reſt of the Clergy in the Quire, and the People without the Rails of the Chancel, as is plain from a Canon of the fourth Council [*l*] of *Toledo*; and to this a Reference is made, as to an ancient Cuſtom, ſettled long before by former Canons, in the firſt Council of *Braga* [*m*]. Which implies that there were Rules of old about this Matter, ſince the Council of *Braga* could not mean the Council of *Toledo*, for that was after it, *An.* 633. The Reference muſt be to more ancient Canons, ſuch as that of the Council of *Laodicea*, which [*n*] orders, That none but the Clergy only ſhould come to communicate within the Chancel. And this ſeems to have been the conſtant Practice of the *Greek* Church, where no Layman from that Time, beſides the Emperor, was allowed to come to the Altar, to make his Oblations and communicate there; but this Privilege was allowed the Emperor by ancient Tradition [*o*] as the Council of *Trullo* words it. And yet even this was denied the Emperor in the *Italick* Church. For St. *Ambroſe* would not permit the Emperor *Theodoſius* him-

[*k*] Vid. Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in 1 Theſ. p. 1485. [*l*] Conc. Tolet. 4. can. 17. Sacerdos & Levita ante altare communicent, in Choro Clerus, extra Chorum populus. [*m*] Conc. Bracaren. 1. can. 31. Placuit ut intra ſanctuarium altaris ingredi ad communicandum non liceat Laicis Viris vel Mulieribus, ſicut & antiquis Canonibus ſtatutum eſt. [*n*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. μόνοις ἔξὸν εἰ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν. [*o*] Conc. Trull. can 69. κατὰ ἀρχαιοτάτην παράδοσιν. &c.

himſelf to communicate in this Place, but obliged him to retire as ſoon as he had made his Oblations at the Altar. But *Valeſius* [p] has obſerved out of the Epiſtles of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that in the Third Century it was cuſtomary both for Men and Women to come and ſtand at the Altar to communicate: And *Mabillon* ſhews [q] out of *Gregory* of *Tours* [r] that the ſame Cuſtom prevailed in the *Gallican* Churches. And it is very evident from the Second Council of *Tours*, which has a Canon to this Purpoſe: That though Laymen at other Times ſhould not come into the Chorus or Chancel, yet when the Oblation was offered [s], both Men and Women might come into the Holy of Holies to communicate at the Altar. So that this was plainly one of thoſe Rites which varied according to the Difference of Times and Places, and the various Uſages and Cuſtoms of different Churches. There are a great many other Cuſtoms relating to the Manner of communicating, which are of greater Moment, and become Matters of great Diſpute in theſe latter Ages, and therefore it will be neceſſary to conſider and examine them a little more particularly, which I ſhall do in the following Chapter.

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[p] Valeſ. Not in Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 9. [q] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 24. [r] Greg. Turon. Lib. 9. cap. 3. & Lib. 10. cap. 8. [s] Conc. Turon. 2. can. 4. Ad orandum & communicandum Laicis & Feminis, ſicut mos eſt, pateant ſancta ſanctorum.

CHAP. V.

A Reſolation of ſeveral Queſtions relating to the Manner of communicating in the ancient Church.

Sect. 1. *That the People were always admitted to receive in both Kinds.*

THE firſt and moſt momentous Queſtion of this Kind is, whether the People, and ſuch of the Clergy as did not conſecrate, were generally admitted to communicate in both Kinds? The principal Advocates of Popery at the Beginning of the Reformation [*a*] were not willing to own, that the Univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church was againſt the Modern Sacrilege of denying the Cup to the People: And therefore tho' they confeſſed there were ſome Inſtances in Antiquity of Communion under both Kinds, yet they maintained the Cuſtom was not Univerſal. So *Eckius* and *Harding* and many others. But they who have ſince conſidered the Practice of the ancient Church more narrowly, are aſhamed of this Pretence, and freely confeſs, that for twelve Centuries there is no Inſtance of the Peoples being obliged to communicate only in one Kind, in the Publick Adminiſtration of the Sacrament [*b*], but in Private they think ſome few Inſtances may be given. This is Cardinal *Bona*'s Diſtinction, whoſe Words

[*a*] Vid. Eckij Enchirid. cap. 10. de Euchar. p. 130. Harding's *Anſwer to* Juel's *Challenge.* Art. 2. p. 30. Bellarmin. de Euchar. Lib. 4. cap. 24. [*b*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. c. 18. n. 1. Certum eſt omnes paſſim Clericos & Laicos, viros & mulieres ſub utraque ſpecie ſacra Myſteria antiquitus ſumpſiſſe, eum Solemni eorum celebrationi aderant, & offerebant & de oblatis

Words are ſo remarkable, that I cannot forbear to tranſcribe them: It is very certain, ſays he, that anciently all in general, both Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, received the Holy Myſteries in both Kinds, when they were preſent at the ſolemn Celebration of them, and they both offered and were Partakers. But out of the Time of Sacrifice, and out of the Church, it was cuſtomary always and in all Places to communicate only in one Kind. In the firſt Part of the Aſſertion all agree, as well *Catholicks* as Sectaries; nor can any one deny it, that has the leaſt Knowledge of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. For the Faithful always and in all Places from the very firſt Foundation of the Church to the Twelfth Century, were uſed to communicate under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine; and in the Beginning of that Age the Uſe of the Cup began by little and little to be laid aſide, whilſt many Biſhops interdicted the People the Uſe of the Cup for Fear of Irreverence and Effuſion. And what they did firſt for their own Churches, was afterward confirmed by a canonical Sanction in the Council of *Conſtance*. This is as fair and ample a Confeſſion for the Practice of the Univerſal Church as we deſire, and it ſerves to ſhew the Vanity of all thoſe Arguments, from Scripture and Antiquity, that were offered at by the firſt Managers of this Diſpute, to prove the Practice of communicating in

oblatis participabant. Extra ſacrificium vero, & extra Eccleſiam ſemper & ubique Communio ſub una ſpecie in uſu fuit. Primæ parti aſſertionis conſentiunt omnes, tam Catholici, quam ſectarij; nec eam negare poteſt, qui vel leviſſima rerum Eccleſiaſticarum notitia imbutus ſit. Semper enim & ubique ab Eccleſiæ primordiis uſque ad Sæculum duodecimum ſub ſpecie panis & vini communicarunt Fideles; cœpitque paulatim ejus Sæculi initio uſus calicis obſoleſcere, pleriſque Epiſcopis cum populo interdicentibus ob periculum irreverentiæ & effuſionis.

both Kinds not to be Univerſal. It ſuperſedes alſo all farther Trouble of citing Authorities in this Diſpute, as unneceſſary in a Matter ſo much beyond all Doubt and Exception by the Adverſaries own Confeſſion. Though the Reader that deſires to ſee the Authorities produced at large, may find them in *Voſſius* [c] and *Du Moulin* [d] and more amply in *Chamier* [e] and a late Treatiſe of a learned Writer [f] in our own Tongue, ſhewing, that there is no *Catholick* Tradition for Communion in one Kind. But *Bona* not only grants us all this, but tacitly anſwers all the plauſible Arguments uſed by *Bellarmin* [g] and others, to perſuade their Readers into a belief of the ancient Church giving the Communion only in one Kind. *Bellarmin* urges the frequent mention of reducing delinquent Clergymen to Lay-Communion; which he interprets Communion in one Kind. But *Bona* rejects this Notion of Lay-Communion as utterly falſe [h]; reflecting tacitly upon *Bellarmin* and other Modern Writers of his own Church, as ignorant of the ancient Diſcipline, who no ſooner hear of the Name, Lay-Communion, but preſently they take it in the Senſe that it now bears, and interpret it Communion in one Kind; which how falſe it is, ſays he, we

[c] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. Diſp. 5. de Symbolis Cœnæ Domin.

[d] Moulin. *Novelty of Popery*. Book 7. Controverſy. 12.

[e] Chamier de Euchariſt. Lib. 8. cap. 9. [f] *Demonſtration that the Church of* Rome *has erred in her Decrees about Communion in one Kind.* [g] Bellarm. de Euchar. Lib. 4. cap. 24.

[h] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 19. n. 3. Recentiores, qui audito nomine Communionis, ejus veteri notione neglecta, id ſolum concipiunt quod hodie ea voce ſignificatur, Laicam Communionem nihil aliud eſſe putant, quàm perceptionem Euchariſtiæ ſub unica ſpecie, aut extra Cancellos more Laicorum; Quod quàm falſum ſit vel ex eo liquet, quod ſæpe Clericos ad Laicam Communionem detruſos legimus, eo tempore, quo etiam Laici ſub utraque ſpecie communicabant.

we may learn from hence, that we often read of Clergymen being thruſt down to Lay-Communion at that time, when Laymen communicated in both Kinds. Others draw an Argument from that which the Ancients call *Communio Peregrina*, the Communion of Strangers, which they interpret Communion in one Kind: But *Bona* [*i*] takes a great deal of Pains to ſhew the Ignorance of theſe Men, and makes an accurate Enquiry into the true Notion of this Sort of Communion, concluding that whatever it meant, it did not mean Communion in one Kind. *Bellarmin* draws another Argument or two from the Reſervation of the *Euchariſt* for the Uſe of the Sick, and from that private and domeſtick Communion, which we have ſeen before was allow'd to private Chriſtians in their own Houſes, or in a Journey, or in the Wilderneſs: All which *Bellarmin* will have to have been only in one Kind. But beſides that this is falſe in itſelf: (For they reſerved not only one, but both Kinds for theſe Uſes, as we ſhall ſee more by and by) *Bona* [*k*] ſays, it is altogether beſide the Queſtion: For the Queſtion is not about private and extraordinary Communion in Caſes of great Exigency, but about the publick, ſolemn and ordinary Communion of the Church: Concerning which he concludes, no Inſtance can be produced before the twelfth Century of its being celebrated only in one Kind.

BUT then, that he may not ſeem to give up the Cauſe of his Church, and deſert it as wholly deſpe-

[*i*] Bona. ibid. n. 5. Quidam, inter quos Binius in notis ad Concilium Ilerdenſe, communionem Peregrinam cum Laica confundunt. Alii exiſtimarunt nihil aliud eſſe quam perceptionem Euchariſtiæ ſub una tantum Specie. Verum quid magis alienum à Diſciplina veterum Patrum? &c.

[*k*] Bona ibid. n. 1,

rate, he pretends that the Change that was made by the Council of *Conſtance*, and confirmed by the Council of *Trent*, was againſt no divine Law; for Communion in both Kinds was neither inſtituted by GOD, nor did the ancient Fathers ever teach it to be neceſſary to Salvation. One would wonder to ſee diſcerning Men ſo infatuated. What Words can be able to expreſs a divine Inſtitution, if thoſe of our Saviour are not, *Drink ye all of this*? Or how ſhould the Fathers believe Communion in both Kinds not to be neceſſary, who thought it neceſſary for Children, and actually communicated them in both Kinds, whenever they were capable of receiving it, as we have ſeen before? But he was ſenſible ſome of their own Popes have called it a grand Sacrilege to divide the Myſtery. *Gelaſius* [*l*] complains, That ſome received the Bread, but abſtained from the Cup, whom he condemns as guilty of Superſtition, and orders, That they ſhould either receive in both Kinds, or elſe be excluded from both: Becauſe one and the ſame Myſtery cannot be divided without grand Sacrilege. *Leo the Great* [*m*] declaims againſt them after the ſame manner: They receive the Body of CHRIST with an unworthy Mouth, but refuſe to drink the Blood of our Redemption. Such Mens ſacrilegious Diſſimulation being diſcovered, let them be

[*l*] Gelaſ. ap. Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 12. Comperimus quod quidam ſumpta tantummodo corporis ſacri portione, à Calice ſacri cruoris abſtineant. Qui proculdubio, quia neſcio qua ſuperſtitione docentur obſtringi, aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arceantur: quia diviſio unius ejuſdemque Myſterij ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt provenire. [*m*] Leo Ser. 4. de Quadrageſima. Ore indigno corpus Chriſti accipiunt, ſanguinem autem redemptionis noſtræ haurire omnino declinant. — quorum deprehenſa fuerit ſacrilega Simulatio, notati & prohibiti à Sanctorum ſocietate Sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur.

be marked, and by the Authority of the Prieſthood caſt out of the Society of the Faithful. It is in vain to ſay here, as *Bona* does, That theſe Decrees were only made againſt the *Manichees*, who believed Wine to be the Gall of the Prince of Darkneſs, and the Creature of the Devil, and therefore refuſed to drink it: For their Reaſons are general againſt all Superſtition whatſoever, and in their Opinion the Sacrament may not be divided without grand Sacrilege, and thwarting the Rule of the firſt Inſtitution. Which *Bona* might alſo have learned from another Decree related in their Canon Law (*n*) under the Name of Pope *Julius*, who ſays, The giving of the Bread and the Cup, each diſtinctly by themſelves, is a divine Order and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and that it is as much againſt the Law of CHRIST to give them joyntly by dipping the one into the other, as it is to offer Milk inſtead of Wine, or the Juice of the Grape immediately preſſed out of the Cluſter: all which are equally contrary to the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Doctrine, as well as the Cuſtom of the Church, as may be proved from the Fountain of Truth, by whom the Myſteries of the Sacraments were ordained. Does not this plainy imply, that Communicating in both Kinds diſtinctly, was according to the Laws of CHRIST, and agreeable to his Rule and Doctrine, as well as his Example? With what Face then could *Bona* ſay, That Communion in both Kinds was neither inſtituted

[*n*] Jul. Ep. ad Epiſc. Æypt. ap. Gratian. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 7. Audivimus quoſdam Schiſmatica ambitione detentos, contra Divinos ordines, & Apoſtolicas Inſtitutiones, lac pro vino in divinis ſacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere. — Quod quam ſit Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ doctrinæ contrarium, & conſuetudini Eccleſiaſticæ adverſum, non difficile ab ipſo fonte veritatis probabitur, à quo ordinata ipſa Sacramentorum myſteria proceſſerunt. &c.

tuted by GOD, nor did the ancient Fathers judge it neceſſary? when even ſome of their ancient Popes have told us ſo plainly, that Communion diſtinctly adminiſtred in both Kinds, is a divine Order, and that it is grand Sacrilege to divide them. And the Ancients always adminiſtred in both Kinds upon this Principle, Becauſe it was the Law of CHRIST, whatever *Bona* or his Partizans can ſay to the contrary.

AS to the other Part of the Queſtion, Whether the Ancients did not in ſome private or extraordinary Caſes, adminiſter the Sacrament in one Kind, we have no Diſpute with *Bona*, as being nothing to the Diſpute of publick Communion by his own Confeſſion. Though all the Arguments made uſe of by him and *Bellarmin* in this Caſe, are far from being exactly true and concluſive. For whereas they argue for Communion in one Kind from private and domeſtick Communion, it appears from ſeveral Inſtances that this ſort of Communicating was often in both Kinds. Thus *Nazianzen* [*o*] ſays of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, that ſhe laid up the Antitypes both of the Body and Blood of the Lord. And St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of his Brother *Satyrus* [*p*] and others at Sea, expreſſes the Matter in ſuch Terms, as plainly imply that they both eat the Bread and drunk the Wine. And whereas again they ſay, the Communion reſerved in the Church for the Uſe of the Sick was only in one Kind: The contrary is evidently proved from *Juſtin Martyr* [*q*], who ſays, The

[*o*] Naz. Orat. 11. de Gorgon. p. 187. [*p*] Ambroſ. Orat. de Obitu Fratris. T. 2. p. 19. Toto pectoris hauriret arcano. &c. Vid. Voſſ. Theſes. p. 517. ex Tappero.

[*q*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. *Thus alſo ſome think we may take* St. Jerom *ſpeaking of* Exuperius *Biſhop of* Tholouſe, Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini caniſtro vimineo, Sanguinem portat in vitro, *meaning his carrying both kinds to the Sick.*

The Deacons were uſed to carry both the Bread and Wine to the Abſent; and from St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Complaint [*r*] to Pope *Innocent*, That in that horrible Aſſault that was made upon his Church, the holy Blood of CHRIST was ſpilt upon the Soldiers Cloaths. Which *Baronius* himſelf [*s*] brings as an Argument to prove, That they were uſed to reſerve the Sacrament in both Kinds in the Church for the Uſe of the Sick. They argue farther, from the Example of ſuch as took long Journies, or went to Sea, that they always communicated in one Kind. But *Baronius* [*t*] proves in the ſame Place from the Authority of *Gregory the Great*, that they who went to Sea, carried both the Body and Blood of CHRIST along with them in the Ship. And *Bona* himſelf [*u*] tells us, there are ſome Inſtances of the Communion being carried in both Kinds to Hermits and Recluſes in the Wilderneſs, as he gives an Example in *Maria Ægyptiaca* out of *Sophronius*. They urge likewiſe the Uſe of the Preſanctified Sacrament, which the *Greeks* uſed all *Lent*, except on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, as has been noted before; and the *Latins* on the *Paraſceue* or *Good-Friday*; and this they pretend to tell us, with great Confidence, was only Communion in one Kind: For they reſerved only the Bread and not the Wine for this Sort of Communion. *Bellarmin* refers us to abundance of Authors for this, as Pope *Innocent*, Ep. 1. Cap. 4. who has not a Word about it; and *Gregory*'s *Sacramentarium*, and the *Ordo Romanus in Officio Paraſceues*, and *Rabanus Maurus* and *Micrologus*. But *Caſſander* [*x*] has unluckily ſpoiled this Argument,

[*r*] Chryſ. Ep. ad Innoc. T. 4. p. 681. [*s*] Baron. an. 404. T. 5. p. 194. [*t*] Baron. ibid. ex Gregor. Dial. 3. cap. 36. [*u*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 2. ex Vita Mariæ Ægyptiacæ. [*x*] Caſſand. de Communione ſub utraque Specie. p. 1027.

Argument, and inverted it upon them. For he has obſerved, and *Voſſius* [*y*] after him, That the *Ordo Romanus* in the Office of *Good-Friday*, appoints Wine to be conſecrated with the *Lord's Prayer*, by putting ſome of the pre-conſecrated Body into it, *Ut populus plene poſſit communicare*, that the People may have the full Communion in both Kinds. And the ſame is to be ſaid of the *Greeks* pre-ſanctified Communion: For in that *Liturgy* Wine and Water is ordered to be put into the Cup, and then in their Prayers before the Communion, the Elements are called the Body and Blood of the Lord. So *Caſſander*. But *Leo Allatius* [*z*], who wrote a peculiar Diſſertation upon this Subject, has more effectually ruined this Argument, which it is a Wonder *Bona* ſhould not obſerve, who ſo often refers to his *Diſſertation* and commends it. For he ſhews out of the *Greek* Writers, *Nicolas Cabaſilas* [*a*], and *Simeon Theſſalonicenſis* [*b*], That in this Communion there were both the Elements of Bread and Wine, either conſecrated before, or by the Touch of one another. So that this Argument not only proves nothing to their Purpoſe, but ruins the Hypotheſis of the Objectors. For this pre-ſanctified Communion of the *Greeks* was in both Kinds. And the very Prayers in this *Liturgy*, both before and after the Communion, (as *Allatius* [*c*] there obſerves) evidently ſhew it. For the Prieſt thus prays before Communion: *Vouchſafe by Thy mighty Power to impart to us Thy immaculate Body and Thy precious Blood, and by our Miniſtry to all the People.* And after Communion, *We give Thee Thanks, O Lord, the Saviour of all, for all the good Things Thou haſt given*

[*y*] Voſſ. Theſes Theol. p. 519. [*z*] Allat. de Miſſa Præſanctificatorum. n. 7. p. 1559. [*a*] Cabaſilas Expoſ. Miſſæ. cap. 24. [*b*] Simeon. Opuſc. cont. Hæreſes. Et Reſp. 56. ad Gabriel. Pentapolitan. [*c*] Allat. ibid. n. 19.

ven us, and for the Participation of the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ. And *Allatius* obſerves farther, [*d*], That the ſame ſort of Communion in both Kinds, was uſed on *Good-Friday* in *Spain* by the Order of the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, which agrees with what *Caſſander* obſerved before out of the *Latin* Church. And that which led *Bellarmin* and *Bona* into the Miſtake, to take this for Communion in one Kind was, that both the *Greek* and *Latin* Church reſerved only the Bread, and not the Wine, for this Service, but when they came to communicate, they put the pre-conſecrated Bread into a Cup of Wine, and ſaid the *Lord's Prayer* and ſome other Prayers, and that was eſteemed a Conſecration of it, and ſo they proceeded to communicate in both. I have been a little more particular in explaining this Rite, becauſe it is the only Inſtance our Adverſaries can urge with any Colour, of publick Communion in one Kind; which yet when rightly underſtood, we ſee, is no Argument for them, but directly againſt them. And at this Day the *Greeks*, and *Maronites*, and *Abyſſins*, and all the *Orientals*, never communicate but in both Kinds, as *Bona* [*e*] himſelf confeſſes out of *Abraham Echellenſis*, and other Writers. And as to other Inſtances of the Sick or Infants, or Men in a Journey, who communicate only in one Kind (if they were never ſo true, as we ſee many of them are falſe) they are private and extraordinary Caſes, that relate not to the publick Communion of the Church, aud ſo come not within the State of the preſent Queſtion, which is only about publick Communion, and not what was done in ſome very particular and extraordinary Caſes.

HAVING

[*d*] Ibid. n. 18. Ex Miſſa Moſarab. in die Paraſceues.
[*e*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 2.

Sect. 2.
That in receiving in both Kinds, they always received the Elements distinctly, and not the one dipped in the other.

HAVING thus dispatched this grand Question about Communion in one Kind, and shewed the Practice of the Church to be constantly to receive in both Elements, we are next to enquire, whether they received them both separately and distinctly, or the one dipped into and mixed with the other. The Modern *Greeks* have a Custom, which they have retained for some Ages, of dipping the Bread into the Wine, and ministring it so mixed in a Spoon to the People [*f*]. Some learned Men, among whom are *Latinus Latinius* [*g*] and *Arcudius* [*h*] make this Custom as ancient as the Time of Pope *Innocent* and St. *Chrysostom*: But *Habertus* [*i*] and *Bona* [*k*] prove there could be no such Custom in those Days, it being altogether contrary to the usage of the Church in that Age to mingle the Elements together, or minister them any otherwise than separate to the People. And indeed there is nothing more evident than this in all the Writtings of the Ancients, who speak of delivering the Bread first with a certain Form of Words, and after that the Cup with another Form (as we shall see more by and by) and that commonly by distinct Persons, a Bishop or a Presbyter ministring the one, and a Deacon the other. So that it is needless to multiply Testimonies to shew, that mixing of the Elements is a novel Invention. I only note one Passage of an Epistle

[*f*] Vid. *Dr.* Smith's *Account of the Greek Church.* p. 142.
[*g*] Latinius Ep. ad Anton. Augustin. [*h*] Arcud. de Concord. Lib. 3. cap. 53. [*i*] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 10. Observ. 10. p. 271. [*k*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 8. & Lib. 2. cap. 18. n. 3.

Epiſtle that goes under the name of Pope *Julius* [*l*] in *Gratian*'s Collection, which ſeems to hint at the Beginning of the Practice, and condemns it as a great Corruption, contrary to the Primitive Inſtitution of our Saviour. Whereas, ſays he, ſome give the People the *Euchariſt* dipt in the Cup for a Complement of the Communion, this has no Authority to be produced for it out of the Goſpel, where CHRIST commended his Body and Blood to his Diſciples. For the Goſpel ſpeaks of the Bread being apart, and the Cup apart by themſelves. This is repeated in the ſame Words in the Third Council of *Braga*, *An.* 675. [*m*]. *Bona* tells us farther, out of *Micrologus* [*n*], that it was forbidden by the old *Roman Ordo*; and that *Humbertus de Sylva Candida*, who wrote againſt the *Greeks* in the Middle of the eleventh Century, declaims [*o*] bitterly againſt it; though he thinks, with more Zeal than he needed to do, for a very good Reaſon we may be ſure, becauſe the ſame Practice, as much an Abuſe as it was, and contrary to the firſt Inſtitution, was not long after authorized in the *Roman* Church. For Pope *Urban* the Second in the Council of *Clermont* ordered it in Caſe of Neceſſity ſo to be adminiſtred to the Sick, and in other Caſes out of abundant Caution, for Fear the Blood ſhould at any Time be ſpilt. However it had various Fortune in the *Roman* Church. For *Paſchal* the Second not long after revoked

[*l*] Gratian. de Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. cap. 7. Quod vero pro Complemento Communionis intinctam tradunt Euchariſtiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex Evangelio teſtimonium recipit, ubi Apoſtolis corpus ſuum & Sanguinem commendavit. Seorſum enim Panis, & ſeorſum Calicis commendatio memoratur. [*m*] Conc. Bracarenſ. 3. can. 1. [*n*] Microlog. cap. 19. Non eſt Authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt, & intinctum pro Complemento Communionis populo diſtribuunt, nam Ordo Romanus contradicit. [*o*] Humbert. Refutat. Calumniar. Michael. Cerularii.

voked the Licence of his Predeceſſor, and ordered [p] that neither Infants nor the Sick ſhould have the Communion mixed, but rather take the Blood alone, which he thought more decent than to give the Bread dipt in the Cup. Yet this did not ſatisfy the Council of *Tours* [q] mentioned by *Ivo*, for they thought ſtill, that the Sick in Caſe of Neceſſity ought to have it dipt, that they might have it in both Kinds, and that the Presbyter who adminiſtred it, might ſay with Truth, the Body and Blood of our Lord JESUS CHRIST be unto thee for Remiſſion of Sins and Eternal Life. The Men of this Age did not yet think it lawful to communicate even the Sick in one Kind only, nor that the Prieſt could ſay with Truth to the Communicant, the Body and Blood of CHRIST, when he did not give him both Kinds. But *Bona* here pities their Ignorance: For they, poor Men! had not yet learned that noble Secret, in Divinity, the Doctrine of Concomitancy, to know, that the Body of CHRIST cannot be without the Blood. But he goes on to acquaint us out of an old Ritual of *Joannes Abrincatenſis*, that this mixt Communion was ordered to be given to all the People likewiſe, for Fear of Effuſion. And in the Ancient Cuſtoms of the Monaſtery of *Cluny* publiſhed by *Dacherius* there is an Order, that the Novices ſhould thus communicate, for Fear that if they took the Blood by itſelf, they might incur ſome Negligence and ſhed it. Though it is intimated in a Marginal Note there, that the old Cuſtom of giving both Kinds ſeparately was uſed in other Churches.

In

[p] Paſchal. Ep. 32. ad Pontium. [q] Conc. Turon. ap. Ivonem. Par. 2. cap. 19. Sacra oblatio intincta debet eſſe in ſanguine Chriſti, ut veraciter Presbyter poſſit dicere infirmo, Corpus & Sanguis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proficiat tibi in remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam.

In *England* the Custom of mixing the Elements so far prevailed, that *Ernulphus* or *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Rochester*, *An.* 1120. wrote a Letter in Defence of it, which is also published by *Dacherius* in his *Spicilegium*, *Tom.* 2. where one *Lambert* proposes the Question to him, why the *Eucharist* was administred at present after a different and almost contrary manner to that which was observed by JESUS CHRIST; because it was customary at that Time to distribute an Host steept in Wine to the Communicants; whereas JESUS CHRIST gave his Body and Blood separately? To this *Arnulphus* answers, That this was one of those Things that might be altered, and therefore though anciently the two Species of Bread and Wine were given separately, yet now they were given together, lest any ill Accidents should happen in the Distribution of the Wine alone, and lest it should stick on the Hairs of the Beard or the Whiskers, or should be spilt by the Minister. Yet for all this not long after *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Synod held at *Westminster*, *An.* 1175. prohibited [r] the giving the *Eucharist* steept in Wine as a Complement of the Communion. Thus this Matter was bandied about, and disputed backwards and forwards in the *Latin* Church; some allowing it, others condemning it; now a Council settling it, and then another unsettling it, and condemning all that went before them; till at last the Council of *Constance* came in with her *Paramount* Authority, and as *Bona* thinks, very wisely put an End to all these Disputes and Inconveniencies at once, by taking the Cup wholly from the People, and ordering that they should nei-

[r] Conc. Westmonaster. can. 11. Inhibemus ne quis quasi pro complemento Communionis intinctam alicui Eucharistiam tradat

ther have it ſeparately nor conjunctly: And ſo this Abuſe of giving the *Euchariſt* ſteept in Wine, after a long Courſe and Struggle of various Fortune was cured with a worſe Error, which took away the Cup from the Laity, and denied one Part of the Sacrament wholly to the People. Let us now return again to the ancient Church.

Sect. 3. *That the Ancients received ſometimes ſtanding, ſometimes kneeling but never ſitting.*

THE next Queſtion may be concerning the Poſture in which they received. The Reſolution of which muſt be in theſe three Concluſions. 1. That they ſometimes received ſtanding. 2. Sometimes kneeling. 3. Never ſitting that we read of. That they frequently received the Communion ſtanding, may be evidenced two Ways: By a direct, and by a collateral Argument. The direct Argument is their poſitive Aſſertions concerning the ſtanding Poſture. Thus *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* ſpeaking of one who had often communicated among the faithful, repreſents him, τραπέζῃ παρεστάντα, as ſtanding [s] at the Lord's Table. Upon which *Valeſius* [*] makes this Remark, that anciently they received the *Euchariſt* ſtanding, not kneeling, as now the Cuſtom is. And *Habertus* undertakes to prove againſt the *Italian* Divines [†] as he calls them, that the whole Divine *Liturgy* was celebrated ſtanding, and that they both conſecrated ſtanding, and received ſtanding. And *Bona* [‖] acknowledges the ſame for the *Greek* Church, though he is a little more doubtful of the *Latin*. For the *Greek* Church he produces the Authority of *Chryſoſtom* (*Orat. in Encænia*) and *Cyril* of *Jeruſa-*

[s] Dionyſ. Epiſt. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 9. [*] Valeſ. in Loc. Stantes, non ut hodie genibus flexis, accipiebant.
[†] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 8. Obſerv. 10. p. 150.
[‖] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. Chap. 17. n. 8.

Jeruſalem, who bids his Communicant [*t*] receive it bowing his Body in the Poſture of Worſhip and Adoration. Some interpret this Kneeling [*u*], but it ſignifies Standing with inclination or bowing of the Body in the manner of Adoration And ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* [*x*] repreſents both Prieſt and People as ſtanding at the Altar. This Altar, ſays he, (ſpeaking of the Altar of a Man's own Soul, ſending up devoutly Prayers and Alms to GOD) is a more tremendous Altar than that whereat thou who art a Layman ſtandeſt. And again, As the Prieſt ſtands invoking the Spirit, ſo thou invokeſt him alſo, not by thy Words, but by thy Works. In like manner St. *Auſtin* repreſenting the Chriſtians Way of Worſhipping GOD at the Altar, to anſwer the Calumny of the Heathen, who accuſed them of giving divine Worſhip to their Martyrs, ſays, Which of the Faithful ever heard the Prieſt when he ſtands [*y*] at the Altar ſay in his Prayers, *I offer Sacrifice unto thee, O* Peter, *or* Paul, *or* Cyprian, when he offers to GOD at their Monuments or Memorials? Which I produce here only to ſhew, that their Prayers were then offered in a ſtanding Poſture at the Altar. Upon which Account it was uſual for the Deacon at ſuch Times, eſpecially on ſuch Days as this Poſture was uſed, to call upon the People in ſome ſuch Form of Admonition

[*t*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 19. κύπ]των καὶ τεύπῳ προσυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσμα]Θ, λέγων, ἀμήν.

[*u*] Hamon Leſtrange, *Allyance of Div. Offic.* Chap. 7. p. 209.

[*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 20. in 2 Cor. p. 886. τῦτο φεικωδέσερον θυσιαςήριον ἐκεῖνο, ᾧ σὺ παρέςηκας ὁ λαικὸς. It. καθάπερ ἕςηκε ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλῶν. &c. [*y*] Aug. de Civ. Dei Lib. 8. cap. 27. Quis audivit aliquando Fidelium ſtantem Sacerdotem ad altare — dicere in Precibus, Offero tibi Sacrificium Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum Memorias offeratur Deo, &c. It cont. Fauſtum. Lib 20. cap. 21. Quis Antiſtitum aſſiſtens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre aut Paule aut Cypriane? ſed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c.

as that mentioned frequently by St. *Chryſoſtom* [z] and the Author of the *Conſtitutions* [a], ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς, Let us ſtand rightly and devoutly to offer our Sacrifices and Oblations. Some think *Tertullian* alſo refers to this Poſture, when he ſays [b], *Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi & ad Aram Dei ſteteris?* Will not your Station be the more ſolemn, if you alſo ſtand at the Altar of GOD? But to ſpeak freely, I think *Tertullian* in that Place uſes the Word, *ſtanding*, not to diſtinguiſh any particular Poſture of Prayer, but only to denote a longer Continuance in it on the ſtationary Days, or Half-Faſts, when they continued their religious Aſſemblies till Three in the Afternoon: For on theſe Days, as we ſhall hear preſently, they prayed alway kneeling, though on other Days they did not; and therefore *Tertullian* could not mean that they prayed ſtanding on thoſe Days, but only that they extended their Devotions to a greater length on thoſe ſtationary Days beyond others. But without this controverted Paſſage of *Tertullian*, there is ſufficient Evidence from the foregoing Teſtimonies, of their ſtanding to receive the *Euchariſt* at the Lord's Table.

AND this is farther confirmed by a collateral Argument, which is, That on the *Lord's Day*, and all the Days of *Pentecoſt*, they were obliged to pray ſtanding, and in no other Poſture, as has been ſhewed [*] at large above: Therefore it is very reaſonable to believe, that at all ſuch Times they received the *Euchariſt* in the ſame Poſture they were obliged to pray, that is, ſtanding at the Altar.

BUT

[z] Chryſ. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. Hom. 29. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 375. [a] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 12.

[b] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. [*] Book XIII. Chap. viii. n. 3.

BUT then the uſual Cuſtom was, on all other Days, and particularly on the Stationary Days, for the whole Church to pray kneeling, as has likewiſe been fully [†] evinced before: And therefore it is no leſs reaſonable to believe, that they received the Communion in the ſame Poſture as they prayed, though there are not ſuch poſitive Evidences of their Practice. What ſome alledge out of *Tertullian*, That the People did *Aris Dei adgeniculari*, kneel down to the Altars of GOD [c], is no good Proof: For that is only a corrupt Reading of the firſt Editions, which others ſince read more correctly, *Caris Dei adgeniculari*, falling at the Knees of the Favourites of GOD; alluding to the Cuſtom of Penitents falling at the Feet of the Miniſters and People, to beg their Prayers for them when they went into the Church. Nor is the Argument much more ſolid that others bring out of *Cyril*'s *Catechiſm*, where he bids his Communicant receive the *Euchariſt* κύπλων: For that, as I have obſerved juſt now, ſignifies not Kneeling, but ſtanding in a bowing Poſture. What St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays in one of his Exhortations to Communicants, ſeems more nearly to expreſs it: *Let us come with Trembling, let us give Thanks, let us fall down* [d] *and confeſs our Sins, let us weep and lament for our Miſcarriages, let us pour out fervent Prayers to God, and let us come with a becoming Reverence as to our heavenly King.* But if there were none of theſe Expreſſions, the very Cuſtom of kneeling at Prayers on theſe Days is a ſufficient Indication of the Poſture in which at the ſame time they received the Communion.

As to ſitting, there is no Example of it, nor any Intimation leading toward it in any ancient Writer.

[*] Book XIII. Cap. viii. n. 4. [c] Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. 9. [d] Chryſ. Hom. Ser. 31. in Natal. Chriſti. T. 5. p. 480. περσπέσωμεν ἐξομολογέμενοι, &c.

I have ſhewed before, that in many Churches they allowed no ſitting at all in Time of Divine Service, neither in Preaching, nor Reading the Scriptures, nor in Pſalmody, nor in Praying, nor after Praying neither. And it would be unreaſonable to imagine, that what was rejected at all other Times, ſhould be allowed in receiving the Communion. Cardinal *Perron* indeed labours hard to prove, that the Apoſtles received ſitting, and that ſitting was alſo a Poſture of Adoration. But his Vanity is abundantly chaſtiſed and expoſed by the learned *Daillé*, as I have noted before [*] upon another Occaſion. So that this Poſture is wholly without Example in the ancient Church. Nor are there many Examples of it among the Moderns, and of thoſe that be, ſome of them are ſuch, as conſidering their Motives, one would leaſt of all chuſe to imitate them. The *Arians* in *Poland* are ſaid to receive the Communion ſitting, to ſhew that they do not believe CHRIST to be their God, but only their Fellow-Creature. For which Reaſon ſome of the Proteſtant *Poliſh* Synods [*e*] expreſsly forbid this Poſture, as peculiar to the *Arians*, and obliged all their People to receive either ſtanding or kneeling, not ſitting, as being a Poſture taken up by the *Arians*, and contrary to the Practice of all Proteſtant Churches. We are likewiſe told,

[*] Book XIII. Chap. viii. n. 7.

[*e*] Synod. Wlodiſlav. an. 1583. Artic. 6. in Corpore Confeſſion. Par. 2. p. 309. Sententia jam olim in Sendomirienſi Synodo agitata, & Concluſio in generali Cracovienſi atque Petricovienſi Synodo facta ac repetita, in hoc etiam Confeſſu approbata eſt: nempe ne in uſu ſit ſeſſio ad Menſam Dominicam in ullis hujus noſtri Conſenſus Eccleſiis. Nam hæc Ceremonia, licet cum cæteris libera, Eccleſiis Chriſtianis & Cœtibus Evangelicis non eſt uſitata, tantumque Infidelibus Arianis, cum Domino pari ſolio ſeſe collocantibus propria, &c. Vid. Synod. Petricovenſ. Art. 4. ibid. p. 306. Synod. Cracovineſ. Art. 4. p. 303.

told, that it is the ſingular Privilege of the Pope to communicate ſitting, whenever he performs the Office of Conſecration. *Bona* [*f*] not only tells us this, but deſcribes the whole Ceremony out of the Book called, *Ceremoniale Romani Pontificis*, and the old *Ordo Romanus*, which they that are curious in ſuch Matters, may conſult in their proper Places. I go on with the Practice of the ancient Church.

Sect. 4. *No Elevation of the Hoſt for divine Adoration in the ancient Church for many Ages, till the Riſe of* Tranſubſtantiation.

THERE is no one Thing that has made greater Stir and Confuſion in the Chriſtian World, for ſome Ages paſs'd, than the Adoration of the Hoſt, grounded upon a falſe Preſumption, that it is not Bread and Wine, but tranſubſtantiated into the real Body and Blood of CHRIST. I intend not to enter upon the Hiſtory of *Tranſubſtantiation* (which is a Doctrinal Point, and comes not properly into this Work, which only inquires into the Practice of the Church) but ſhall content myſelf to ſay, That in Fact the moſt eminent of the ancient Fathers have declared as plain as Words can make it, that the Change made in the Elements of Bread and Wine by Conſecration, is not ſuch a Change as deſtroys their Nature and Subſtance, but only alters their Qualities, and elevates them to a ſpiritual Uſe, as is done in many other Conſecrations, where the Qualities of Things are much altered without any real Change of Subſtance. Thus *Gregory Nyſſen* [*g*], This Altar before which we ſtand, is but common Stone in its Nature, differing nothing from other Stones, wherewith our Walls are built; but after it is conſecrated to the Service of

[*f*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 8.
[*g*] Nyſſen. de Bapt. Chriſti. Tom. 3. p. 369.

GOD, and has received a Benediction, it is an holy Table, an immaculate Altar, not to be touched by any but by the Prieſts, and that with the greateſt Reverence. The Bread alſo at firſt is but common Bread, but when once it is ſanctified by the holy Myſtery, it is made and called the Body of CHRIST. So the myſtical Oyl, and ſo the Wine, though they be Things of little value before the Benediction, yet after their Sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work Wonders. The ſame Power of the Word makes a Prieſt become honourable and venerable, when he is ſeparated from the Community of the Vulgar by a new Benediction. For he who before was only one of the common People, is now immediately made a Ruler and Preſident, a Teacher of Piety, and a Miniſter of the holy Myſteries: And all theſe Things he does without any Change in his Body or Shape; for to all outward Appearance he is the ſame that he was, but the Change is in his inviſible Soul, by an inviſible Power and Grace. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*b*] uſes the ſame Similitude and Illuſtration: Beware that you take not this Ointment to be bare Ointment. For as the Bread in the *Euchariſt*, after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere Bread, but the Body of CHRIST: So this holy Ointment after Invocation, is not bare or common Ointment, but it is the Gift or Grace of CHRIST and the Holy Spirit, who by his Preſence and Divine Nature makes it efficacious; ſo that the Body is anointed ſymbolically with the viſible Ointment, but the Soul is ſanctified by the Holy and Quickening Spirit. St. *Chryſoſtom* in his famous Epiſtle to *Cæſarius* makes a like Compariſon, to explain the two Natures of CHRIST againſt the *Apollinarians*, to ſhew that

[*b*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 3. n. 3.

that he had both an Human and Divine Subſtance in reality without any Transformation or Confuſion: As the Bread, ſays he, before it is ſanctified, is called Bread, but after the Divine Grace has ſanctified it by the Mediation of the Prieſt, it is no longer called Bread, but dignified with the Name of the Body of the Lord, though the Nature of Bread remain in it, and they are not ſaid to be two, but one Body of the Son: So here the Divine Nature reſiding or dwelling in the Human Body, they both together make one Son and one Perſon. When this Paſſage was firſt produced by *Peter Martyr*, it was looked upon as ſo unanſwerable, that they of the *Romiſh* Church had no other Way to evade the Force of it, but to cry out, It was a Forgery. *Peter Martyr* left it in the *Lambeth* Library, but it was raviſh'd thence in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. *Bigotius* a Learned *French* Papiſt publiſhed the Original, but the whole Edition was ſuppreſſed. Yet *Le Moyne* publiſhed it again in *Latin* among his *Varia Sacra:* And a Learned Prelate, who now ſo deſervedly holds the Primacy in our own Church, and whoſe indefatigable Induſtry againſt *Popery* will never be forgotten, having procured the Sheets which the *Sorbon* Doctors cauſed to be ſuppreſs'd in *Bigotius*'s Edition of *Palladius*, publiſhed it [*i*] in our own Tongue, with ſuch of the *Greek* Fragments as are now remaining. And in theſe Monuments it will ſtand as the unanſwerable Teſtimony of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and a Key to explain all other Paſſages of the *Greek* Writers of that Age, who were undoubtedly in the ſame Sentiments of the Bread and Wine ſtill remaining unalterable in their Subſtance.

THEODO-

[*i*] *Defence of the Expoſition of the Doctrin of the Church of* England, *againſt Mr.* de Meaux. Lond. 1686.

THEODORET lived not long after St. *Chryſoſtom*, and he as plainly ſays, that the Bread and Wine remain ſtill in their own Nature after Conſecration. Our Saviour, ſays he, would have thoſe [*k*] who are Partakers of the divine Myſteries, not to mind the Nature of the Things they ſee, but by the Change of Names to believe that Change which is wrought by Grace. For he that called his own Natural Body, Wheat and Bread, and gave it the Name of a Vine; he alſo honoured the viſible Symbols or Elements with the Name of his Body and Blood, not changing their Nature, but adding Grace to Nature. In another Place [*l*] he uſes the very ſame Weapon to foil an *Eutychian* Heretick, who to prove that CHRIST's Human Nature was changed into the Divine Nature after Union, uſes this Argument: As the Symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood are one Thing before the Invocation of the Prieſt, but after Invocation are changed, and become another Thing: So alſo the Body of our Lord after its Aſſumption was changed into the Divine Subſtance. To which *Theodoret* thus replies, Thou art taken in thy own Nets which thou haſt made: For neither do the myſtical Symbols depart from their own Nature after Conſecration, but remain in their former Subſtance, Figure and Form, and are viſible and palpable, as they were before; yet they are underſtood and believed to be what they are made, and are reverence as thoſe Things which they are made. Compare therefore the Image with the Original, and thou ſhalt ſee their Likeneſs. For the Type muſt anſwer to the Truth. That Body has the ſame Form and Figure and Circumſcription, and in a word has the ſame Subſtance of a Body that it had before, but it is immor-

[*k*] Theod. Dialog. 1. Tom. 4. p. 17. Vid. Ep. 130. & 145.
[*l*] Id. Dial. 2. p. 85.

immortal after the Reſurrection, and is freed from all Corruption, and ſits at GOD's Right Hand, and is adored by every Creature, as being called the Body of the Lord of Nature. Theſe Words are ſo plain, that the Bread continues in its own Subſtance after Conſecration, as the Body of CHRIST continues in the Subſtance of Human Nature after its Aſſumption, that as Biſhop *Coſins* [m] has obſerved, *Nicolin* the Pope's Printer, who ſet forth theſe *Dialogues* at *Rome*, *An.* 1547, owns that *Theodoret*'s Opinion, as to what concerns *Tranſubſtantiation*, was not ſound, but he might be excuſed, becauſe the Church had made no Decree about it.

EPHREM Biſhop of *Antioch* lived about a Hundred Years after *Theodoret*, *An.* 540, and he wrote againſt the *Eutychians* in the ſame manner. No Man, ſays he, that hath any Reaſon [n], will ſay, the Nature of palpable and impalpable, of viſible and inviſible, is the ſame. For ſo the Body of CHRIST, which is received by the Faithful, does not depart from its own ſenſible Subſtance, and yet it is united to a ſpiritual Grace: And ſo Baptiſm, though it becomes wholly a ſpiritual Thing and but one Thing, yet it preſerves the Property of its ſenſible Subſtance, I mean Water, and does not looſe what it was before.

THE *Latin* Fathers are not leſs plain and full in their Teſtimony about this Matter. *Tertullian* not only frequently ſays it is Bread repreſenting [o] the Lord's Body; and the Figure of his Body [p]; but alſo teaches us to truſt to the Teſtimony of our Senſes

[m] Coſins *Hiſt. of Tranſubſtan.* p. 77. [n] Ephrem ap. Photium. Cod. 229. [o] Tertul. cont. Marc. Lib. 1. cap. 14. Panem quo ipſum corpus ſuum repræſentat. [p] Cont. Marc. Lib. 4. cap. 40. Panem corpus ſuum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, Figura corporis mei.

Senſes in this and many other Things relating to CHRIST. We are not to call in Queſtion thoſe Senſes [q] of ours, leſt we begin to doubt of the Certainty of the very Things that are related of CHRIST, whether he was not deceived, when he ſaw Satan fall from Heaven, or when he heard the Father's Voice teſtifying of him, or when he touched the Hand of *Peter's* Mother, or when he ſmelled the Spirit of the Ointment which he accepted to his Burial, or when he taſted the Wine that he conſecrated to be the Memorial of his Blood. St. *John* argues upon the Teſtimony of our Senſes, *what we have ſeen, what we have heard, what we have ſeen with our Eyes, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life.* But this Atteſtation is falſe, if our Senſes may be deceived in the Nature of Things, which we ſee with our Eyes, and hear with out Ears, and touch with our Hands. It is plain from theſe Words of *Tertullian*, that he never thought of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which contradicts Four of the Five Senſes of all Mankind, the Sight, the Touch, the Taſte and the Smell; and that he muſt be the moſt abſurd Man that ever wrote, if after all he could believe that not to be Bread, which according to his own Rule had the Teſtimony of ſo many ſeveral Senſes.

ST. *Auſtin* uſes the ſame Argument with *Tertullian* in one of his *Homilies* to the newly baptized, which though it be not now among St. *Auſtin's* Works, yet it

[q] De Anima. cap. 17. Non licet nobis in dubium ſenſus iſtos vocare, ne & in Chriſto de fide eorum deliberetur—ne forte deceptus ſit, cum Petri ſocrum tetigit, aut alium poſtea untiguen ſenſerit ſpiritum, quod in ſepulturam ſuam acceptavit, alium poſtea vini ſaporem, quod in ſanguinis ſui Memoriam conſecravit. &c. Falſa utique Teſtatio, ſi oculorum & aurium & manuum ſenſus natura mentitur.

it is preſerved by *Fulgentius* [r] and *Bede* and *Bertram*. Here inſtructing them about the Sacrament, he tells them, that what they ſaw upon the Altar was Bread and the Cup, as their own Eyes could teſtify [s] to them: But what their Faith required to be inſtructed about, was, that the Bread is the Body of CHRIST, and the Cup the Blood of CHRIST. But ſuch a thought as this will preſently ariſe in your Hearts: CHRIST took his Body into Heaven, whence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And there he now ſits at the Right-hand of the Father. How then is Bread his Body? Or how is the Cup, or that which is contained in the Cup, his Blood? Theſe Things, my Brethren, are therefore called Sacraments, becauſe in them one Thing is ſeen, and another is underſtood. That which is ſeen, has a bodily Appearance; that which is underſtood, has a ſpiritual Fruit. If therefore you would underſtand the Body of CHRIST, hear what the Apoſtle ſays to the Faithful, ye are the Body of CHRIST and his Members. If therefore ye be the Body and Members of CHRIST, your Myſtery or Sacrament is laid upon the Lord's Table, ye receive the Sacrament of the Lord. Ye anſwer, *Amen*, to what ye are, and by your Anſwer ſubſcribe to the Truth of it. Thou heareſt the Miniſter ſay to thee, *the Body of Chriſt*, and

[r] Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopis. cap. 11. Beda in 1 Cor. 10. Bertram. de Corpore & Sanguine Dom.

[s] Quod ergo videtis, Panis eſt & Calix, quod vobis etiam oculi veſtri renunciant. Quod autem Fides veſtra poſtulat inſtruenda, Panis eſt Corpus Chriſti, Calix ſanguis Chriſti.—— Quomodo eſt Panis Corpus ejus? Et Calix, vel quod habet Calix, quomodo eſt Sanguis ejus? Iſta, fratres, ideo dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, ſpeciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet ſpiritalem. Corpus ergo Chriſti ſi vis intelligere, Apoſtolum audi dicentem Fidelibus, Vos eſtis Corpus Chriſti & Membra, &c.

and thou anſwereſt, *Amen*. Be thou a Member of the Body of CHRIST, that thy *Amen* may be true. But why then is this Myſtery in Bread? Let us here bring nothing of our own, but hear the Apoſtle ſpeak again. When he therefore ſpeaks of this Sacrament, he ſays, *We being many, are one Bread, and one Body*. Underſtand and Rejoice. We being many, are Unity, Piety, Truth and Charity, one Bread and one Body. Recollect and conſider, that the Bread is not made of one Grain, but of many. When ye were exorcized, ye were then, as it were, Ground; when ye were baptized, ye were, as it were, ſprinkled, or mixed and wet together into one Maſs; when ye received the Fire of the Holy Ghoſt, ye were, as it were, baked. Be ye therfore what ye ſee, and receive what ye are. Here St. *Auſtin* firſt ſays plainly, That it was Bread and Wine that was upon the Altar, for which he appeals to the Teſtimony of their Senſes. 2. That this very Bread and Wine is the Body and Blood of CHRIST. Conſequently it could not be his natural Body in the Subſtance, but only Sacramentally. 3. He ſays, the natural Body of CHRIST is only in Heaven: But the Sacrament has the Name of his Body; becauſe tho' in outward, viſible, and corporeal Appearance it is only Bread, yet it is attended with a ſpiritual Fruit. 4. Laſtly he ſays, that the Sacrament not only is a Repreſentative of the natural Body of CHRIST, but alſo of the Myſtical Body, the Church; and that, as a Symbol of the Church's Unity, it is called the Body of CHRIST in this Senſe, as well as the other. So that if there were any real *Tranſubſtantion*, the Bread muſt be changed into the Myſtical Body of CHRIST, that is, his Church, as well as into the Body natural. Theſe Things might be confirmed from abundance of parallel Paſſages in St. *Auſtin*'s Works, but this one is ſufficient to ſhew his meaning.

THE

THE next irrefragable Teſtimony is that of Pope *Gelaſius*, who wrote againſt the *Neſtorians* and *Eutychians* about the Reality of the two Natures in Chriſt, *An.* 490. where he thus proves them: Doubtleſs the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Chriſt which we receive, are a Divine Thing; and therefore by them we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature, and yet the Subſtance and Nature [*t*] of Bread and Wine do not ceaſe to be in them. And indeed the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood of CHRIST is celebrated in the Myſterious Action. By this therefore is evidently ſhewed us, that we are to believe the ſame Thing in our Lord CHRIST, as we profeſs and celebrate and take in his Image: That as by the perfecting Virtue of the Holy Ghoſt the Elements paſs into a Divine Subſtance, whilſt their Nature ſtill remains in its own Propriety; ſo in that principal Myſtery (the Union of the Divine and Human Nature) whoſe Efficacy and Power theſe repreſent, there remains one true and perfect Chriſt, both Natures, of which he conſiſts, continuing in their Properties unchangeable. He muſt be blind that cannot ſee, how the Force of this Argument ſuppoſes, that Bread and Wine continue in their proper Nature and Subſtance in the *Euchariſt*, notwithſtanding the Sacramental Union that is made between them and the Body of CHRIST by the ſacred Uſe of them. Without this it had been of no Force againſt the *Eutychians*, and they might with a very obvious Reply have inverted the Argument upon him, by ſaying,

[*t*] Gelaſ. de duabus Natur. cont. Neſtor. & Eutych. Bibl. Pat. T. 4. p. 422. Certe ſacramenta quæ ſumimus Corporis & Sanguinis Domini divina res eſt, propter quod & per eadem Divinæ efficimur conſortes naturæ, & tamen eſſe non deſinit ſubſtantia vel Natura Panis & Vini. Et certe Imago & Similitudo Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti in actione Myſteriorum celebrantur, &c.

ing, that as the Bread was changed from its own Nature into the very Subſtance of the natural Body of CHRIST, and remained no longer Bread; ſo the Human Nature was really changed into the Divine Nature, and continued no longer in its own Subſtance after its Aſſumption into the Godhead. Which Argument in the Mouth of an *Eutychian* had been unanſwerable to *Gelaſius*, had he with his Succeſſors given into the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*.

SOME time after *Gelaſius*, lived *Facundus*, an *African* Biſhop about the Year 550, he wrote to excuſe *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, for ſaying, That CHRIST received the Adoption of Sons: Which he does after this manner: CHRIST vouchſafed to receive the Sacrament of Adoption, both when he was circumciſed, and when he was baptized. Now the Sacrament of Adoption may be called Adoption, as we call the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, which is in the conſecrated Bread and Cup, his Body and Blood, not becauſe the Bread is properly [*u*] his Body, or the Cup his Blood, but becauſe they contain the Myſtery of his Body and Blood. Whence our SAVIOUR, when he bleſs'd the Bread and Cup, and gave them to his Diſciples, called them his Body and Blood. It is plain, according to *Facundus*, that the Bread and Wine are not properly the Body and Blood of CHRIST, but properly Bread and Wine ſtill, and only called his Body and Blood, as Baptiſm and Circum-

[*u*] Facund. Lib. 9. cap. 5. Poteſt ſacramentum Adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, ſicut Sacramentum corporis & ſanguinis ejus, quod eſt in pane & poculo conſecrato, corpus ejus & ſanguinem dicimus; non quod Proprie corpus ejus ſit panis & poculum ſanguis, ſed quod in ſe Myſterium corporis ſanguiniſque contineant. Hinc & ipſe Dominus benedictum Panem & calicem, quem Diſcipulis tradidit, corpus & ſanguinem ſuum vocavit. &c.

Circumciſion are called Adoption, becauſe they are the Sacraments of Adoption, and not the very Thing which they repreſent.

TO theſe I only add the Teſtimony of *Iſidore* Biſhop of *Sevil*, who lived in the Beginning of the ſeventh Century, *An.* 630. He ſpeaking of the Rites of the Church [x], ſays, The Bread, becauſe it nouriſhes and ſtrengthens our Bodies, is therefore called the Body of CHRIST; and the Wine, becauſe it creates Blood in our Fleſh, is called the Blood of CHRIST. Now theſe two Things are viſible, but being ſanctified by the Holy Ghoſt, they become the Sacrament of the Lord's Body. *Bertram* alſo [y] quotes a like Expreſſion out of *Iſidore's Origines*: That as the viſible Subſtance of Bread and Wine nouriſh the outward Man; ſo the Word of CHRIST, who is the Bread of Life, refreſheth the Souls of the Faithful being received by Faith. But as Biſhop *Coſins* and Mr. *Aubertin* have obſerved, this Paſſage by ſome pious Fraud is not to be found in its proper Place. Now if the Bread be ſuch Bread in Subſtance as nouriſhes the Body, then it muſt be ſuch as is properly Bread ſtill, and not the incorruptible Body of CHRIST, which cannot be ſaid to be caſt out into the Draught, which yet *Origen* ſays of it [z], That the material Part of the Sacrament, the typical and ſymbolical Body of Chriſt, which goes in at the Mouth, goes into the Belly; but the real Body of CHRIST is only received by thoſe that are worthy, and by Faith. By all which it is evident,

[x] Iſidor. Hiſpal. de Eccleſ. Offic. Lib. 1. cap. 18. Panis quia confirmat corpus, ideo Chriſti corpus nuncupatur; Vinum autem, quia Sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad Sanguinem Chriſti refertur. Hæc autem duo ſunt viſibilia, &c.

[y] Bertram. de Corp. & Sang. Dom. ex Iſidor. Orig. Lib. 6. cap. 19. [z] Origen. Com. in Mat. 15. T. 2. p. 27.

the Ancients did not know any thing of the new Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, but believed that the Bread and Wine ſtill remained in the *Euchariſt* in their proper Nature. He that would ſee more of this, may conſult Biſhop *Coſins*'s Hiſtory of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and Mr. *Aubertin*'s elaborate Book of the *Euchariſt*, where he may find all the other Arguments againſt this Doctrine propoſed, and the Teſtimonies of every Father vindicated againſt the Sophiſtry of *Perron* and *Bellarmin*, and all other *Romiſh* Writers upon this Subject; and alſo ſee what Oppoſition was made to the new Hypotheſis of *Paſchaſius Rathbertus* (which was rather a *Conſubſtantiation* than a *Tranſubſtantiation*) as ſoon as it appeared, by *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Walafridus Strabo*, *Heribaldus*, *Lupus*, *Frudegardus*, *Joannes Erigena*, *Prudentius Tricaſſin*, *Chriſtianus Druthmarus*, *Alfricus* and the *Saxon Homilies*, *Fulbertus Carnotenſis*, *Leuthericus Senonenſis*, *Berno Augienſis* and others, to the Time of *Berengarius*, after whom it met with greater Oppoſition from *Honorius Auguſtodunenſis*, *Amalricus*, *Peter* and *Henry de Bruis*, *Guido Groſſus* Archbiſhop of *Narbo*, *Francus Abbas*, the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, the *Bohemians* and Followers of *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, the *Wickleviſts* here in *England*, among whom was the famous *Reginald Peacock*, and many other Learned Men to the Time of the Reformation. The firſt Inventor of the name *Tranſubſtantiation* was *Stephanus Eduenſis* [a] as *Albertin* there ſhews: And he lived not long before the Council of *Lateran*, which firſt dogmatically eſtabliſhed it *An.* 1215. He ſhews, that before this they rather believed an Impanation, or Concomitancy of the Body with the Bread ſtill remaining. Biſhop *Coſins* has many curious Remarks of the ſame Nature, and

[a] Albertin. de Euchar. Lib. 3. p. 969.

and particularly he obſerves of the Recantation which Pope *Nicholas* II. obliged *Berengarius* to make, that it was ſo crude and abſurd, that even the preſent *Romaniſts* cannot digeſt it: For there he was obliged to profeſs, That the very Body and Blood of CHRIST was touched and broken by the Hands of the Prieſt, and ground with the Teeth of the Faithful, not ſacramentally only, but in truth and ſenſibly. Which the Gloſſer upon *Gratian*, *John Semeca*, marks with this Note [*b*], That unleſs you underſtand it cautiouſly, it will lead into a greater Hereſy than that of *Berengarius*; for it exceeds Truth, and is ſpoken hyperbolically. So little Underſtanding was there of this monſtrous Doctrine, when firſt it began to make its Appearance in the World.

BUT I ſhall purſue this Matter no farther, having ſufficiently demonſtrated that the Ancients knew nothing of this Doctrine, ſince they unanimouſly declared, That the Bread and Wine continued in their own proper Subſtance after Conſecration. Whence it follows, that they could not adore the *Euchariſt* with divine Adoration, which they did not believe to be any otherwiſe than typically and ſymbolically the Body of Chriſt. Indeed they did not ſo much as elevate it upon any Account for many Ages, much leſs for Adoration. Some pretend to cite St. *Baſil*'s Authority for lifting it up to ſhew it to the People in order to Adoration. So *Schelſtrate* [*c*] and *Bona* [*d*] after *Bellarmin*. But his Words will bear no ſuch Senſe: For he neither ſpeaks of Adoration, nor yet of Elevation to ſhew it to the People, but only of Conſecration, as the *Greek* Word, ἀνάδειξις, properly ſignifies both in Foreign and Eccleſiaſtical

[*b*] Grat. de Conſecr. Diſt. 2. cap. 42. [*c*] Schelſtrat. de Conc. Antioch. p. 219. [*d*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 13. n. 2. Bellarm. de Euchar. Lib. 2. cap. 15.

cleſiaſtical Writers, as Mr. *Aubertin* proves by various Examples [*e*]. St. *Baſil*'s Words are theſe, τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναδείξεως τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, τίς ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; [*f*]. Which *Bellarmin*, following a corrupt *Latin* Tranſlation, renders thus: Which of the Saints has left us in Writing the Words in which the People invocate the *Euchariſt*, when it is ſhewed to them? Whereas they ought to be render'd thus: Which of the Saints has left us in Writing the Words of the Invocation, or Prayer, wherewith the *Euchariſt* is conſecrated? And ſo *Perron* [g] himſelf with more than ordinary Ingenuity confeſſes, telling us, That St. *Baſil*'s Words are not to be underſtood of the Peoples praying to the *Euchariſt*, but of the Miniſter's praying to GOD in a ſolemn Form of Invocation to conſecrate the *Euchariſt*. Which, as I have ſhewed before [*], was not done barely by pronouncing thoſe Words, *This is my Body*, as now it is in the *Roman* Church; but by a formal Invocation and Thankſgiving, beſeeching GOD to ſanctify the Gifts; which Form St. *Baſil* rightly ſays, was not by any of the Evangeliſts left in Writing. Some again urge the Teſtimony of *Germanus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as one who ſpeaks of elevating the Hoſt after Conſecration. And indeed he does ſo [*h*]: But then he gives another Reaſon for it, and not that of the Peoples Adoration. He ſays, It was to repreſent our SAVIOUR's Elevation upon the Croſs, and his Dying there, together with his Riſing from the Dead. Which was far from the modern Intent of Elevation.

[*e*] Albertin. de Euchar. Lib. 2. p. 446. [*f*] Baſil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. 27. [*g*] Perron. de Euchar. Lib. 2. Author. 15. cap. 3. ap. Albertin. ibid.

[*] Book XV. Chap. iii. n. 11. [*h*] German. Theoria Rer. Divin. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 163.

Elevation. This Author lived aboat the Year 715, and he is the firſt that mentions this Elevation among the *Greeks*, without any notice of Adoration. And for the *Latin* Church, there is a perfect Silence in all the older Ritualiſts about it till the eleventh Century, when it is mentioned by *Ivo* [*i*] *Carnotenſis* and *Hugo de ſancto Victore* [*k*], tho' ſtill for the ſame Reaſon given by *Germanus*, and not for Adoration. The firſt Writer that aſſigns the Reaſon of it to be for Adoration, as Mr. *Daillé* [*l*] proves at large, is *Gulielmus Durantus*, who wrote his *Rationale* [*m*] about the Year 1386. So that *Tranſubſtantiation* and Adoration of the *Euchariſt*, as Mother and Daughter, came within an Age of one another. The moſt Learned now in the *Roman* Church, confeſs the main of this. *Bona* [*n*] ſays very frankly, He cannot trace the original of elevating the Sacrament immediately after Conſecration in the *Latin* Church, higher than *Ivo*, and *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Hildebert* of *Tours*, who make mention of ringing a Bell at this Elevation, in the twelfth and thirteenth Century when they lived: But he owns the old *Sacramentaria*, whether Printed or Manuſcript, and the old Ritualiſts, *Alcuin*, *Amalarius*, *Strabo*, *Micrologus* and the reſt, have not a Syllable about it. And whereas *Stephen Durantus* [*o*] boaſts of its Antiquity, and ſays it begun with the very Infancy of the Church, he corrects his Miſtake, as relying only upon the *Greek* Writers, who prove nothing of the Cuſtoms of the *Latin* Church. So that here we have a plain Acknowledgement of its Novelty: And *Daillé* [*p*] takes the ſame Confeſſion under the Hand of *Morinus* [*q*] and *Goar* [*r*],

[*i*] Ivo, Epiſt de Sacram. Miſſæ. [*k*] Hugo de S. Vict. de Miſſæ Obſervat. Lib. 2. cap. 28. [*l*] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus. Lib. 2. cap. 6. [*m*] Durant. Rational. Lib. 4. de 6. Parte Canonis. [*n*] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. Chap. 13. n. 2. [*o*] Bona. ibid. [*p*] Dallæ. *ubi ſupra.* [*q*] Morin. De Ordinat. Par. 3. Exercit. 9. cap. 1.

[r], two other Learned Writers of the *Roman* Church, as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* [s] does alſo from *Menardus*.

Sect. 5. *No Adoration of of the Hoſt before the twelfth or thirteenth Century.*

BUT it may be ſaid, Though there was no Elevation of the Hoſt, nor Ringing of a Bell before this time in the *Latin* Church, yet there might be divine Adoration for all that paid to the *Euchariſt* from the Begining. Cardinal *Perron* was ſo confident of this, that he makes Sitting a Poſture of Devotion, on purpoſe to prove that the Apoſtles adored it Sitting. The Vanity of which Pretence has been ſhewed before. A great many other Proofs are alledged out of the Ancients to prove this Adoration. But they prove no more, but either that a Veneration was paid to the Sacrament, as to the Books of the *Goſpel*, and the Water of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Table, and many other ſacred Things, which no one denies; or elſe, that the Adoration was given to CHRIST, as divinely preſent every where, or as Sitting at the Right Hand of GOD in Heaven, whither they were directed by the Admonition of *Surſum Corda*, to lift up their Hearts, and to elevate their own Souls, to adore him there. St. *Jerom* ſpeaks of common and ordinary Veneration, when he ſays, Men were taught [t] by the Scriptures, with what Veneration they ought to receive holy Things,

[r] Goar. Not. in Eucholog. p. 146. [s] Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 236. ex Menardo, Not. in Gregor. Sacram. p. 374.

[t] Hieron. Ep. ad Theophil. Diſcant, qui ignorant, eruditi teſtimoniis Scripturarum, qua debeant Veneratione Sancta ſuſcipere, & altaris Chriſti miniſterio deſervire, ſacroſque Calices, & ſancta Velamina, & cætera quæ ad cultum pertinent Dominicæ Paſſionis, non quaſi inanima & ſenſu carentia ſanctimoniam non habere, ſed ex conſortio corporis & ſanguinis Domini, eadem qua corpus ejus & ſanguis majeſtate veneranda.

Things, and ſerve in the Miniſtry of CHRIST's Altar, and not to eſteem the holy Cups, and holy Veils, and other Things pertaining to the Service of the Lord's Paſſion, to be without Holineſs, as inanimate Things and void of Senſe, but as Things, which for their Relation to the Body and Blood of the Lord, were to be venerated with the ſame Majeſty and Reverence as his Body and Blood. Such Reverence as this, which was given to the Cups and other Utenſils of the Altar no doubt was given to the Sacrament, as the ſymbolical Body and Blood of CHRIST: But this could not be a Veneration of divine Worſhip and Adoration, unleſs we can think that they gave divine Worſhip to the Cups aud Utenſils of the Altar, which he ſays were venerated with the ſame Reſpect as the Body and Blood of CHRIST. Mr. *Aubertin* [*u*] gives a great many Inſtances of this Kind of Veneration paid to Churches, and the Book of the Law, and Baptiſm, which can ſignify no more than their reverend Uſe of them as ſacred and venerable Things. And ſuch a Veneration they paid to the Sacrament; never putting conſecrated Bread to any prophane or common Uſe; much leſs violating its Sacredneſs by any more indecent Practice, as was that Out-rage of the *Donatiſts*, when they threw it to the Dogs; never touching it with unwaſhen Hands; being extreamly cautious not to let any Particle of it fall to the Ground: Which is a particular Caution, noted by many of the Ancients, *Tertullian* [*x*], St. *Auſtin* [*y*], *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [*z*], and *Origen* [*], who ſtiles it a Veneration in expreſs Terms. Whence *Bellarmin*

[*u*] Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432. [*x*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. [*y*] Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. [*z*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. n. 18. [*] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. Cum ſuſcipitis corpus Domini, cum omni Cautela & Veneratione ſervatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, &c.

very wiſely concludes, they muſt needs believe it to be CHRIST's natural Body, and adore it. As if holy Things could not be uſed with ſuch Caution and Reverence, but preſently it muſt be interpreted an Act of Adoration.

BUT the Ancients ſometimes ſay, they worſhipped CHRIST in the *Euchariſt*. Which we do not deny neither. St. *Auſtin* ſays, no Man eats [*a*] the Fleſh of CHRIST, but he that firſt worſhips it. And there are like Expreſſions in *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome other ancient Writers. But then they ſufficiently explain their own meaning, giving us to underſtand, that they neither ſpeak of Oral Manducation, nor of adoring CHRIST as corporeally preſent in the *Euchariſt*, but as ſpiritually preſent, or elſe as corporeally abſent in Heaven. St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*] ſays, they fell down before Chriſt their King as Captives in Baptiſm, and that they caſt themſelves down upon their Knees before him. And yet no one would conclude therefore that they worſhipped him as corporeally preſent in Baptiſm, although Baptiſm made them Partakers of his Body and Blood alſo. He ſays farther [*c*] that the King himſelf bowed his Body becauſe of GOD ſpeaking in the Holy Goſpels. But it would be ridiculous hence to infer, either that they worſhipped the Goſpels, or Chriſt as corporeally preſent in them. Mr. *Aubertin* [*d*] has demonſtrated out of St. *Auſtin*'s Works theſe ſeveral Propoſitions, which are all point Blank contrary to the Adoration of Chriſt as corporeally preſent in the *Euchariſt*. 1. That Bread and Wine are not properly and ſubſtantially the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but

[*a*] Aug. in Pſal. 98. [*b*] Chryſ. in illud, Simile eſt Regnum Cælorum, &c. [*c*] In illud, Attendite ne Eleemoſynam faciatis. ap. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432. [*d*] Albertin. de Euchar. p. 602. &c.

but only Sacramentally and Figuratively. 2. That Chriſt is not ſubſtantially and corporally preſent in the *Euchariſt*, but corporally preſent only in Heaven. 3. That true Bread remains and is eaten in the *Euchariſt*. 4. That the Manducation of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt* is not oral, but ſpiritual. 5. That the Wicked do not eat or drink the proper Body and Blood of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*. 6. That the ſame Body cannot be in different Places at one and the ſame Time; and that this is particularly aſſerted of the Body of Chriſt. 7. That a Body muſt neceſſarily occupy ſome Place and Space, and be extended by Parts, with Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity. 8. That Accidents cannot ſubſiſt without a Subject. All which directly overthrow the corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, and conſequently ſhew, that the Adoration which was given to Chriſt in the *Euchariſt*, was not to his corporal Preſence, but his ſpiritual Preſence, or to his Body as abſent in Heaven.

BUT *Durantus* [e] undertakes to prove, that the Body of Chriſt was not only worſhipped as corporally preſent in the *Euchariſt* in the Uſe and Time of Celebration, but at other Times by Non-Communicants alſo. For this he alledges *Chryſoſtom* [f], who ſays that the Energumens at that Time were brought by the Deacon and made to bow their Heads. Which *Durantus* interprets of bowing to the *Euchariſt*. But *Chryſoſtom* unluckily ſpoils his Argument. For at that Time, he ſays, the *Euchariſt* was not conſecrated, but only about to be conſecrated; and theſe Energumens were not allowed to ſtay to hear the Prayers of Conſecration with the Faithful, but were diſmiſſed with the Catechumens

[e] Durant. de Ritibus. Lib. 2. cap. 40. n. 5. [f] Chryſ. Hom. 3. & 4. de Incomprehenſibili. p. 365. & 374. Tom. 1.

chumens and other Non-Communicants before the Communion-Service began. So that if they worſhipped the Hoſt, it muſt be an unconſecrated Hoſt, which according to *Durantus* himſelf would be plain Idolatry. So unfortunate are theſe Gentlemen in the beſt Arguments they can produce for Hoſt-worſhip among the Ancients, that their own very Proofs manifeſtly overthrow it.

ON the other Hand there are moſt certain Demonſtrations, that there could be no ſuch Thing as Hoſt-worſhip in the ancient Church, not only taken from their not believing *Tranſubſtantiation* and the corporal Preſence, but from many other Topicks ſolidly deduced and ſubſtantially proved by two Learned Writers, Mr. *Daillé* [g] and Dr. *Whitby* [h] in two excellent Diſcourſes upon this very Subject, to which I will commend the Reader, contenting myſelf to mention the Heads of the principal Arguments, which they have more fully drawn out and proved. Mr. *Daillé* ranks his Arguments under two Heads, ſome general ones againſt the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt*, Saints, Relicks, Images and Croſſes; and others more particularly levelled againſt the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt*. Among thoſe of the firſt Kind he urges this as very remarkable, that in all the ancient Relations of Miracles, there is never any mention made of Miracles being wrought by the *Euchariſt*, as is now ſo common in later Ages, eſpecially in the Book called the School of the *Euchariſt*, which is a Collection of Legends under the Name of Miracles wrought by the Hoſt upon ſundry Occaſions. 2. He urges another general Argument from the Silence of all ſuch Writers of the Church as ſpeak of Traditi-

ons,

[g] Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Religioſi. cont. Latinos. Lib. 1. & 2. [h] Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip*. Lond. 1679. 8°.

ons, that the Worſhip of the *Euchariſt* is never once named among them. 3. That among the Heathen Objections and Calumnies which they raiſed againſt them, ſuch as their worſhipping the Sun and an Aſſes head, and the Genitals of their Prieſts, and a crucified and dead Man, they never objected to them the Worſhip of Bread and Wine, which yet had been very obvious and natural, and invidious enough to have accuſed them of, had there then been any ſuch plauſible Ground for an Accuſation, as there has been in later Ages. 4. The Chriſtians uſed to object to the Heathens, that they worſhipped Things that were dumb and void of Life; Things that muſt be carried upon Mens Shoulders, and if they fell, could not riſe again; Things that muſt be guarded by Men, to ſecure them from Thieves; Things that might be carried Captive, and were not able to preſerve and deliver themſelves; Things that might be laid to Pawn, as the *Euchariſt* has been by ſome Princes in later Ages; Things that are expoſed to Fire and Weather, and Ruſt and Moth and Corruption and other Injuries of Nature; Things that might be devoured by Mice and other Animals, and might be gnawed and dunged upon by the moſt contemptible Creatures. All which Objections might eaſily have been retorted by the Heathen upon the Chriſtians, had they then worſhipped the *Euchariſt*, or Images, or Relicks, or Croſſes, which are liable to all the ſame Reproaches. Theſe are general Arguments againſt Hoſt-worſhip together with the reſt of that idolatrous Worſhip which now ſo abounds in the Church of *Rome*. But there are a great many more ſpecial Arguments urged in particular againſt the Hoſt-worſhip by that Learned Man. As firſt from the Silence of all ancient Writers about it. 2. From their uſing no Elevation of the Hoſt for Worſhip for many Ages, as we have ſhewed at large

out of *Bona* before. 3. The Ancients knew nothing of ringing a Bell to give Notice of the Time of Adoration to the People. 4. There are no Hiſtories of Beaſts miraculouſly worſhipping the *Euchariſt*, which Sort of Fictions are ſo common in later Ages. 5. The Ancients never carried the *Euchariſt* to the Sick or Abſent with any Pomp or Signs of Worſhip; never expoſed it to publick View in Times of ſolemn rejoycing or Sorrow; never adored or invoked its Aſſiſtance in Diſtreſs, or upon any great Undertaking; which are now ſuch common Practices in the *Roman* Church. 6. The Ancients never enjoined Perſons newly baptized and Penitents to fall down before the *Euchariſt* and Worſhip it, as is now commonly done in the *Roman* Church. 7. The Ancients never allowed Non-Communicants to ſtay and Worſhip the *Euchariſt*, as the Practice now is; which yet had been very proper, had they believed the *Euchariſt* to be their God. But they uſed it only for Communion, not for Adoration. 8. The Ancients never uſed to carry the *Euchariſt* publickly in Proceſſions, to be adored by all the People; which is a novel Practice in the Judgment of *Krantzius* [*i*] and *Caſſander*. 9. The Ancients lighted no Lamps nor Candles by Day to the *Euchariſt*, nor burned Incenſe before it, as is now the Practice. 10. They made no little Images of the *Euchariſt*, to be kiſſed and worſhipped as the Images of Chriſt. 11. They had no peculiar Feſtival appropriated to its more ſolemn Worſhip. This is of no longer Date than Pope *Urban* IV, who firſt inſtituted it, *An.* 1264, and it is peculiar only to the *Roman* Church. 12. The ancient *Liturgies* have no Forms of Prayers, *Doxologies*, or Praiſes to

[*i*] Krantz. Metropol. Lib. 11. cap. 39. Caſſander. Conſultat. Sect. de Circumgeſtat.

to the *Euchariſt*, as are in the *Roman Miſſal*. 13. The Adoration of the *Euchariſt*, was never objected by the Heathens to the Primitive Chriſtians; nor were they reproached, as the *Romaniſts* have been ſince, as Eaters of their God. It is a noted ſaying of *Averroes*, *Quando quidem comedunt Chriſtiani quod colunt, ſit anima mea cum Philoſophis*, Since Chriſtians eat what they Worſhip, let my Soul rather have her Portion among the Philoſophers. This learned Philoſopher lived about the Year 1150. when the Hoſt-worſhip began to be practiſed, which gave him this Prejudice to the Chriſtian Religion. 14. The Chriſtians objected ſuch Things to the Heathens, as they never would have objected, had they themſelves worſhipped the Hoſt; as that it was an impious Thing to eat what they worſhipped, and Worſhip what they eat and ſacrificed. Which Objections might eaſily have been retorted upon them. 15. The Chriſtians were accuſed by the Heathens of eating Infants Blood in their ſolemn Myſteries, but never any mention is made of eating the Blood of Chriſt, either in the Objection or Anſwer to it. The Ground of the Story aroſe from the Practice of the *Carpocratians* and other Hereticks, and not from the Chriſtians eating the Blood of CHRIST. 16. Laſtly the Chriſtians never urged the Adoration of the *Euchariſt* in their Diſputes with the *Ebionites* and *Docetæ*, which yet would have been very proper to confute their Errors, who denied the Reality of the Fleſh of Chriſt. To theſe Arguments of Mr. *Daillé*, Dr. *Whitby* has added theſe farther. 1. That the Scriptures and Fathers deride the Heathen Deities, and ſay, that we may know they are no Gods, becauſe they have no Uſe of their outward Senſes. 2. Becauſe they are made God's by Conſecration, and by the Will of the Artificer, part of that Matter which is conſecrated into a God, being expoſed to common Uſes. 3. Becauſe

cauſe they were impriſoned in their Images, or ſhut up in obſcure Habitations. 4. Becauſe they clothed their Gods in coſtly Raiments. 5. Becauſe they might be metamorphoſed or changed from one Shape to another. All which might have been retorted upon the Chriſtians, had they worſhipped the *Euchariſt*, without any Poſſibility of Evaſion. *Soto & Paludanus* own, that the whole *Euchariſt*, Subſtance as well as Species, may be vomitted up again, or voided at the Draught. Which to affirm of the real Body of CHRIST, the Ancients would have accounted the greateſt Blaſphemy. For theſe and the like Reaſons we may ſafely conclude, that there was no ſuch Practice among the Ancients, as giving divine Honour to the Hoſt upon Preſumption of its being the real Body of CHRIST, though they treated it as the ſacred Symbol and Antitype of his Body with all imaginable Reſpect and Veneration. To deduce theſe Arguments at their full Length would fill a Volume, and therefore it is ſufficient here to have hinted the Heads of them in this ſummary Account, referring the Reader to thoſe two Learned Authors, who have proved every Thing they ſay, for fuller Satisfaction. I now go on with the Practice of the ancient Church.

Sect. 6.
The People allowed to receive the Euchariſt *into their own Hands.*

IN diſtributing the Elements the People were allowed to receive them into their own Hands. Which now, ſince the belief of *Tranſubſtantiation* and the Adoration of the Hoſt came in, is ſeverely prohibited in the *Roman* Church. And this is at leaſt another ſtrong Preſumption, that the Ancients had very different Sentiments of the *Euchariſt* from thoſe which now prevail in the *Roman* Church. As to Fact, there is no Diſpute of the Matter. The Thing is confeſt by

by *Baronius* [k] and *Morinus* [l] and *Garsias Loaysa* [m] as *Daillé* [n] has noted out of them. And *Bona* [o] confesses he cannot tell when the contrary Custom first came in, but he thinks it very probable, that it began at the same Time that they first brought into the *Western* Church the Use of Unleavened Bread, and Wafer-Hosts; which as he proves before, was not till the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century. But that the Reader may not wholly depend upon these Concessions, I will note a few Places in the Margin out of *Tertullian* [p], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q], *Cyprian* [r], *Origen* [s], *Dionysius Alexandrinus* [t], *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* [u], *Nazianzen* [x], *Basil*, [y], *Ambrose* [z], *Austin* [*], *Chrysostom* [†] and the Council of *Trullo* [a]. Which I think it needless to repeat at length in a Matter so plain and unconcested. The very Custom of Washing the Hands before Communion, in order to receive it, the frequent Admonitions to beware of letting it fall, the Allowance of Private Men to carry it home with them and communicate in private, the sending it to the Sick

[k] Banon. an. 57. n. 147. [l] Morin. de Ordinat. Par. 3. Exercit. 12. c. 3. [m] Loaysa in Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 14. [n] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. Lib. 2. cap. 20. [o] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 7. Vid. Vales. Not. in Euseb. Lib. 7. c. 9.

[p] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. de Idololatr. cap. 7.

[q] Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 318. [r] Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 132. De Patient. p. 216. Ep. 56. al. 58. ad Thibaritanos. p. 125. [s] Orig. Hom. 13. in Exod. [t] ap. Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 9. [u] Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. n 18. [x] Naz. Carmen de Ornatu Mulier. T. 2. p. 152. [y] Basil Ep. 289. ad Cæsaream Patriciam. [z] Ambr. Orat. ad Theodos. ap. Theodoret. Lib. 5. cap. 18. [*] Aug. cont. Liter. Petil. Lib. 2. cap. 23. Hom. 26. ex 50. [†] Chrys. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266. Hom. 22. p. 285. & 290. Hom. 24. p. 316. Hom. 6. cont. Judæos. T. 1. p. 540. Hom. 6. in Seraphim. Hom. 3. in Ephes. & passim. [a] Conc. Trul. c. 101.

Sick ſometimes by private Men, which we have ſpoken of before, do all bear Teſtimony to the ſame Practice. But all theſe Cuſtoms are perfectly antiquated and aboliſhed in the *Roman* Church, ſince the Practice of Hoſt-worſhip came in, partly by forbidding the People to touch the Bread with their own Hands, but ſuffer it to be dropt into their Mouths, and partly by withdrawing the Cup wholly from them. Many wiſe and pretty Reaſons are uſed to be given for aboliſhing this ancient Cuſtom, as that it is to prevent Mens Negligence and Irreverence and other Abuſes: But the Fathers had much better Reaſons for allowing it. For then it afforded them a noble Argument to keep innocent and holy Hands, free from Idolatry, Murder, Rapine and Extortion, and other the like Vices, when they muſt with thoſe very Hands receive the immaculate Body and Blood of their Lord. A Man might declaim, ſays *Tertullian* [*b*], all the Day long with the Zeal of Faith, and bewail thoſe Chriſtians, who work with their Hands at the Trade of making Idols for the Heathen Gods, and come immediately from the Shop of the Adverſary to the Houſe of GOD, to lift up thoſe Hands to GOD the FATHER, which are the Makers or Mothers of Idols, and ſtretch forth thoſe Hands to receive the Body of the Lord, that were inſtrumental in Carving Bodies for Devils. With what Eloquence does St. *Chryſoſtom* inveigh againſt Rapine and Bloodſhed, and Strife and Contention, upon this very Topick? Conſider, ſays he [*c*], what thou takeſt into thy Hand, and never dare to ſmite any Man: Do not diſgrace thoſe Hands, which are adorned with ſo great a Gift, by the

[*b*] Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 7. Vid. Tertul. de Spectac. c. 25. Cypr. Ep. 56. al. 58. ad Pleb. Thibarit. p. 125.

[*c*] Chryſ. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266. Vid. Hom. 31. de Natali Chriſti. T. 5. p. 479.

the Crime of Fighting and Contention. Conſider what thou takeſt into thy Hands, and keep them free from all Rapine and Extortion. Conſider that thou not only takeſt it in thy Hands, but putteſt it to thy Mouth; therefore keep thy Tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious Words, from Blaſphemy, Perjury, and all ſuch kinds of evil Diſcourſe. So again, Reproving thoſe who in time of Sickneſs went to the *Jews* to get Charms and Amulets to cure their Diſtemper, he asks them, What Apology they would [*d*] make to CHRIST for thus flying to his Enemies in their Diſtreſs? How they could call upon him in their Prayers? With what Conſcience they could come into the Church? With what Eyes they could look upon the Prieſt? With what Hands they could touch the holy Table? And in another Place, repreſſing the Peoples Fury againſt *Eutropius* (who having procured a Law to be made againſt Mens taking Sanctuary at the Altar, was himſelf not long after, by falling under the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, forced to fly thither for Refuge; and then ſome of the People clamoured againſt him with revengeful Thoughts, and cried out, It was but juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the Effects of his own Law;) to ſuppreſs the Peoples Anger in this Caſe, and incline them to Thoughts of Mercy and Pardon, he asks them, How otherwiſe they could take [*e*] the Sacrament into their Hands, when Sermon was done, and ſay that Prayer, which commads them to beg of GOD, That He would *forgive them their Treſpaſſes, as they forgave them that treſpaſſed againſt them*, if they perſiſted to call for Juſtice upon their Enemy? Theſe are handſome Turns of Eloquence, grounded upon this innocent and pious

[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. cont. Jud. T. 1. p. 539. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. in Eutrop. T. 4. p. 554.

Cuſtom of the Peoples taking the Sacrament into their own Hands, and they had often their due Weight and Force even upon the greateſt Minds, as may appear from the Effect of that Speech which St. *Ambroſe* made to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, when he had cauſed ſeven thouſand Men to be ſlaughtered without any formal Tryal at *Theſſalonica*: St. *Ambroſe* met him as he was entring the Church, and thus accoſted him: With what Eyes wilt thou behold the Houſe of our common Lord? With what Feet wilt thou tread his holy Pavement? Wilt thou ſtretch out thoſe Hands yet dropping with the Blood of that unjuſt Slaughter, and with them lay hold [*f*] of the moſt Holy Body of the Lord? Wilt thou put the Cup of that Blood to thy Mouth, who haſt ſhed ſo much Blood by the haſty Decree of an angry and impetuous Mind? This juſt Reproof of the Pious Biſhop, ſo handſomely addreſſed to the Emperor, made ſuch a deep Impreſſion on his Mind, that it melted him into Tears, and made him refrain from Church as a Penitent, till by way of Satisfaction, among other Things, by St. *Ambroſe*'s Direction, he made this good Law, That no Sentence of Death or Proſcription for the future ſhould be executed till thirty Days after its Promulgation, that Reaſon, and not Paſſion, might judge of the Equity and Reaſonableneſs of it. Such brave Speeches, and ſuch worthy Effects did that ancient pious Cuſtom miniſter the Occaſion to of old, which is now laid aſide in the *Roman* Church, and changed into another Cuſtom, that has neither Precedent nor Uſe; ſerving only to feed Superſtition, and keep Men under the monſtrous and inveterate Prejudices of *Tranſubſtantiation*, which this innocent Rite ſerved in ſome meaſure to keep out of the Minds of Men in the Primitive Church.

IT

[*f*] ap. Theodor. Hiſt. Lib. 5. cap. 18.

Sect. 7. *Whether the ſame Cuſtom was obſerved in delivering it to Women and Children.*

IT is farther obſervable, That in this Caſe no Diſtinction was made between Men, Women, and Children, but all received into their own Hands who were capable of ſo doing. Only in the latter End of the ſixth Century, we find a Rule made about Women, that they ſhould not receive it in their bare Hand, but in a fair Linnen Cloth. Some think this as ancient as St. *Auſtin*'s Time, becauſe in one of the Sermons *De Tempore* [g] that go under his Name, there is mention made of it. For there it is ſaid, it was cuſtomary for Men to waſh their Hands when they communicated, and for Women to bring their little Linnen Cloths to receive the Body of CHRIST. But, as many of theſe Sermons are ſpurious, ſo this in particular is ſometimes aſcribed to other Authors, and therefore no Weight can be laid upon it. However the Council of *Auxerre* [h] in *France*, *An.* 590 made a Rule, That no Woman ſhould receive the *Euchariſt* in her bare Hand. But after what manner ſhe ſhould receive it in her Hand, is not ſaid. A great many Learned Perſons think that another Canon in that Council [i] orders them to receive it in a Linnen Cloth, becauſe there is mention made of Womens wearing a *Dominicale* when they communicate: Which they interpret a Linnen Cloth upon their Hand. So not only *Baronius*, and *Binnius*, and *Sylvius*, but alſo *Bona* [k] and

[g] Aug. Ser. 252. de Temp. Omnes Viri, quando communicare deſiderant, lavant manus: Et omnes Mulieres exhibent Linteamina, ubi corpus Chriſti accipiant. [h] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 36. Non licet mulieri nuda manu Euchariſtiam accipere. [i] Ibid. can. 42. Unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, Dominicalem ſuum habeat. Quod ſi non habuerit, uſque in alium diem Dominicum non communicet.

[k] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap 17. n. 3.

Habertus [*l*], and even *Mabillon* [*m*], and *Voſſius* [*n*] underſtand it. But *Baluzius*, who is often more ſagacious than the reſt in telling the Meaning of hard Words, ſays, it means only the Womens Veil, which they were obliged to wear upon their Heads by ancient Canons, conformable to the Rule of the Apoſtle [*o*]. And for this he quotes an ancient Collection of Canons, where in the Council of *Maſcon* the *Dominicale* is expreſsly ſtiled the Veil which the Women wore upon their Heads at the Communion. So that whatever Covering the Women uſed for their Hands, when they received the Communion, it is plain it was a different Thing from the *Dominicale*. The Council of *Trullo* [*p*] ſpeaks of ſome in the *Greek* Church, who would not receive the Sacrament in their Hands, but in ſome little Inſtrument of Gold or other precious Material, out of a pretended Reverence to it, but they condemn, and forbid it as a ſuperſtitious Practice; ordering all Perſons to receive the Communion in their own Hands ſet in the Form of a Croſs, as is appointed in *Cyril's Catechiſms* [*q*] and ſome others before them: and for thoſe that pretended to bring thoſe little Trinkets to receive the Communion with, they order them to be rejected, as Perſons who preferred inanimate Matter to the living Image of GOD. And withal they threaten Suſpenſion to any Prieſt that ſhall admit any Communicants to receive in ſuch manner. By which it is plain no Alteration was as yet allowed in this Matter in the *Greek* Church.

THE

[*l*] Habert. Archieratic. Par. 10. Obſerv. 8. p. 264.
[*m*] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. Lib. 1. cap. 5. n. 25.
[*n*] Voſſ. Theſ. Theol. de Symbolis Cœnæ Dom. p. 477.
[*o*] Baluz. Not. in Gratian. Cauſ. 33. Quæſt. 3. cap. 19. Si mulier communicans Dominicale ſuum ſuper capud ſuum non habuerit, uſque ad alium diem Dominicum non communicet.
[*p*] Conc. Trull. can. 101. [*q*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 18.

Sect. 8.

The Euchariſt *uſually delivered to the People with a certain Form of Words, to which they anſwered,* Amen.

THE next Thing obſervable, is, That the Prieſt in delivering the Elements to the People uſed a certain Form of Words, to which the People anſwered, *Amen*. The Form at firſt ſeems to have been no more than this: *The Body of Chriſt*; and, *The Blood of Chriſt*; to each of which the People ſubjoyned, *Amen*. *Tertullian* is thought to refer to this, when he asks a Chriſtian [*r*] who was uſed to frequent the *Roman* Theatres, How he could give Teſtimony to a Gladiator with that Mouth wherewith he was wont to ſay *Amen* in the holy Myſteries? But that may refer as well to the *Amen* which they uſed at the End of the great Conſecration-Prayer, as to this Form at the Delivery. However *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* not long after ſpeaks expreſsly of it. For he ſays [*s*], *Novatian* was uſed to make the People of his Party ſwear by the Body and Blood of CHRIST, when he delivered the *Euchariſt* to them, that they would not forſake his Party and go over to *Cornelius*. So, ſays he, every Man inſtead of ſaying *Amen*, when he takes the Bread, is forced to ſay; *I will not return to* Cornelius. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* ſpeaks of the Form in this manner [*t*]: Let the Biſhop give the Oblation, ſaying, *The Body of Chriſt*: And let the Receiver anſwer, *Amen*. Let the Deacon hold the Cup, and when he gives it ſay, *The Blood of Chriſt, The Cup of Life*: And let him that drinks it ſay, *Amen*. So St. *Cyril* [*u*] bids his Communicant receive the Body of CHRIST, and ſay, *Amen*. And St.

[*r*] Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt — ex ore quo Amen in ſanctum protuleris, gladiatori teſtimonium reddere?

[*s*] ap. Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245. [*t*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 13. [*u*] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 18.

St. *Ambroſe* [x], The Prieſt ſays to thee, *The Body of Chriſt*, and thou anſwereſt, *Amen*. The like, as to the Peoples Anſwering *Amen*, is noted by St. *Auſtin* [y] as the general Practice of the whole World. And ſo by St. *Jerom* [z], *Leo Magnus* [a] and many others. By the Time of *Gregory the Great*, the Form of Delivery was a little enlarged: For then they ſaid, *The Body* [b] *of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy Soul*. And by the Time of *Alcuin* and *Charles the Great*, it was augmented into this Form, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus* [c] *Chriſt, preſerve thy Soul unto everlaſting Life*. Which is much the ſame with the former Part of that which is now uſed in our *Liturgy*. The *Scotch Liturgy* alſo orders the People to anſwer, *Amen*; which, we ſee, is conformable to ancient Practice. The *Romaniſts* generally draw this Anſwer of the People into an Argument for *Tranſubſtantiation*. Becauſe ſaying *Amen* implies as much as the true Body of CHRIST. But they might as well argue, that the Bread is tranſubſtantiated into the Bodies of the People, and that they too are but one proper, ſubſtantial, true, numerical Body with their Lord; Becauſe St. *Auſtin* ſays this is one Meaning of the Body of CHRIST, to which, when the Prieſt ſpake it, they anſwered, *Amen*: Ye anſwer, *Amen*, ſays he [d], to what ye are

[x] Ambroſ. de ſacram. Lib. 4. cap 5. Dicit tibi ſacerdos, Corpus Chriſti: Et tu dicis, Amen, id eſt, verum. It. de Initiatis. cap. 9. [y] Aug. cont. Fauſt. Lib. 12. cap. 10. Habet magnam vocem Chriſti ſanguis in terra, cum eo accepto ab omnibus gentibus reſpondetur Amen. [z] Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theophil. [a] Leo Ser. 6. de Jejunio ſeptimi Menſis.

[b] Joan. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. Lib. 2. [c] Alcuin. de Offic. & Helgaldus Vita Roberti Regis Galliæ. ap. Bonam. Liturgic. Lib. 2. c. 17. n. 3. [d] Aug. Serm. ad Infantes. ap. Fulgent. de Baptiſmo Æthiopis. cap. 11. Ad id quod eſtis, reſpondetis, Amen, & reſpondendo ſubſcribitis. Audis Corpus Chriſti, & reſpondes, Amen. Eſto membrum Corporis Chriſti, ut ſit verum Amen tuum.

are (that is, the Body of CHRIST), and by your Anſwer ſubſcribe to the Truth of it. Thou heareſt the Prieſt ſay, *The Body of Chriſt*, and thou anſwereſt, *Amen*: Be thou a Member of the Body of Chriſt, that thy *Amen* may be true. In another Place he ſays, it denoted their Belief of the Reality of CHRIST's Suffering for them, that his Blood was truly ſhed [*] for their Sakes, and that they made Profeſſion of this by ſaying *Amen*, This is true. And again [†], Chriſt ſhed his Blood upon the Croſs for our Sakes: And ye who are Communicants, know what Teſtimony ye bear to the Blood which ye receive: For ye ſay *Amen* to it. Ye know what that Blood's *which was ſhed for many, for is the Remiſſion of Sins.* So that in whatever Senſe we take it, there is no Neceſſity of making it to ſignify a corporeal and ſubſtantial Preſence, which it is certain St. *Auſtin* never thought of.

Sect. 9. *How* Novatian *and others abuſed the Communion to wicked Purpoſes.*

IT is here proper, before we paſs on, to make a juſt Reflexion upon the horrible Abuſes of the Communion committed by ſome againſt the true End and Deſign of it, which was intended by CHRIST to repreſent our Union with himſelf and one another, but wicked Men made Uſe of it to baſe Ends and Purpoſes. We have already heard how *Novatian* abuſed it to ſtrengthen his Schiſm, and bind Men over by an Oath upon it, that they would not deſert his Intereſt

[*] Aug. Ser. de 4. Feria ſive Cultura agri. T. 9. p. 317. Quid dicit omnis homo, quando accipit Sanguinem Chriſti? Amen dicit. Quid eſt Amen? Verum eſt. Quid eſt verum? Quia fuſus eſt Sanguis Chriſti. [†] Id. Ser. 29. de Verbis Apoſt. T. 10. p. 150. In cruce pro nobis Sanguinem fudit: Et noſtis Fideles quale teſtimonium perhibeatis Sanguini quem accepiſtis. Certe enim dicitis Amen. Noſtis qui ſit Sanguis qui pro multis effuſus eſt in remiſſionem peccatorum.

and Party. And it was a like Abuſe that was ſome time allowed in the ſuperſtitious Times of Popery under the general Notion of many other ſuperſtitious Practices called, Canonical Purgations. Which was, that when any one was ſuſpected of a Crime, he was to purge himſelf by taking the Sacrament upon it. *Gratian* cites a Canon out of the Council of Worms [*e*] to this Purpoſe: Whereas it often happens, that Thefts are committed in Monaſteries, and they that commit them are not known: We therefore order, That when the Brethren are to purge themſelves of ſuch Suſpicions, Maſs ſhall be celebrated by the Abbot or ſome other appointed by him, and when it is ended, every one of them ſhall communicate, ſaying theſe Words, *Let the Body of Chriſt be my Purgation this Day.* But though this was allowed by a Council, it is juſtly reckoned a great Abuſe by all ſober Men. *Antonius Auguſtinus* in his Emendations upon *Gratian* [*f*] paſſes this Cenſure upon it, That it is to be aſcribed to the great Corruption and Filth of the Times which allowed it. For even as the old Gloſſer upon *Gratian* obſerves [*g*], The Communion was not to be given to ſuſpected Perſons, as he proves from other Laws, particularly the Extravagant *de Purgatione Canonica. cap. Cum dilectis.* And therefore he ſays, this Canon in *Gratian* was

[*e*] Con. Wormat. can. 15. ap. Grat. Cauſ. 2. Quæſt. 5. cap. 23. Sæpe contingit, ut in Monaſteriis furta perpetrentur, & qui hæc committant ignorentur. Idcirco ſtatuimus, ut quando ipſi fratres de talibus ſe expurgare debuerint, Miſſa ab Abbate celebretur, vel ab aliquo cui ipſe Abbas præceperit, præſentibus Fratribus: & ſic expleta Miſſa, omnes communicent in hæc verba; Corpus Domini ſit mihi ad Probationem hodie.

[*f*] Anton. Auguſt. de Emendat. Grat. Lib. 1. Dial. 15. p. 172. Hæc omnia ſunt illorum temporum ſordibus adſcribenda.

[*g*] Gloſſa in Loc. Gratiani. Huic Capiti eſt derogatum, quia ſuſpectis non eſt danda Euchariſtia.

was of no Force, being diſannulled in Law. So that we need not Scruple to call this a great Abuſe of the Holy Communion, though it had ſynodical Authority ſome Time to enjoin the Practice of it. I know nothing hardly that exceeds it under Pretence of Religion, unleſs it be that more horrible Abuſe which *Baronius* [*h*] himſelf relates out of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, concerning Pope *Theodore* and the *Roman* Council, *An.* 648, who in their Cenſure of *Pyrrhus* and *Paulus* the *Monothelite* Hereticks, took Blood out of the Cup, and mingled it with Ink, and therewith ſubſcribed their Condemnation. An unparallel'd Inſtance of intemperate Zeal, for which there was neither Law nor Example in the *Roman* Church, as *Baronius* confeſſes, nor any Inſtance like it, ſave one in the *Greek* Church, when *Ignatius* in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 869. made Uſe of the Blood in the ſacred Cup inſtead of Ink to condemn his Adverſary *Photius*, as *Baronius* alſo tells us [*i*] out of *Nicetas* in his Life of *Ignatius*. But I paſs over theſe horrible Abuſes, more becoming *Draco*, and his ſanguinary Laws, than the Pens and Practices of Chriſtian Biſhops, and go on with the more innocent Practices of the Primitive Church.

Sect. 10.
Proper Pſalms for the Occaſion uſually ſung while the People were communicating.

DURING the Time of communicating, while the Elements were diſtributed to the People, it was uſual in moſt Places for the Singers or all the People to ſing ſome Pſalm ſuitable to the Occaſion. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*k*] preſcribes the Thirty-third Pſalm, which in our Diviſion is the Thirty-fourth, for this Purpoſe: *I will bleſs the Lord at*

[*h*] Baron. an. 648. n. 15. ex Theophane.
[*i*] Baron. an. 869. T. 10. p. 428. [*k*] Conſt. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

at all Times, his Praiſe ſhall be always in my Mouth. Which was chiefly ſung upon the Account of thoſe Words relating to the Sacrament, *O Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*, &c. For ſo St. *Cyril* more plainly declares, when he ſays [*l*], After this you hear one ſinging with a Divine Melody, and exhorting you to partake of the Holy Myſteries, and ſaying, *O Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious.* St. *Jerom* [*m*] ſeems alſo to intimate, that they ſung both this and the xlv *Pſalm*, when he ſays, They received the *Euchariſt* always with a good Conſcience, hearing the *Pſalmiſt* ſing, *O Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*: And ſinging with him, *My Heart is inditing of a good Matter, I ſpeak of the Things which I have made unto the King.* This being a Pſalm peculiarly ſetting forth the Praiſes of CHRIST, and the Affection of the Church toward him: *Hearken, O Daughter, and conſider, incline thine Ear, forget alſo thine own People and thy Father's Houſe: So ſhall the King have Pleaſure in thy Beauty; for he is thy Lord God, and Worſhip thou Him.* In *Africk* they ſeem to have delighted much in this Cuſtom, in ſo much that when one *Hilarius* a Tribune railed againſt it and all other Singing of Pſalms at the Altar, St. *Auſtin* wrote a Book particularly in Vindication of it, which is now loſt, but he mentions it [*n*] in his *Retractations.* And both he and *Tertullian* ſeem to intimate, that among other Pſalms they ſung the One Hundred Thirty-third. *Behold how good and joyful a Thing it is, Brethren to dwell together in Unity.* For *Tertul-*

[*l*] Cyril. Myſt. Catech. 5. n. 17. [*m*] Hieron. Ep. 28. ad Lucin. Bœticum. [*n*] Aug. Retract. Lib. 2. cap. 11. Morem qui tunc eſſe apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut Hymni ad altare dicerentur de Pſalmorum libro, ſive ante Oblationem, ſive cum diſtribueretur populo quod fuiſſet oblatum, maledica reprehenſione ubicunque poterat lacerabat. &c. Huic reſpondi, & vocatur Liber contra Hilarium.

Tertullian [o] ſays, They were uſed to ſing this Pſalm when they ſupped together: By which moſt probably he means the Lord's Supper. And St. *Auſtin* ſays, it was a Pſalm [p] ſo noted and well known by its conſtant Uſe, that they who knew nothing of the Pſalter, could repeat that Pſalm, as having often heard it ſung, probably at the Altar. And he ſeems to ſay [q], that they ſung the xxxiii *Pſalm* upon the ſame Occaſion. For he ſays expreſsly they ſung it daily, *I will bleſs the Lord at all Times, his Praiſe ſhall ever be in my Mouth.* Which conſidering how many Writers before ſpeak of it as ſung at the Diſtribution of the Elements, it is probable St. *Auſtin* means the ſame, that it was ſung daily at the Altar. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays they ſung the cxlv *Pſalm* upon this Occaſion, chiefly upon the account of thoſe Words in it, *The Eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou giveſt them their Meat in due Seaſon.* For he interprets this of their Spiritual Meat at the Lord's Table. This *Pſalm*, ſays he [r], is diligently to be noted: For this is the *Pſalm* which has theſe Words, which they that are initiated in the holy Myſteries ſing continually in Conſort, ſaying, *The Eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou giveſt them their Meat in due Seaſon.* For he that is made a Son, and Partaker of the ſpiritual Table, does juſtly give Glory to his Father. Thou art a Son, and Partaker of the Spiritual Table; thou feedeſt upon that Fleſh and Blood

[o] Tertul. de Jejun. cap. 13. Vide quam bonum & quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Hoc tu pſallere non facile noſti, niſi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

[p] Aug. in Pſal. 132. p. 629. Pſalmus brevis eſt, ſed valde notus & nominatus. Ecce quam bonum & quam jucundum, &c. Ita ſonus iſte dulcis eſt, ut & qui Pſalterium neſciunt, ipſum verſum cantent. [q] Ibid. p. 630. Impletum eſt in eo quod quotidie cantamus, ſi & moribus conſonemus: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, Semper Laus ejus in ore meo. [r] Chryſ. in Pſal. 144. T. 3. p. 594.

Blood which regenerated thee: Therefore give Thanks to him that vouchſafes thee ſo great a Bleſſing, glorify him who grants thee theſe Favours: When thou readeſt the Words, compoſe and Tune thy Soul to what is ſaid, and when thou ſayſt, *I will exalt Thee, my God, my King* (which are the firſt Words of this Pſalm) ſhew thy great Love and Affection to him, that he may ſay to thee, as he ſaid to *Abraham, I am thy God.* In the *Liturgy* which goes under St. *Chryſoſtom's* Name [*s*] there is mention made of the Peoples Singing at this Time, but no Pſalm ſpecified, as here in his genuine Works. In the *Liturgy* called St. *James* [*t*] of *Jeruſalem*, the Words of the Thirty-Fourth Pſalm, *O Taſte and ſee that the Lord is gracious*, are appointed to be ſung by the Singers. St. *Mark's Liturgy* [*u*] appoints the Forty-ſecond Pſalm, *As the Hart deſireth the Water-brooks, ſo panteth my Soul after Thee, O God.* And *Cotelerius* [*x*] has obſerved, that in ſome ancient Rituals at the End of *Gregory's Sacramentarium* the cxxxix Pſalm is appointed: *O Lord thou haſt ſearched me out, and known me*, &c. So that though the Cuſtom of Singing Pſalms in this Part of the Service was Univerſal, the particular Pſalms varied according to the Wiſdom and Choice of the Precentor, or the different Rules and Uſages of different Churches. I have now ſtated and reſolved the ſeveral Queſtions and Caſes that may be put concerning the manner of communicating in the ancient Church: And there remains but one Thing more to be conſidered, which was the ſolemn Thankſgiving and Prayers after receiving, which may be included with ſome other Concomitant Rites in the general Name of their Poſt-Communion Service; of which we will Diſcourſe in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

[*s*] Chryſ. Liturg. T. 4. p. 618. [*t*] Jacob. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 20. [*u*] Marci Liturg. ibid. p. 40. [*x*] Coteler. in Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

CHAP. VI.

Of their POST-COMMUNION-SERVICE.

Sect. 1. *The Communion-Service closed with ſeveral Sorts of Thankſgiving. Firſt the Deacons Bidding Prayer and Thankſgiving.*

WHEN all the People had communicated, and the Deacons had removed the Remainder of the Elements into the *Paſtophoria*, or Place appointed for their Reception; it was uſual firſt for a Deacon to admoniſh the People to return Thanks for the Benefits which they had received. The Form of this Exhortation in the *Conſtitutions* [a] runs thus: *Now that we have received the precious Body and the precious Blood of Chriſt, let us give Thanks to him that hath vouchſafed to make us Partakers of his Holy Myſteries; and let us beſeech him that they may not be to our Condemnation, but Salvation, for the Benefit of our Soul and Body, for the Preſervation of us in Piety, for the Remiſſion of our Sins, and obtaining of the Life of the World to come.* Then he bids them riſe up, and commend themſelves to GOD by CHRIST. Upon which the Biſhop makes a Prayer of Thankſgiving and Commendation of the People to GOD in the following Words.

Sect. 2. *The Biſhop's Thankſgiving or Commendation of the People to God.*

O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy Chriſt, Thy bleſſed Son; who hearest thoſe that with an upright Heart call upon Thee, who knoweſt the Supplications of thoſe that in Silence pray unto Thee; we give Thee Thanks for that Thou haſt vouchſafed to make us Partakers of thy Holy Myſteries, which Thou haſt given us for the Confirmation

[a] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 14 *it is called* εὐχαριστία μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν.

mation or full Assurance of those Things which we stedfastly believe and know, for the Preservation of our Piety, for the Remission of our Sins; because the Name of Thy Christ is called upon us, and we are united unto Thee. Thou that hast separated us from the Communion of the the Ungodly, unite us with them that are sanctified unto Thee; confirm us in Thy Truth by the coming of Thy Holy Spirit and his resting upon us; reveal unto us what Things we are ignorant of, supply what we are deficient in, and strengthen us in what we know. Preserve Thy Priests unblameable in Thy Service, keep our Princes in Peace, our Governours in Righteousness, the Air in good Temperature, the Fruits of the Earth in Plenty, and the whole World by Thy Almighty Providence. Pacify the Nations that are inclined to War; convert those that go astray; sanctify Thy People; preserve those that are in Virginity; keep those that are married in Thy Faith; strengthen those that are in Chastity; bring Infants to mature Age; confirm those that are newly baptized; instruct the Catechumens, and make them fit and worthy of Baptism: And gather us all into the Kingdom of Heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit be Glory, Honour, and Adoration World without End. Amen.

Sect. 3. *The Bishop's Benediction.*

AFTER this the Deacon bids the People bow their Heads to GOD in CHRIST, and receive the Benediction. Then the Bishop pronounces the Benediction in this following Prayer: *Almighty God, and True, with whom no one can compare, who art every where, and present unto all, yet not in them as Things of which they consist, who art circumscribed by no Place, not grown old with Time, nor bounded by Ages; who art without Generation, and needest no Preserver; who art above all Corruption, uncapable of Change, and unalterable by Nature; that dwellest in Light which no one can approach unto, and art invisible by Nature;*

that

that art known to all Rational Natures that ſeek Thee with an upright Heart, and art apprehended by thoſe that ſearch after Thee with a Pure Mind; O Thou God of Iſrael, *the* Iſrael *that truly ſees Thee, and the People that believes in Chriſt, ſhew thy ſelf propitious, and hear me for Thy Name's Sake; Bleſs this People that bow their Necks unto Thee, and grant them the Petitions of their Heart that are Expedient for them, and ſuffer none of them to fall from Thy Kingdom; but ſanctify them, keep and protect, help and deliver them from the Adverſary, and from every Enemy; preſerve their Houſes, and defend their going out and their coming in: For to Thee belongs Glory, Praiſe, Majeſty, Worſhip and Adoration: And to Thy Son Jeſus, thy Chriſt, our Lord and God and King; and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, World without End.* Amen.

Sect. 4. *The Deacon's Form of diſmiſſing the People with the ſhort Prayer.* Go in Peace.

AFTER this the Deacon uſed a ſhort Form of Words in the Nature of a Prayer for Peace, which was the Signal wherewith he diſmiſſed the whole Aſſembly; intimating that the whole Service was now finiſhed, and therefore praying that the Peace of GOD might continue with them, and preſerve them, he ſaid, ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in Peace.* This was the uſual Form of breaking up all religious Aſſemblies in the *Greek* Church, as we have noted before in ſpeaking [*] of the Daily Morning Service out of this Author: And we are aſſured of it from St. *Chryſoſtom* [*b*], who ſpeaking of the frequent Uſe of that ſhort Prayer of Salutation, *Peace be with you,* particularly takes notice of the Deacon's uſing it at the Diſmiſſion of the Aſſembly: The

[*] Book XIII. Chap. x. n. 8. [*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 713.

The Deacon, ſays he, when he diſmiſſes you from this Meeting, does it with this Prayer, πορέυεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ; *Go in Peace.* Whence we may learn, that they did not uſe it as an empty Form, but as a ſhort ſolemn Prayer, to ſend them away with a Benediction, or the Bleſſing of GOD upon them.

Sect. 5. *What Account we have of theſe Prayers in other Writers.*

As for the other Prayers uſed in this Part of the Service, we have no particular Account of them in other Writers. But they tell us in general, that ſuch Forms of Praiſe and Thankſgiving were always uſed after the Communion. St. *Auſtin* ſays [c], when all was ended, and every one had received the Communion, a ſolemn Thankſgiving concluded the whole Action. And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [d] bids his newly baptized Communicant ſtay, when the Communion was done, to give Thanks to GOD, who had vouchſafed to make him a Partaker of ſo great Myſteries. St. *Chryſoſtom* has a long Invective [e] againſt thoſe who would not ſtay theſe laſt Prayers, but as ſoon as they had communicated themſelves, would be gone, and leave their Brethren to give Thanks alone: Whom he compares to *Judas*, who left the Apoſtles after Supper before the laſt Hymn was ſung; but all the other Apoſtles ſtaid to ſing the Hymn with their Lord, from whoſe Example the Church took up the Cuſtom of making theſe laſt Prayers after the Communion. It is an excellent Paſſage, and therefore I will tranſcribe it at length in his own Words: "Would you have me tell you, what "is

[c] Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Quæſt. 5. Quibus peractis, & participato tanto Sacramento, Gratiarum actio cuncta concludit. [d] Cyril. Catech. Myſt. 5. n. 19. [e] Chryſ. Hom. 34. de Bapt. Chriſti. T. 1. p. 317. It. Hom. 82. al. 83. in Mat. n. 700.

" what is the Cauſe of Noiſe and Tumult in the
" Church? It is becauſe we ſhut not the Doors
" upon you all the Time of Divine Service, but
" ſuffer you to draw off and go home before the
" laſt Thanſgiving; which is a great Contempt of
" GOD's Ordinance. What meaneſt thou, O Man,
" in ſo doing? CHRIST is preſent, the Angels
" ſtand by him, the tremendous Table is ſpread, thy
" Brethren are yet communicating, and doſt thou
" deſert them and fly off? If thou art called to a
" common Entertainment, thou doſt not preſume,
" whilſt the reſt are ſitting, to depart before thy
" Friends, though thou haſt filled thyſelf before
" them: And doſt thou here leave all and depart,
" whilſt the Holy Myſteries of CHRIST are cele-
" brating, and the ſacred Offices performing? What
" Pardon can be expected, what Apology can be
" made for this? Shall I tell you plainly, whoſe
" Work they are a doing, who thus depart before
" all is finiſhed, and wait not for the Euchariſtical
" Hymns at the End of the Supper? It may per-
" haps ſeem an hard and odious Saying, but it is ne-
" ceſſary to be ſaid, to reprove the Negligence of
" many. When *Judas* communicated at the laſt
" Supper in that laſt Night, whilſt all the reſt were
" ſitting at Table, he ſtole off and went out: And
" they imitate him, who go away before the laſt
" Thankſgiving. For if he had not gone out,
" he had not been made the Traytor; if he
" had not deſerted his Fellow-Diſciples, he had
" not periſhed; if he had not broken away from the
" Flock, the Wolf had not found him alone; if he had
" not ſeparated himſelf from the Shepherd, he had
" not been a Prey to the wild Beaſt. Upon this
" Account we find him among the *Jews*, but the
" reſt ſtay to ſing an Hymn, and go forth with their
" Lord. Do you not now ſee, that the laſt Prayers

" after the Sacrifice take their Riſe from that Exam-
" ple?" Thus far St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſeems to intimate, that they had not only Prayers, but alſo Pſalms and Hymns of Thankſgiving, in Imitation of our SAVIOUR's ſinging an Hymn after his laſt Supper with his Diſciples. And it is very probable from what St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us in another Place, that the Church had ſuch an Affection for *David's Pſalms*, that ſhe uſed and interſperſed them in all her Offices. *Primus & medius & noviſſimus eſt David* [f], *David* was in the Beginning, and Middle, and End of her Services. 'Tis true, the Author of the *Conſtitutions* takes no notice of *Pſalms* or Hymns in the forementioned Place: But in another Place [g], where he has alſo a Prayer μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν, after Participation, beſides the Thankſgiving, there is order to ſing, *Maranatha*, that is, *The Kingdom of God*, or *the Lord cometh*: And alſo, *Hoſanna to the Son of* David. *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Bleſſed be the Lord our God, who was manifeſted to us in the Fleſh.* Which ſeems to imply, that there were different Uſages in different Churches, and that this Author made his Collections vary ſometimes from themſelves, by interpoſing the Rites of different Churches. In the old *Gothick Miſſal* publiſhed by *Mabillon*, there is nothing appointed after the Communion but only two Prayers, the one called, *Poſt-Communionem*; and the other, *Collectio*, the Collect or concluding Prayer. And it is much after the ſame manner in the *Mozarabick Liturgy*, of which *Mabillon* gives a Specimen or two in his *Appendix*. But in the *Greek Liturgies*, as that under the Name of St. *James* [h], beſides the Prayers, there are

[f] Chryſ. Hom. 6, de Pœnitentia, in Edit. Latinis.
[g] Conſtit. Lib. 7. cap. 26. [h] Liturg. Jacob. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 21.

are ſeveral ſhort Hymns and Praiſes collected out of the *Pſalms* and other Scriptures appointed to be ſaid after the Communion: As that of the lvii *Pſalm*, *Set up Thyſelf, O God, above the Heavens, and thy Glory above all the Earth.* And, *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore.* And, *Bleſſed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Save Thy People, O God, and bleſs Thine Heritage.* And, *O let our Mouth be filled with Thy Praiſe, that we may ſing of Thy Glory and Honour all the Day long*, Pſal. lxxi. 7. So in St. *Chryſoſtom's Liturgy* [i] the People are appointed to ſing thoſe Words of the cxiii *Pſalm*, *Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore.* And the whole xxxiv *Pſalm*, *I will always give Thanks unto the Lord, his Praiſe ſhall ever be in my Mouth.*

Sect. 6. *The Thankſgivings always made in the Plural Number by the whole Body of the Church.*

AND it is obſervable, That in all the ancient Forms, the Thankſgiving Prayers are always in the Plural Number, repreſenting the whole Body of the Communicants as returning their Praiſes to GOD for the Mercies they had received. For then there were no private nor ſolitary *Maſſes*, where the Prieſt ſays the Office alone by himſelf without any Hearers, or communicates alone without any Partakers; but they all aſſiſted and communicated together: And ſo long it was very rational and proper to return a general Thankſgiving for the Benefits of the Communion which they had all received. But ſince private and ſolitary *Maſſes* came in, all theſe Forms are very improper and abſurd, to tell GOD, they have all received the Sacrament, and bleſs him for it, when none has received

[i] Chryſ. Litur. T. 4. p. 621.

ceived it but one, and ſometimes none has ſo much as heard the Office, but the Prieſt alone that repeats it. Yet theſe Offices now ſtand in the *Roman Maſs*, to the eternal Reproach of thoſe that abuſe them. For they ſtill ſay, *Quod ore ſumpſimus*, &c. *That which we* [k] *have received with our Mouths, O Lord, grant that we may receive with a pure Mind; and of a temporal Gift, make it unto us an eternal Remedy.* And there are many other Prayers in the ſame Tenour; all which ſuppoſe many to have communicated, when yet no one has received but the Prieſt alone. *Bona* [l] confeſſes this is not according to the Primitive Cuſtom. For thoſe Prayers were inſtituted at firſt for Communicants, when all or a great Part of the Church communicated together; for otherwiſe the very Name of Communion would here be improperly uſed, if more than one did not partake of the Sacrifice. And all he has to ſay for their retaining thoſe Prayers in the *Maſs*, when the uſe of them by private *Maſs* is become ſo improper, is only this: That though the ancient Cuſtom of many Communicating together, be left off, yet no Change is made in the Prayers; but they are retained ſtill, to ſhew us what was done anciently, and to excite us by the very Tenour of the Prayers to return to the Primitive Fervour. How happy would it be, if the *Roman* Church would in all Things obſerve this Rule, and return to the laudable Practiſe and Simplicity of the ancient Church; reforming her Offices by the Primitive Standard, and caſting away all thoſe Corruptions, which appear from the whole Series of this Hiſtory to be manifeſt Innovations, either privately crept in by Connivance and

[k] Miſſal. Roman. p. 24. de Ritu celebrandi Miſſam, & in Canone Miſſæ. p. 306. [l] Bona Rerum Liturgic. Lib. 2. cap. 20. n. 1.

and Negligence in Times of Ignorance, or elſe forcibly impoſed by Tyranny and Power, contrary to the Uſages of the ancient Church, and many times to the very Deſign of Divine-Service, and the natural Intent of holy Inſtitutions! As it is plain in the Caſe of having Divine-Service in an unknown Tongue, and worſhipping Saints and Angels, and Images and Croſſes with divine Worſhip, and dividing the Sacrament, and miniſtring it only in one Kind, and many other Things of the like Nature; which as they contradict the very End of the divine Ordinances, and the natural Deſign of GOD's Inſtitutions; ſo they run counter to the whole Practice of the ancient Church, as any one may ſee by conſidering the Allegations produced in theſe Collections, in which I have endeavoured to Point out as well the Riſe of Errors, and the Original of Corruptions in latter Ages, as the true ancient Practice of the Primitive Church in all the ſeveral Parts of Divine-Service relating to the ordinary Worſhip of GOD.

AND here I ſhould have put an End to this Account, but that there are a few Queſtions more that may be asked concerning ſome Appendages and Circumſtances of the Communion, which it will be proper to anſwer in this Place. As 1. How they were uſed to diſpoſe of the Remains of the *Euchariſt* after Communicating? 2. What was their Uſage and Practice in regard to their *Agape* or Feaſt of Charity, ſo famous in ancient Hiſtory? 3. What Preparation they required as neceſſary to Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy Reception? 4. What Time they adminiſtred the Lord's Supper, and how often they exhorted or obliged all Perſons to receive it? I will give as ſhort an Anſwer as I can to theſe Queſtions, and therewith put an End to this Diſcourſe.

CHAP. VII.

How the Remains of the EUCHARIST *were disposed of. And of their common Entertainment called,* Agape, *or Feast of Charity.*

Sect. 1. *Some Part of the* Eucharist *anciently reserved for particular Uses.*

WE have observed before in several Places of this Book, that some Part of the *Eucharist* was commonly reserved for several particular Uses, to be sent to the Absent, and communicate the Sick, and to testify the Communion of distant Churches one with another. And this was one Way of disposing of the Remains of the consecrated Elements when the Communion was ended: To which, I conceive, the Author of the *Constitutions* had regard when he orders the Deacon [*a*] to carry what remained into the *Pastophoria* or Vestry, which was the Repository for all Holy Things belonging to the Church.

Sect. 2. *The rest divided among the Communicants.*

IF any Thing remained over and above what was necessary for these Uses, then by other Rules it was to be divided among the Communicants. As appears from the Canons of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, one of which is to this Purpose [*b*]: Let the Clergy and the Faithfull, that is, the Communicants, divide among themselves the Oblations of the *Eucharist*, after all have participated, and let not a Catechumen eat or drink of them.

SOME

[*a*] Constit. Lib. 8. cap. 13. [*b*] Theoph. can. 8.

Sect. 3.
This Diviſion of the conſecrated Elements a diſtinct Thing from the Diviſion of the other Oblations.

SOME Learned Perſons [c] confound this Diviſion or Conſumption of the conſecrated Elements with that other Diviſion of the Oblations among the Clergy, and alledge the Author of the *Conſtitutions* for it, as if he intended this when he ſays, [d] Let the Deacons divide what remains of the myſtical *Eulogiæ*, by the Orders of the Biſhop or Presbyters, among the Clergy; to the Biſhops four Parts, to the Presbyter three Parts, to the Deacon two Parts, to the reſt of the Clergy, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, Deaconeſſes, one Part. For this is acceptable to GOD, that every one ſhould be honoured according to his Dignity. It is plain, he ſpeaks not here of the conſecrated Elements, but of the Diviſion of the Peoples Oblations among the Clergy, as *Cotelerius* rightly expounds it. For this was one Way of maintaining the Clergy in thoſe Days, as has been more fully ſhewn [*] in another Place. And though he calls theſe by the Name of the myſtical *Eulogiæ*, yet that does not determine it to the conſecrated Elements: For as has been noted before, *Eulogiæ* is a common Name that ſignifies both. And *Socrates* [e] takes it for the Oblations in this very Caſe, when ſpeaking of *Chryſanthus* the *Novatian* Biſhop, he ſays, he never received any Thing of the Church ſave two Loaves of the *Eulogiæ* on the Lord's Day. Where he certainly means not two Loaves of the *Euchariſt*, but of the other Oblations of the People, which it was cuſtomary for the Clergy to have their proportioned Shares in.

[c] Leſtrange, *Allyance of Div. Office*. Chap. 7. p. 213.
[d] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 31. [*] Book V. Chap. iv. n. 1.
[e] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 12.

Sect. 4. *The Remains of the* Eucharist *sometimes given to innocent Children.*

SOMETIMES what remained of the *Eucharist*, was distributed among the innocent Children of the Church. For, as I have briefly hinted before, whilst the Communion of Infants continued in the Church, nothing was more usual in many Places than both to give Children the Communion at the Time of Consecration, and also to reserve what remained unconsumed, for them to partake of some Day in the Week following. Thus it was appointed by the Second Council of *Mascon* in *France*, *An.* 588. That if any Remains of the Sacrifice, after the Service was ended, were laid up in the Vestry, he who had the Care of them, should on *Wednesday* or *Friday* bring the Innocents to Church fasting, and then sprinkling the Remains with Wine, make them all partake of them. And *Evagrius* [g] says it was the Custom of old at *Constantinople* to do the same: For when they had much Remains of the Body of CHRIST left, they were used to call in the Children that went to School, and distribute them among them. And he tells this remarkable Story upon it, That the Son of a certain *Jew* happening one Day to be among them, and acquainting his Father what he had done, his Father was so inraged at the Thing, that he cast him into his burning Furnace, where he was used to make Glass. But the Boy was preserved untouched for some Days, till his Mother found him: And the Matter being related to *Justinian* the Emperor, he ordered the Mother and the Child to be baptized; and

[f] Conc. Matiscon. 2. can. 6. Quæcunque reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam Missam in Sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria Innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad Ecclesiam adducantur, & indicto eis Jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant. [g] Evagr. Lib. 4. cap. 36.

and the Father, becauſe he refuſed to become a Chriſtian, to be crucified as a Murderer of his Son. The ſame Thing is related by *Gregory* of *Tours* [*h*] and *Nicephorus Calliſtus* [*i*], who alſo adds, that the Cuſtom continued at *Conſtantinople* to his own time, that is, the Middle of the fourteenth Century; for he ſays, when he was a Child, he was often called to partake of the Remains of the Sacrament after this Manner among other Children.

Sect. 5. *And ſometimes burnt in the Fire.*

IN ſome Places they obſerved the Rule given by GOD for diſpoſing of the Remainders of the Sacrifices of Peace-Offerings and Vows under the old Law, which was to burn them with Fire. *Lev.* vii. 17. This was the Cuſtom of the Church of *Jeruſalem* in the fifth Century, when *Heſychius* a Presbyter of that Church wrote his *Comment* upon *Leviticus*, where he ſpeaks of it [*k*] in theſe Words: God commanded the Remainder of the Fleſh and the Bread to be burned with Fire. And we now ſee with our own Eyes the ſame Thing done in the Church: Whatever happens to remain of the *Euchariſt* unconſumed, we immediately burn with Fire, and that not after one, two, or many Days. From hence our Learned Writers [*l*] generally obſerve Two Things: 1. That it was not the Cuſtom of the Church of *Jeruſalem* to reſerve the *Euchariſt* ſo much as from one Day to another, though they did in ſome other Churches.

[*h*] Gregor. Turon. de Glor. Martyr. Lib. 1. cap. 10.
[*i*] Niceph. Lib. 17. cap. 25. [*k*] Heſych. in Levit. Lib. 2. Quod reliquum eſt de carnibus & panibus, in igne incendi præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam ſenſibiliter in Eccleſia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconſumta, non omnino ea quæ una die, vel duabus aut multis ſervata ſunt. [*l*] Vid. Du Moulin. *Novelty of Popery*. Lib. 7. Controv. 11. chap. 19. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 853. Whitby, *Idolatry of Hoſt-Worſhip*.

Churches. 2. That they certainly did not believe it to be the natural Body and Subſtance of CHRIST, but only his typical or ſymbolical Body: For what an horrible and ſacrilegious Thing muſt the very *Jews* and Heathens have thought it for Chriſtians to burn the living and glorified Body of their GOD? And how muſt it have ſcandalized ſimple and plain Chriſtians themſelves, to have ſeen the GOD they worſhipped burnt in the Fire? And with what Face could they have objected this to the Heathen, that they worſhipped ſuch Things as might be burnt (which is the common Argument uſed by *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Athanaſius*, and moſt others) if they themſelves had done the ſame Thing? If there were no other Argument againſt *Tranſubſtantiation* and Hoſt-worſhip, this one Thing were enough to perſuade any Rational Man, that ſuch Doctrines and Practices were never countenanced by the Ancient Church.

Sect. 6.

The other Oblations partly diſpoſed of in a Feaſt of Charity. Which all the Ancients reckon an Apoſtolical Rite accompanying the Communion.

WE have ſeen how they diſpoſed of the conſecrated Elements; and are next to examine what they did with their other Oblations. It has been already obſerved, that ſome Part of theſe (by what Diſtinction made, is not very eaſy to tell) went toward the Maintenance of the Clergy. Out of the reſt a common Entertainment was uſually made, which from the Nature and Circumſtances of it was uſually called *Agape*, or Feaſt [*m*] of Charity; becauſe it was a liberal Collation of the Rich to feed the Poor. St. *Chryſoſtom* gives this Account of it, deriving it from

[*m*] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Ep. Interpol. calls it δοχὴν. Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 28. Clem. Alex. Pædag. Lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 165.

from Apoſtolical Practice: He ſays [n], the firſt Chriſtians had all Things in common, as we read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; and when that ceaſed, as it did in the Apoſtles Time, this came in its Room, as an Efflux or Imitation of it. For though the Rich did not make all their Subſtance common, yet upon certain Days appointed they made a common Table, and when their Service was ended, and they had all communicated in the Holy Myſteries, they all met at a common Feaſt; the Rich bringing Proviſions; and the Poor and thoſe who had nothing, being invited, they all feaſted in common together. In another Place [o] he repeats the ſame Thing, ſaying, from this Law and Cuſtom (of having all Things common) there aroſe then another admirable Cuſtom in the Churches. For when all the Faithfull met together, and had heard the Sermon and Prayers, and received the Communion, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the Aſſembly, but the Rich and Wealthy brought Meat and Food from their own Houſes, and called the Poor, and made a common Table, a common Dinner, a common Banquet in the Church. And ſo from this Fellowſhip in eating, and the Reverence of the Place, they were all ſtrictly united in Charity one with another, and much Pleaſure and Profit aroſe thence to them all: For the Poor were comforted, and the Rich reaped the Fruits of their Benevolence both from thoſe whom they fed and from GOD. The ſame Account is given by the Author under the Name of St. *Jerom* [p] who ſays, when they

[n] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 559. [o] Id. Hom. 21. Oportet Hæreſes eſſe, &c. T. 5. p. 310.

[p] Hieron. in 1 Cor. 11. 20. In Eccleſia convenientes Oblationes ſuas ſeparatim offerebant, & poſt Communionem quæcunque eis de Sacrificiis Superfuiſſent, illic in Eccleſia communem cœnam comedentes pariter conſumebant.

they met in the Church, they made their Oblations ſeparately, and after the Communion whatever remained of thoſe Sacrifices, they eat and conſumed in a common Supper together. The like is ſaid by *Theodoret* [q], *OEcumenius*, *Theophylact* and others upon that Place of the Apoſtle. From whence it appears that this was a Rite always accompanying the Communion. And it is a ſingular Opinion of *Albaſpinæus*, when he aſſerts [r] that theſe *Agapæ* and the Communion were never celebrated at the ſame time, which he maintains without any Foundation againſt the concurrent Sence both of Ancient and Modern Writers.

Sect. 7. *Whether this Feaſt was before or after the Communion in the Apoſtles Days.*

THERE is ſome Difference indeed between the Ancient and Modern Interpreters concerning one Circumſtance of theſe Love-Feaſts in Point of Time, as practiſed in the Apoſtles Days. The Ancients, as we have heard already out of St. *Chryſoſtom* and the reſt, generally ſay, theſe Feaſts were not till after the Communion, when the whole Ceremony of Preaching, Praying, and participating of the ſacred Elements was over, and the Remainders of the Oblations were to be diſpoſed of. But many of the Moderns think otherwiſe: Dr. *Cave* [s] ſays 'tis probable that in the Apoſtles Time, and the Age after them, this Feaſt was before the Communion, in Imitation of our Saviour's Inſtitution, who celebrated the Sacrament after Supper; and St. *Paul* taxing the Abuſes of the Church of *Corinth*, reproves them that when they came together for the Lord's Supper, they

[q] Theod. in 1 Cor. 11. 16. μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν λειτουργίαν ἑστιᾶσθαι, &c. OEcumen. in 1 Cor. 11. T. 1. p. 529. Theophylact. in 1 Cor. 11. 17. [r] Albaſp. Obſervat. Lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 57. [s] Cave Prim. Chriſt. Par. 1. c. 11. p. 344.

they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his own Supper, and one was hungry, and another was drunken. All this, he ſays, muſt needs be done before the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, which was never adminiſtred till the whole Church met together. In this Opinion he has the Concurrence of *Suicerus* [*t*], and *Daillé* [*u*], and *Eſtius* [*x*] who ſays that *Pelagius*, *Primaſius*, *Haimo*, *Hervæus*, *Aquinas*, *Lyra*, *Cajetan*, and others of the *Latins* were of the ſame Opinion. That which ſeems moſt probable is, that they obſerved no certain Rule about this Matter, but had their Feaſt ſometimes before, ſometimes after the Communion, as it appears to have been in ſome Meaſure in the following Ages.

Sect. 8.
How obſerved in the following Ages. The Eucharſt *commonly received faſting, and before this Feaſt, except upon ſome particular Occaſions.*

FOR when the Chriſtians in Time of Perſecution were obliged to meet early in the Morning before Day to celebrate the *Euchariſt* in their religious Aſſemblies, then their Feaſting before Communion could not well comport with the Circumſtances and Occaſion of their Meeting. And therefore in the Beginning of the ſecond Century we find the *Euchariſt* was received before, and the Feaſt poſt-poned. For ſo *Pliny* [*y*] repreſents it in the Account which he had from the Chriſtians in the Entrance of this Century: For having ſaid, That they met on the *Lord's Day* to ſing Hymns to CHRIST, and bind themſelves by a Sacrament, 'tis added, When this is done, our Cuſtom

[*t*] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce Ἀγάπη. [*u*] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. Lib. 2. cap. 19. [*x*] Eſtius in 1 Cor. 11. 20. [*y*] Plin. Lib. 10. Ep. Quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedere, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium.

Cuſtom is to depart, and meet again to partake of an Entertainment, but that a very innocent one and common to all. 'Tis plain here the Communion was firſt, and the *Agape* ſome time after. And ſo *Tertullian*, who gives the moſt particular Account of it, ſpeaks of it as a Supper a little before Night: Our Supper, which you accuſe of Luxury, ſhews its Reaſon in its very Name: For it is called, ἀγάπη, which ſignifies Love among the *Greeks*. Whatever Charge we are at, it is Gain to be at Expence upon the account of Piety. For we therewith relieve and refreſh the Poor. There is nothing vile or immodeſt committed in it. For we do not ſit down before we have firſt offered up Prayer to GOD; we eat only to ſatisfy Hunger; and drink [z] only ſo much as becomes modeſt Perſons. We fill ourſelves in ſuch manner, as that we remember ſtill that we are to worſhip GOD by Night. We diſcourſe as in the Preſence of GOD, knowing that He hears us. Then after Water to waſh our Hands, and Lights brought in, every one is moved to ſing ſome Hymn to GOD, either out of Scripture, or as he is able, of his own Compoſing: And by this we judge whether he has obſerved the Rules of Temperance in Drinking. Prayer again concludes our Feaſt; and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel, not to run about and abuſe all we meet, not to give ourſelves up to laſcivious Paſtime; but to purſue the ſame Care of Modeſty and Chaſtity, as Men that have fed at a Supper of Philoſophy and Diſcipline, rather than a corporeal Feaſt. As this is a fine Deſcription of theſe holy Banquets, where Charity is the

[z] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. Ita ſaturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum ſibi eſſe; ita fabulantur, ut qui ſciunt Dominum audire. Poſt aquam manualem & lumina, ut quiſque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio poteſt, provocatur in medium Deo canere, &c.

the Foundation, and Prayer begins and ends the Feaſt, and ſinging of Hymns and religious Diſcourſes ſeaſon the Entertainment, and Modeſty and Temperance runs through the whole: So the particular mention made of Lights, and Worſhipping GOD by Night, ſhews that they came after the Communion, and not before, in *Tertullian*'s Time; when they were uſed to receive the Communion in the Morning, and always Faſting, even upon thoſe Days when they deferred it till three in the Afternoon, as upon the Stationary Days, or till ſix at Night. For it was a Rule in the *African* Church to receive the *Euchariſt* faſting at all Times, except one Day, which was the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter*, commonly called *Cœna Domini*, becauſe it was the Day on which our Saviour celebrated his laſt Supper, and inſtituted the *Euchariſt* after Supper: In Imitation of which, it was the Cuſtom to celebrate the *Euchariſt* after Supper on this Day, in the *African* Churches, but on no other Day whatſoever, as we learn from the third Council of *Carthage* and St. *Auſtin*. The Council of *Carthage* had an expreſs Canon [*a*] to this purpoſe: That the Sacrament of the Altar be never celebrated by any but ſuch as are Faſting, except on one Anniverſary Day, when the Supper of the Lord is ſolemnized. And purſuant to this they order, That if any Commendation of the Dead was to be made in the Afternoon, it ſhould only be done with Prayers, and not with the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, if they that aſſiſted at the Funeral-Office, had dined before.

St.

[*a*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 29. Ut Sacramenta altaris non niſi à jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die Anniverſario, quo Cœna Domini celebratur. Nam ſi aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, ſive Epiſcoporum ſive cæterorum, Commendatio facienda eſt, ſolis Orationibus fiat, ſi illi qui faciunt, jam pranſi inveniantur.

St *Auſtin* was a Member of this Council, and he aſſures us, that this Decree was conformable to the Practice of the Univerſal Church in his Age, which he thought to be derived from the Appointment of the Apoſtles. For though it be very apparent, that when the Diſciples firſt received the Body and Blood of the Lord, they did not receive Faſting; yet does any one now accuſe the Univerſal Church [*b*] becauſe all Men receive Faſting? For ſo it pleaſed the Holy Ghoſt, that for the Honour of ſo great a Sacrament the Lord's Body ſhould enter into the Mouth of a Chriſtian before any other Food. And therefore this Cuſtom is obſerved by the whole World. For neither becauſe the Lord gave it after Meat, ought the Brethren to meet after Dinner or Supper to receive it, or to imitate thoſe whom the Apoſtle reproves and corrects, who mingled it with their Tables. Our Saviour, to commend the Greatneſs of this Myſtery, was minded indeed to fix it in the Hearts and Memory of his Diſciples as the laſt Thing, before He went from them to his Paſſion: But He did not therefore order in what Manner it ſhould be received, that he might reſerve this for his Apoſtles to do, by whom he intended to order his Church. For if he had appointed, that Men ſhould receive it after Meat, I ſuppoſe no one would have altered that Cuſtom. But when the Apoſtle ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſays, *The reſt will I ſet in order when I come*, 1 Cor. xi. 34. We are given

[*b*] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 6. Liquido apparet, quando primum acceperunt Diſcipuli corpus & ſanguinem Domini, eos non accepiſſe jejunos. Nunquid tamen propterea calumniandum eſt univerſæ Eccleſiæ, quod à jejunis ſemper accipitur? Et hoc enim placuit Spiritui ſancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti, in os Chriſtiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri cibi. Nam ideo per univerſum orbem mos iſte ſervatur, &c.

given to underſtand, that he then appointed this Cuſtom of Receiving faſting, which now the whole Church over all the World obſerves without any Variation or Diverſity. But adds, that ſome upon a probable Reaſon were delighted to offer and receive the Body of the Lord after Meat on one certain Day in the Year, when the Lord himſelf gave his Supper, to make the Commemoration of it more remarkable. And becauſe ſome on that Day choſe to faſt, and others not, therefore in many Places it was cuſtomary to offer the Sacrifice twice, to ſerve the Ends of both. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo frequently ſpeaks of their receiving the Communion Faſting [*c*]. Thou faſteſt, ſays he, before thou receiveſt the *Euchariſt*, that thou mayſt be worthy. And in one or two Places he vindicates himſelf from an Objection which his Adverſaries brought againſt him, as if he was uſed to tranſgreſs this Rule both in adminiſtring Baptiſm and the *Euchariſt*. They ſay, I gave [*d*] the Communion to ſome after eating. If I have done this, let my Name be wiped out of the Catalogue of Biſhops, and not be written in the Book of the *Orthodox Faith*. If I have done any ſuch thing, let CHRIST caſt me out of his Kingdom. But if they ſtill go on to object this, let them alſo degrade St. *Paul*, who baptized a whole Houſe after Supper. Let them alſo depoſe the Lord himſelf, who gave the Communion to his Apoſtles after Supper. So again [*e*], They object againſt me, Thou didſt firſt eat, and then adminiſter Baptiſm. If I did ſo, let me be *Anathema*; Let me not be numbered in the Roll of Biſhops; Let me not be among the Angels; Let me never pleaſe GOD. But if I had done ſo, what Abſurdity

[*c*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567. [*d*] Chryſ. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. T. 4. p. 868. [*e*] Sermo ante quam iret in Exilium. T. 4. p. 969.

ſurdity had I committed? Let them depoſe *Paul*, who baptized the Jaylor after Supper. Yea, I will ſay a bolder thing, Let them depoſe CHRIST himſelf, for he gave the Communion to his Diſciples after Supper. This ſhews the Cuſtom of the Church was to adminiſter both Sacraments before eating, though at the ſame time it intimates, that to do otherwiſe, was not an unpardonable Crime. *Gregory Nazianzen* hints alſo at this Cuſtom [*f*] when he ſays, Every Action of CHRIST is not neceſſary to be imitated by us: For he celebrated the Myſtery of the *Paſſover* with his Diſciples in an Upper-room and after Supper, but we do it in the Church, and before Supper. The like is ſaid by St. *Baſil* [*g*] and many other of the *Greek* Writers. And among the *Latins* there are ſeveral Canons of the Councils of *Braga* [*h*], *Maſcon* [*i*] *Auxerre* [*k*] and *Toledo* [*l*] to this purpoſe. Some of which allow the *African* Cuſtom of Communicating after eating on the *Thurſday* in *Paſſion Week*, but others upon the account of the *Priſcillianiſts* forbid it. And therefore *Socrates* notes it [*m*] as a ſingular Thing in the Churches of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, that on *Saturdays* they were uſed to adminiſter the *Euchariſt* after eating in the Evening. Which is prohibited by the Council of *Trullo* [*n*] not excepting the *Thurſday* in *Paſſion Week*, which though the *African* Fathers for probable Reaſons might allow, yet they utterly forbid it. By all which it appears, that the general Cuſtom of the Church was to celebrate the *Euchariſt* Faſting: And conſequently that theſe Love-Feaſts we are ſpeaking of, muſt be held after the Communion, and not before

[*f*] Naz. Orat. 40. de Baptiſmo. [*g*] Baſil. Hom. 1. de Jejunio. [*h*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 16. Bracar. 2. can. 10. [*i*] Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 6. [*k*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 9. [*l*] Conc. Tolet. 7. can. 2. [*m*] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22. [*n*] Conc. Trull. can. 29.

fore it. Yet it is but a ſorry Argument in *Mabillon*, to conclude hence [o] that the Ancients muſt needs believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, becauſe they received the Communion Faſting. For he might as reaſonably have concluded from *Chryſoſtom*, that the Water in Baptiſm was tranſubſtantiated, becauſe we have heard him ſay before, that they always adminiſtred Baptiſm Faſting. And ſome Learned Men [p] are of Opinion, that for the three firſt Ages, though they generally received the *Euchariſt* Faſting in the Aſſemblies before Day, yet ſometimes they received after Supper. For *Cyprian* diſputing againſt the *Aquarians*, who celebrated in the Morning in Water only, and in the Evening in Wine and Water mixed together, does not contend with them about celebrating after Supper, but only becauſe they did not at both Times mix Wine with Water after CHRIST's Example. He would not ſo eaſily have paſſed over the Practice of the *Aquarians* in celebrating in the Evening, had there been no Inſtances of the like Practice in the Church: But as it was cuſtomary in *Egypt* to celebrate the *Euchariſt* on *Saturdays* after Dinner, and in *Africk* one Day in a Year after Supper; all he pleads for upon this Point, is only this [q], That the general Cuſtom of the Church to celebrate the *Euchariſt*

[o] Mabil. de Liturg. Gallicana. Lib. 1. cap. 6. n. 7.

[p] Vid. Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. Lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 297. Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 63. p. 156. [q] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcilium. p. 156. *The Objection of the* Aquarians: An illa ſibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etſi mane aqua ſola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? Cyprian's *Anſwer*: Sed cum cœnamus, ad convivium noſtrum plebem convocare non poſſumus, ut ſacramenti veritatem Fraternitate omni præſente celebremus. *The* Aquarians *Object*: At enim non mane, ſed poſt cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus. Cypr. *Anſwers*: Nunquid ergo Dominicum poſt cœnam celebrare debemus, ut ſic mixtum calicem frequentandis

riſt in the Morning only, was not againſt the Rule of CHRIST, though he gave it in the Evening after Supper: Becauſe CHRIST had a particular Reaſon for what he did, which he did not intend ſhould oblige the Church: CHRIST offered in the Evening to ſignify the Evening or End of the World; but we offer in the Morning to celebrate our SAVIOUR's Reſurrection. And he gives another Reaſon why they did not celebrate in the Evening generally as in the Morning, becauſe the People could not ſo well all come together in the Evening as in the Morning. By which it is plain, in *Cyprian*'s Time there was no abſolute Rule to forbid Communicating after Supper, though the Practice began generally to be diſuſed, and the common Cuſtom was to receive Faſting and at Morning Service.

Sect. 9. *Theſe Love-Feaſts at firſt held in the Church: But afterward forbidden by Orders of Councils.*

THERE is one Thing more to be obſerved of their Love Feaſts, That as they were deſigned for the Promotion of Unity and Charity, they were commonly held in the Church for the three firſt Centuries, as Learned Men [r] conclude from that Canon of the Council of *Gangra* [s], which was made againſt the *Euſtathians*, If any one deſpiſes the Feaſts of Charity which the Faithful make, who for the Honour of the Lord call their Brethren to them, and comes not to the Invitation, becauſe he contemns them, let him be *Anathema*. Theſe *Euſtathians* were Men who held their Meetings in private Houſes, and deſpiſed

quentandis Dominicis offeramus? Chriſtum offerre oportebat circa veſperam diei, ut hora ipſa ſacrificij oſtenderet Occaſum & Veſperam mundi. —— Nos autem reſurrectionem Domini mane celebramus. [r] Bevereg. Not. in Can. 74. Trull. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. T. 1. p. 27. [s] Conc. Gangren. can. 11.

deſpiſed the Church; which is the Reaſon of this Canon made againſt them. However ſuch Abuſes were ſometimes committed in theſe Feaſts, that the Council of *Laodicea* not long after made a Law againſt having them in the Church [*t*], forbidding any to eat or ſpread Tables in the Houſe of GOD or the Church. And a like Decree was made in the third Council of *Carthage* [*u*], forbidding the Clergy to feaſt in the Church, unleſs it were by chance in a Journey for want of other Entertainment: And Orders are given to reſtrain the People as much as might be from ſuch Feaſting in the Church. But the Cuſtom was too inveterate to be rooted out at once; And therefore we find by St. *Auſtin*'s [*x*] Anſwer to *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*, that they were ſtill kept in the Church: For whereas *Fauſtus* objected two Things againſt them: 1. That they were but the Spawn of the Gentile Banquets, turned into Chriſtian Feaſts: 2. That the *Catholicks* were uſed to make themſelves drunk at them in the Memorials of the Martyrs: St. *Auſtin* rejects the firſt Charge as a mere Calumny, telling him, That the End of their *Agape* was only to feed the Poor with Fleſh, or the Fruits of the Earth: But the ſecond Charge he owns in Part as true, that the People ſtill held theſe Feaſts in the

[*t*] Conc. Laodic. Can. 28. [*u*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 30. Ut nulli Epiſcopi vel Clerici in Eccleſia conviventur, niſi forte tranſeuntes hoſpitiorum neceſſitate illic reficiant: Populi etiam ab hujuſmodi conviviis, quantum fieri poteſt, prohibeantur. [*x*] Aug. cont. Fauſt. Lib. 20. cap. 20. Nec ſacrificia eorum vertimus in Agapes.—— Agapes enim noſtræ Pauperes paſcunt ſive frugibus, ſive carnibus. &c.

It. cap. 21. Qui autem ſe in Memoriis Martyrum inebriant, quomodo à nobis approbari poſſunt, cum eos, etiamſi in domibus ſuis id faciant, ſana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud eſt quod docemus, aliud quod ſuſtinemus: aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, & donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.

Church, and that ſome Exceſs was committed in them: But then, ſays he, there is a great deal of Difference between Tolerating and Approving: We do not approve of Drunkenneſs even in a private Houſe, much leſs in a Church: It is one Thing which we are commanded to teach, and another what we are forced to tolerate and endure, till we can correct and amend it. St. *Auſtin* [*y*] ſays all kind of Feaſting in the Church was prohibited by St. *Ambroſe* at *Milan* with good Succeſs: And it was he himſelf that gave the Advice to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* to make the foreſaid Canon againſt it [*z*] in hopes to extirpate it, after the Example of St. *Ambroſe*. In *France* it was prohibited by the ſecond Council of *Orleance* [*a*] *An.* 541. Yet for all this, there were ſome Remains of it in the ſeventh Century, when the Council of *Trullo* was obliged to reinforce the Canon of *Laodicea* againſt Feaſting in the Church under Pain of Excommunication. [*b*] So difficult a Matter was it to extirpate the Abuſes of ancient Cuſtom, without deſtroying the Cuſtom it ſelf, which was innocent in its Original, and of ſo great Service to the Chriſtian Church, whilſt it continued free from Abuſes, that it was the Envy and Admiration of the Heathen.

Sect. 10.

How the Chriſtians were at firſt abuſed and calumniated by ſome of the Heathen, but admi-

SOME indeed were maliciouſly diſpoſed to calumniate and traduce the Chriſtians upon the account of this innocent Cuſtom, as guilty of I know not what black Deſigns. *Origen* [*c*] ſays, *Celſus* charged them with

[*y*] Aug. Confeſſ. Lib. 6. cap. 2. [*z*] Aug. Ep. 64. ad Aurelium. [*a*] Conc. Aurel. 2. can. 12. [*b*] Conc. Trull. can. 74. [*c*] Orig. cont. Celſ. Lib. 1. p. 4. βέλεσθαι διαβαλεῖν τὴν καλυμμένην ἀγάπην, &c.

with holding clancular and ſeditious Cabals upon the ſcore of theſe *Agapes*, or Meetings to ſhew Kindneſs to one another. Which is alſo noted by *Tertullian* in that Chapter of his *Apology*, where he gives [*d*] us that fine Deſcription of the Chriſtian Feaſts in anſwer to this Suggeſtion. Others charged theſe Feaſts with the Practice of abominable Uncleanneſs: In anſwer to which *Minucius* [*e*] tells them, their Feaſts were not only chaſte, but ſober; for they did not indulge either Gluttony or Drunkenneſs; but tempered their Mirth with Gravity; with chaſte Diſcourſe, and chaſter Bodies. Others added that monſtrous Fable of their Feeding upon humane Fleſh, and Feaſting upon Infants Blood. Which is mentioned and refuted by all the Apologiſts, *Athenagoras* [*f*], *Theophilus* [*g*], *Tertullian* [*h*], *Minucius* [*i*], *Origen* [*k*], *Juſtin Martyr* [*l*] and many others, whom the Reader may find at large, collected by the Learned *Kortholt* [*m*] in his Book *De Calumniis Paganorum*, &c. The Reaſon of this Charge is by many of the Ancients aſcribed to the vile Practices of the *Carpocratians* [*n*], and other Hereticks, at leaſt tacitly or indirectly, whilſt they accuſe them of this Crime which the Heathens turned upon the Chriſtians in general. And ſo it is ſaid upon their Authority by many Modern [*o*] Authors. *OEcumenius* aſcribes

red and envied by others, upon account of theſe Feaſts of Charity.

[*d*] Tertul. Apol. c. 39. [*e*] Minuc. p. 92. De inceſto Convivio fabulam grandem adverſum nos Dæmonum coitio mentita eſt.—At nos Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, ſed & ſobria—caſto ſermone, corpore caſtiore. [*f*] Athenag. Legat. p. 4. [*g*] Theoph. ad Autolyc. Lib. 3. [*h*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 7. & 11. [*i*] Minuc. Octav. [*k*] Orig. cont. Celſ. Lib. 6. [*l*] Juſt. Apol. 1. & 2. & Dial. cum Tryph.

[*m*] Kortholt. de Calumn. Pagan. cap. 18. p. 158. &c.

[*n*] Epiphan. Hær. 26. Gnoſtic. n. 5. Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 7. Aug. de Hæreſ. cap. 27. [*o*] Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. Lib. 2. cap. 28. Baron. an. 120. n. 22. & 179. n. 44.

[p] aſcribes it to another Reaſon: He ſays, in the Perſecution of the Chriſtians at *Lyons* under *Antoninus*, the Heathens having apprehended ſome Servants of certain Chriſtian Catechumens, put them to the Rack to make them confeſs ſome Secret of the Chriſtians; and they having heard their Maſters ſay, that the Holy Communion was the Body and Blood of CHRIST, and ſuppoſing it to be truly Fleſh and Blood (ἀυτὸι νομίζονλες τῳ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι) to gratify the Inquiſitors they told them what they had heard. And the Heathens underſtanding this, as if the Chriſtians had really (ἀυτόχρημα) eat Fleſh and Blood, put two of the Martyrs, *Sanctus* and *Blandina*, to the Rack to make them confeſs it; to whom *Blandina* ſmartly reply'd, How ſhould they indure to do this, who for Exerciſe ſake abſtain from ſuch Fleſh as they might lawfully eat? If this were true, it would prove that the Heathens grounded their Calumny upon a falſe Apprehenſion they had of the Chriſtian Sacrament: But it would by no means prove what *Perron* and many of the *Romaniſts* would have, that the Ground of the Fable was the real Belief of Chriſtians, as if they believed the *Euchariſt* to be the real proper Fleſh and Blood of CHRIST: For this is expreſsly ſaid to be only a falſe Apprehenſion of the Heathens, and utterly deny'd by the Chriſtians, according as *OEcumenius* relates the Story. Which yet is ſomething different from the Genuine Acts in *Euſebius* [q], for there is no mention made of the *Euchariſt* in the Story, but it is only ſaid, That when ſome of the Chriſtian Servants, who were Heathens, were Apprehended, they fearing to be tormented, did by the Motion of Satan, and the Inſtigation of the Soldiers prompting them to it, falſely accuſe the Chriſti-

[p] OEcumen. in 1 Pet. 3. 16. [q] Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 156.

Chriſtians, as if they were uſed to feaſt upon Man's Fleſh, and commit Inceſt, and other the like Things, which it is not fit either to ſpeak or think, and which we can hardly believe were ever done by any Men whatſoever. So that the Chriſtians Belief about the *Euchariſt* could not be the Ground of this Story, but it either ſprung from the Practices of the *Carpocratians*, or elſe (as the Learned *Kortholt* [r] not without ſome probable Reaſons inclines to believe) it took its Riſe from the Pure Malice and Fiction of the Heathens themſelves, ſome of whom never ſtuck at ſaying any Thing that would render the Chriſtians odious. However though there were many who thus calumniated theſe Chriſtian Feaſts by this Variety of Charges, yet there were ſome alſo who could diſcern the good Effects of them, and the great Influence they had not only on their own Members, but the very Heathen, who ſometimes would cry out and ſay, See how theſe Chriſtians love one another, as *Tertullian* [s] notes in ſpeaking of their Collations and Charity. Nay, *Julian* himſelf, though the bittereſt Enemy the Chriſtians ever had, could not help bearing Teſtimony to the Uſefulneſs of this Practice, which he looked upon with an envious Eye, as that which he imagined chiefly to uphold the Chriſtian Religion, and undermine the Religion of the *Gentiles*. For thus in one of his Letters to his *Gentile* Prieſts he provokes them to the Exerciſe of Charity by the Example of the Chriſtians and their Feaſts of Charity: There is the more Reaſon to be careful in this Matter, ſays he [t], becauſe it is manifeſtly the Neglect of this Humanity in the Prieſts, which has given Occaſion to the impious *Galileans* (ſo he commonly ſtiles the Chriſtians) to ſtrengthen

[r] Kortholt. *ubi ſupra.* p. 163. [s] Tertul. Apol. cap. 39.
[t] Julian. Fragment. Epiſt. p. 555.

ſtrengthen their Party by the Practice of that Humanity, which the others have neglected. For as Kidnappers ſteal away Children, whom they firſt allure with a Cake: So theſe begin firſt to work upon honeſt-hearted *Gentiles*, with their Love-Feaſts and Entertainments and miniſtring of Tables, as they call them, till at laſt they pervert them to Athieſm and Impiety againſt the Gods. This is a full Vindication of them from all thoſe Aſperſions, which the former Heathens had caſt upon them, and an ample Teſtimony of their Uſefulneſs from the Mouth of an Adverſary, who ſaw and envied the Progreſs which Chriſtianity made in the World by means of theſe Feaſts of Charity, which he was minded to introduce into his own Way of Heathen-Worſhip, with many other ſuch Rites, in Imitation of the Chriſtian Inſtitution. Happy had it been for the Chriſtian Religion, if Chriſtians had never had Occaſion to object more againſt their own Feaſts of Charity, than *Julian* their bittereſt Enemy could find to object againſt them! They might then have gone on with Innocence and Glory, and have continued an uſeful and laudable Rite to this Day.

CHAP. VIII.

What Preparation the ANCIENTS *required as neceſſary in* COMMUNICANTS, *to qualify them for a Worthy Reception.*

Sect. 1.

A general Anſwer to this Queſtion, by referring to the Profeſſions made by every Chriſtian in Baptiſm, of Repentance, Faith, and Holy Obedience.

I CANNOT better anſwer this Queſtion in general Terms, than by ſaying, The Preparation which they required as neceſſary in every Chriſtian, was the Performance of the Conditions and Obligations, which every Man laid upon himſelf in Baptiſm; the Obſervation of which

which put a Man in a Chriſtian State, and the Favour of GOD; and was a continual Preparation for Death and Judgment; and conſequently a continual and habitual Preparation for Approaches to GOD in Prayer and Holy Myſteries (between which, as to what concerns Preparation, the Ancients made little or no Diſtinction) ſince it was a Preparation that qualified a Man for a conſtant daily or weekly Communion, which was proper for thoſe who were to receive the Communion in a manner every day, according to the Rules and Practice of thoſe Primitive Ages, as we ſhall ſee in the next Chapter. Now the Obligation which every Man laid upon himſelf in Baptiſm, as we have ſhewed in a former Book, was the Profeſſion and actual Performance of theſe Three Things. 1. Repentance, or a Renunciation of all former Sin, together with the Author of it, the Devil. 2. Faith, or Belief of the ſeveral Articles of the Chriſtian Inſtitution or Myſtery of Godlineſs. 3. An holy and conſtant Obedience paid to the Laws of this Holy Religion. In the Performance of which ſincerely and without Diſſimulation, every Man was ſuppoſed to be truly qualified for Baptiſm: And what qualified him for Baptiſm, alſo qualified him for the Communion; of which there is this certain Evidence, that as ſoon as any Man was baptized, he was immediately communicated: Which could not regularly have been done, but upon Preſumption, that he that was duly qualified for Baptiſm, was qualified for the Communion alſo. So that he that continued in the ſtrict Obſervance of all the Particulars of his Baptiſmal Covenant, was preſumed to be in a conſtant habitual Preparation for the Communion every Day: And this was that happy State of a Chriſtian Life, which qualified thoſe Primitive Saints for ſuch frequent Reception; when frequency of Communion

nion kept up a flaming Piety and Universal Holiness in their Souls, and such a State of continual Holiness made them always fit for, and desirous of frequent Communion. For these mutually acted in a holy Combination, and reciprocally assisted each other: An habitual Holiness was a constant Preparation for the Communion; and frequent Communion was one of the best Helps to keep them in a continual Preparation for it. And to Men of this Character and Behaviour there could be no great Labour needful, besides the constant Tenour of a pious Life; nor any long Time necessary to prepare for the Lord's Table, when the whole Business of their Lives was but as it were one continued Act of Preparation for it. They lived as Men that always expected Death, yet uncertain of the Time, and therefore were in a continual Preparation for it, which is the best Preparation for the Communion. Their Loins were girded about, and their Lamps burning; and they themselves like unto Men that waited for their Lord, that when he came and knocked, they might open to him immediately. And to them belonged the Blessing of CHRIST, *Luke* xii. 37. *Blessed are those Servants, whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find watching*: It was true of them, if ever of any, that CHRIST came and found them watching: And he girded himself, and made them sit down to Meat, in the spiritual Feast, and came forth and served them.

Sect. 2.

What Failings are consistent with this Profession, and a State of Grace, and a continual Preparation for the Communion.

BUT it may be said, there is no such Thing possible as constant Preparation for the Communion: For no Man lives without Sin to be repented of. *In many Things we offend all:* And, *If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us.* But notwithstanding this supposed Difficulty, the Fathers

thers assure us there were anciently many that were in a continual Preparation for the Communion, and did actually communicate every Day. For those Sins which unqualify Men absolutely for the Communion, are not those lesser Sins of human Frailty and Infirmity, which are called Sins of daily Incursion, without which no Man lives; but habitual and reigning Sins, which Men indulge, or such single Acts of greater Sins, as are answerable to Habits of Sin, and require a more severe Repentance; such as Adultery, Murder, and the like, which wound the Conscience to an high Degree, and are not ordinarily cured in an Instant, but by a longer Course of Discipline, exacting both greater Severities in Repentance, and a longer Time of Probation. But those Sins of human Frailty, which the best of Men daily commit in some Degree or other, are not of this Nature, but are such as are consistent with the Profession of a good Christian, and a State of Grace, and a continual Preparation for the Communion; and they do not exclude Men from God's Favour, so long as Men labour and strive against them, and mourn for them, as for Infirmities, in a general and daily Repentance, upon which GOD is willing to Pardon them. If it were not so, there could be no such Thing as Preparation for the Communion at all: And it would not only destroy frequent and daily Communion, but Communion in general; since no Man lives without such Infirmities; and if he were not to communicate till he had perfectly cured them, he must for ever abstain from communicating, and never come at the Lord's Table: Which were at once to destroy the very Ordinance it self, by making the Qualification for it Impracticable, and rendring it Impossible for any Man to be perfectly and truly prepared for it. And it is to be feared that some in these later Ages, by over-straining

ing the Point, have done this great diſſervice to Religion, by obliging Men to ſuch a Preparation for the Communion as is Impracticable in it ſelf, and frighting tender Conſciences from the Holy Ordinance under Pretence of greater Reverence to it. By which Means it has ſometimes happened, that they who perhaps have been the beſt prepared to receive it, have by needleſs Scruples or Terrors been kept at the greateſt Diſtance from it. But the Ancients were extreamly cautious of this Deluſion, and carefully taught Men to diſtinguiſh between ſuch Sins as lay waſte the Conſcience, and deſtroy a State of Grace, and unqualify Men for the Communion; and ſuch Sins of Infirmity and Human Frailty, as are conſiſtent with a State of Grace, and do not unqualify Men for conſtant Communion; being ſuch as are done away by a general Repentance and daily Prayer for Pardon and Forgiveneſs. This Doctrine and Diſtinction of Sins is often inculcated by St. *Auſtin* and others. It will be ſufficient to hear their Senſe in St. *Auſtin*'s Words upon [*a*] the Article of Remiſſion of Sins in the Creed: Where ſpeaking

[*a*] Aug. de Symbolo. Lib. 1. cap. 7. Cum baptizati fueritis, tenete vitam bonam in præceptis Dei: ut baptiſmum cuſtodiatis uſque in finem. Non vobis dico, quia ſine peccato hic vivetis: ſed ſunt Venialia, ſine quibus vita iſta non eſt. Propter omnia peccata Baptiſmus inventus eſt: propter Levia, ſine quibus eſſe non poſſumus, Oratio inventa. &c. Vid. Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 71. & Hom. 119. de Tempore. Ep. 108. ad Seleucianum. Hom. 27. ex 50. cap. 2. Hom. 12. in Joan. p. 47. Serm. 3. in Pſal. 118. Hom. 26. in Joan. p. 93. *But eſpecially his Book* de Fide & Operibus. cap. 26. *where he diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of Sins.* 1. *Such great Sins for which Men did Publick Penance.* 2. *Such great Sins as deſerved to be corrected and puniſhed with ſevere Reproof, though they did not bring Men under Publick Penance: ſuch as Anger and Evil-ſpeaking.* 3. *Sins of Human Frailty and Daily Incurſion, for which the Daily Prayer was the Daily Medicine. This triple Diſtinction of Sins is the moſt exact of any other.*

ing to the Catechumens, he tells them, when they had received Baptiſm, they ſhould be careful to preſerve a good Life in the Commands of GOD, that they might keep their Baptiſm to the End. I do not ſay, that ye ſhould live here without Sin: But there are ſome venial Sins, without which we cannot live in this Life. Baptiſm is appointed for all Sins great and ſmall: But for leſſer Sins, without which we cannot live, Prayer is appointed. What ſays the Prayer? *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* We are once cleanſed by Baptiſm, we are every Day cleanſed by Prayer. But do not commit thoſe Things, for which it will be neceſſary for you to be ſeparated from the Body of CHRIST; which GOD forbid. For thoſe whom ye ſee doing Penance, have committed great Crimes, either Adultery, or ſome other grievous Sins, for which they do Penance. For if their Tranſgreſſions had been light, the Daily Prayer had been ſufficient to blot them out. By this we may judge, that Sins of Infirmity, to which all Men are liable, and which were pardoned by their Daily Prayers, were reckoned no formal Breaches of the Baptiſmal Covenant, nor conſequently any juſt Impediments to debar any Man from receiving the Communion every Day; (ſince none, except the *Pelagians*, thought it poſſible for Men to live in ſuch Angelical Perfection, as to be above all manner of Failings in this mortal State of Human Frailty:) and therefore they did not require of Men, in order to communicate, ſuch a Perfection as humane Nature was not capable of attaining.

Sect. 3. *What Repentance required for ſuch Failings.*

YET for as much as leſſer Sins, even of Infirmity, are Tranſgreſſions of the Law, and the Remainders of Corruption in our Nature, and in Strictneſs deſerve Puniſhment, if

GOD

GOD ſhould be extream to enter into Judgment with us for them; nay, and if they be indulged and neglected, may commence greater and deadly Sins of Wilfulneſs and Contempt; therefore upon this account they adviſed, that Men ſhould not only ask Pardon Daily for them, and confeſs them with Humiliation, and deplore them with Sorrow; but alſo ſtrive and labour againſt them with Care, and Diligence, and a perpetual Watchfulneſs, and pray againſt them, and yield no Conſent to them, but have their Wills continually bent againſt them, and hunger and thirſt after the Perfection of Righteouſneſs, and deſire to be filled therewith when they came to the Lord's Table. For as *Gregory the Great* expreſſes it [*b*], none are filled but thoſe that hunger; who faſt perfectly from Sin, and receive the Holy Sacrament with a Plenitude of Vertue. Therefore ſeeing the beſt of Men cannot be wholly without Sin, what remains, but that they ſhould endeavour Daily to evacuate and purge themſelves from thoſe Sins, with which humane Frailty never ceaſes to defile them? For he that does not Daily draw off the Dregs of Sin, though they be but little Sins which he amaſſes together, they will by Degrees fill his Soul, and deprive him of the Benefit of internal Satisfaction. In like manner *Gennadius* [*c*] perſuades thoſe who are guilty of no groſs Sins, but only

[*b*] Greg. Lib. 2. in Reg. cap. 1. Tom. 1. p. 189. Non ſaturantur ergo niſi Famelici; qui à vitiis perfecte jujunantes divina Sacramenta percipiunt in plenitudine virtutis. Et quia ſine peccato Electi etiam viri eſſe non poſſunt, quid reſtat, niſi ut à peccatis quibus eos humana fragilitas maculare non deſinit, evacuare quotidie conentur? &c. Vid. Aug. Tract. 1. in 1 Joan. [*c*] Gennad. de Eccleſ. Dogm. cap. 53. Quotidie Euchariſtiæ communionem nec laudo nec reprehendo. Omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum ſuadeo & hortor, ſi tamen mens ſine affectu peccandi ſit. —— Sed hoc de illo dico quem Capitalia & mortalia peccata non gravant. &c.

only of these lesser Sins of Infirmity, to communicate every *Lord's Day*, or oftner if they please; only with this Caution, that their Mind be free from all Affection and Love to such Sins. For he that still retains a Willingness to commit them, will find himself more oppressed than purified by receiving the *Eucharist*. And therefore let such an one, when he is smitten or bitten in Mind for his Sin, cherish no Will or Inclination to his Sin for the future; and before he communicates, let him satisfy with Prayers and Tears; and so confiding in the Mercy of the LORD, who uses to pardon Sins upon a pious Confession, let him come to the *Eucharist* in Security and without doubting. But this I speak only of him who is not pressed with capital and deadly Sins.

Sect. 4. *What Crimes unqualified Men absolutely for the Communion, and what sort of Repentance was required for them.*

BUT, says he, if any Man is pressed with the Commission of mortal Sins after Baptism, I advise such an one to make Satisfaction or Amends by publick Repentance, and to be reconciled to Communion by the Judgment of the Bishop or Priest, if he would not receive the *Eucharist* to his own Judgment and Condemnation. This he speaks of such heinous Offences as were direct Violations of the Baptismal Covenant, upon the account of which Men were then by the usual Discipline of the Church debarred from Communion and Prayers, till they had for a long Time gone through the several Stages of publick Penance, and given such evident Testimonies of their Abhorrence of Sin, and sincere Conversion, as were requisite and proper to satisfy the Church that they were real and hearty Penitents. In which State of Probation they were held a Year, or two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, according to the Nature and Quality of their

Offence; and ſometimes all their Lives, if their Crime was extreamly great and ſcandalous, when they were allowed Communion only at the Hour of Death. And during this Courſe of Diſcipline, they were obliged conſtantly to attend the Church, to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached for their Inſtruction; and to exerciſe themſelves in Prayers, and Confeſſion, and Tears, and Watchings, and Faſtings, and Almſdeeds, and Good-works, and whatever was proper to demonſtrate that they were acting a ſincere Part, and not playing the Hypocrite, in the Buſineſs of Repentance. Then according to their Zeal and Earneſtneſs in ſuch Employments, a Judgment was made upon their Sincerity; and the Time of their Penance was lengthened or ſhortned according to the Meaſures of their Activity, and when they were deemed perfectly to have amended their Lives and become new Men, anſwerable to the Tenour of their firſt Covenant, then they were reconciled, and abſolved, and admitted again to the Privilege of the Communion. This was the ſtanding Rule of the Church with reſpect to thoſe who had committed groſs and ſcandalous Crimes, for which they were cut off from the Body as putrefied Members, and kept at a Diſtance from the Prayers of the Church, and the Communion of the Faithfull at the Lord's Table.

Sect. 5. *Scandalous and notorious Sinners not to be admitted to communicate, without giving ſatisfactory Evidences of their Repentance.*

I NEED not ſtand here to enumerate all the particular Crimes, that were deemed Breaches of the Baptiſmal Covenant, and unqualified Men for the Communion. Some Account has been given already [*] of them, in ſhewing what Perſons might, or might not make their Oblations at the Altar: For they who might

[*] Book XV. Chap. ii. n. 2.

might not offer, might much leſs communicate; And this Matter will come to be conſidered more exactly in the next Volume, when we treat of the Diſcipline of the Church. Here I ſhall only obſerve in general, that the Rules of the Church laid an Obligation upon all Miniſters of the Altar, to refuſe the Communion to all ſuch notorious Offenders, as were declared uncapable and unworthy of it by the ſtanding Laws of Communion then well known to all in the Church: And that an overhaſty Admittance of ſuch Criminals, without ſufficient Time of Probation and ſatisfactory Evidence of their ſincere Converſion, was always reckoned a great Tranſgreſſion and Failure in the Exerciſe of the Miniſterial Function. It will be ſufficient at preſent to give two or three plain Evidences of this out of *Chryſoſtom* and ſome others. Let no Cruel Perſon, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*d*], no Unmerciful, no impure Soul, come near this Table. I ſpeak this as well to you that receive the *Euchariſt*, as to you that miniſter. For it is neceſſary to ſay this to you that miniſter, that ye may diſtribute the Gifts with great Care. There is no ſmall Puniſhment hangs over your Head, if ye give the *Euchariſt* knowingly to any flagitious Man. His Blood ſhall be required at your Hands. Though it be a General, though it be a Conſul, though it be him that wears the Crown, if he comes Unworthily, Reſtrain him: Thou haſt greater Power than he. But you will ſay, how ſhall I know what ſuch or ſuch an one is? I ſpeak not of thoſe that are Unknown, but of thoſe that are known. I will ſay a fearful Word: It is not ſo bad to admit Energumens, or Perſons poſſeſſed with a Devil, to this Holy Place, as thoſe Men,

[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 83. in Mat. p. 705. Vid. Chryſ. in Pſal. 49. p. 303.

who, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Tread Chriſt under Foot, and count the Blood of the Covenant an unholy Thing, and do deſpite to the Spirit of Grace.* Let us not therefore caſt out *Demoniacks* only, but all ſuch as come unworthily to be Partakers of this Table. It is a remarkable ſaying of St. *Ambroſe* [e] upon this Occaſion: Some Men deſire to be admitted to Penance only for this Reaſon, that they may preſently receive the Communion again: Theſe Men do not ſo much deſire to be abſolved themſelves, as to bind the Prieſt: For they do not put off their own evil Conſcience. Such a raſh Act in a Prieſt, in receiving a notorious Criminal without any clear Evidences and Fruits of Repentance, puts him in the Sinner's Condition, and makes him a Criminal before GOD for the Abuſe of the Authority committed to him. Therefore as the *Novatians* were generally condemned for being too rigorous in denying the Communion for ever to all ſuch as fell into great Sins after Baptiſm: So on the other Hand the *Audian* Hereticks are cenſured [f] for being too haſty, in aſſuming Authority to pardon Sins by their own Power, and granting Remiſſion upon a bare Confeſſion, without preſcribing a Time for Repentance, as the Laws of the Church always required. *Cyprian* gives as ſevere a Reproof to ſuch of the Clergy, as were over haſty in admitting thoſe that had lapſed into Idolatry in Time of Perſecution, before they had gone through a due Courſe of Penance, and had taken Time to bewail and confeſs their Sin, and give ſufficient Evidences of their Repentance. When as,

[e] Ambroſ. de Pœnit. Lib. 2. cap. 9. Nonnulli ideo poſcunt pœnitentiam, ut Statim ſibi reddi communionem velint: Hi non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt, quam ſacerdotem ligare, &c.

[f] Theodor. de Fabulis Hæret. Lib. 4. cap. 13.

as, ſays he [g], Sinners for much leſſer Crimes take a juſt Time to do Penance, and according to the Order of Diſcipline come to Confeſſion, and by Impoſition of Hands given them by the Biſhop and Clergy receive a Right to communicate: Now they are very haſtily and uſeaſonably admitted to Communion, and their Name is offered; and before they have done Penance, before they have made their Confeſſion, before they have received Impoſition of Hands, the *Euchariſt* is given them, although it be ſaid, That *Whoſoever eats the Bread, and drinks the Cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* The Martyrs, who lay in in Priſon, were a little concerned in this Irregularity: For they were uſed to intercede for ſuch Criminals, to gain them Admiſſion before their Time: and therefore he wrote another [h] Letter to the Martyrs, to ſhew them the Danger and Inconveniences of ſuch precipitated communicating of Sinners, and to diſſuade them from ſnch unſeaſonable interpoſing in their Behalf before they had done their regular Penance. And he alſo wrote a long Diſcourſe to the Lapſers [i] themſelves, wherein he more largely ſets forth the Fallacy that was put upon them by this too indulgent Facility in granting them ſuch a prepoſterous Peace, which did not really give them Peace, but deſtroy it; nor grant them true Communion, but hinder their Salvation. By

[g] Cypr. Ep. 10. al. 16. ad Cler. p. 37. Cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam juſto tempore, & ſecundum Diſciplinæ ordinem ad exomologeſin veniant, & per manus Impoſitionem Epiſcopi & Cleri jus Communicationis accipiant: nunc crudo tempore—ad Communicationem admittuntur, & offertur nomen eorum, & nondum pœnitentia acta, nondum exomologeſi facta, nondum manu eis ab Epiſcopo & Clero impoſita, Euchariſtia illis datur. &c. [h] Cypr. Ep. 11. al. 15. ad Martyr. p. 34. [i] Id. de Lapſis. p. 128. &c.

all which, and Abundance more that might be added upon this Head, it is evident that to reconcile a Sinner to the Altar, after the Commiſſion of any heinous and publick Crimes, they required him to go through a long Courſe of Penance publickly in the Church, in Order to give clear Satisfaction and Demonſtration by manifeſt Works and Fruits of Repentance, that he was a real Convert, and worthy of the Communion which he deſired: And to admit him before, was only to impoſe upon the Sinner, and incur the Diſpleaſure of GOD by proſtituting his Ordinance, and ſuffering the Vile to tread under Foot the Son of GOD.

BUT beſide theſe heinous Sins, which put Men under the publick Cenſures of the Church, there were alſo many other Crimes of an heinous Nature, which unqualified Men for worthy receiving, though they did not ordinarily bring them to a State of publick Penance, either becauſe Men could not be ſo directly and formally convicted of them, or becauſe they did not ſeem to carry ſo great Malignity and Contempt of GOD in them as the former. Among theſe St. *Auſtin* [*k*] reckons Anger and Evil-ſpeaking; and others add, raſh Swearing, Breach of Promiſe, Lying, Covetouſneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Sins of the like Nature. Now though theſe did not ordinarily ſubject Men to publick Penance, yet they were confeſſed on all Hands to be grievous and deadly Sins, and ſuch as Men ſhould not preſume to come with, unrepented of, to the Lord's Table. And therefore though the Ancients did not forcibly repel ſuch Sinners from communicating, yet they never failed to ſtave them off by Admonitions and Reproofs, declaiming ſharply againſt all ſuch Vices, and ſhewing Men the Danger of them as well as thoſe of the higheſt Nature.

THIS

[*k*] Aug. de Fide & Operibus. cap. 26.

Sect. 6. *Whether they required Confession of Private Sins to the Priest as a necessary Qualification for the Communion.*

THIS was their constant Way of Proceeding with great and heinous Sinners, when their Crimes were Publick, Notorious, and Scandalous, in order to qualify them for a worthy Participation of the *Eucharist* after any manifest Breach or Violation of their Baptismal Covenant. As to private Crimes, they laid no Necessity upon the Conscience of Men to make either publick or private Confession of them to any beside GOD, to qualify them for the Communion. They sometimes advised Men to publick Confession for private Crimes, and many Times Men voluntarily confessed their private Crimes, and submitted to do publick Penance for them, as thinking this the secureſt Way to obtain perfect Forgiveness of GOD: And in some Places a publick Minister, called the Penitentiary, was appointed to hear Mens Confessions, and direct them in their publick or private Repentance. But as yet no indispensable Obligation was laid upon Men to make Confession of their private Crimes as a necessary Condition of Communion: Much less did they injoin Men auricular Confession in order to obtain private Absolution of a Priest, and do Penance afterward, without giving at present any evident Demonstrations of Repentance. Their private Confessions were all Voluntary, and these chiefly in order to publick Penance: But whether for publick or private Penance, the Confession of private Sins was a Matter of Advice and Prudence and free Choice, and not forced upon Men by any Laws of Necessity or indispensable Obligation. I shall have farther Occasion to handle this Matter more fully in the next Book about the Discipline of the Church: And therefore I will only mention a Passage or two here, that relate to Mens Preparation

for the Communion. *Chryſoſtom* explaining thoſe Words of the Apoſtle, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread, und drink of that Cup:* ſays, He does not [*l*] bid one Man examine another, but every one himſelf; making the Judgment Private, and the Tryal without Witneſſes. And again [*m*] expounding the very ſame Words, The Apoſtle, ſays he, does not reveal or lay open the Sore, he does not bring the Accuſation upon the open Stage, he does not ſet Witneſſes of thy Crimes againſt thee: But bids thee, within thy own Conſcience, none being preſent but GOD who knows all Things, to ſet up a Judgment and ſearch after thy Sins; and recounting thy whole Life, to bring thy Sins to the Bar of thy own Mind; to reform thy Exceſſes, and ſo with a pure Conſcience to come to the ſacred Table, and partake of the Holy Sacrifice. And it is remarkable, that under *Nectarius*, St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Predeceſſor, a Law was made (upon Occaſion of a Scandal that was given by the Confeſſion of a Gentlewoman, defiled by a Deacon at *Conſtantinople)* that the Office of the Penitentiary Prieſt, which had been for ſome Time in that Church, ſhould be laid aſide; and that Liberty ſhould be given to every one, upon the private Examination of his own Conſcience, to partake of the Holy Myſteries. Which evidently ſhews, that they did not then believe there was any Divine Law for the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, but that it was a Matter of Liberty and Prudence only. *Socrates*, who relates [*n*] the whole Story, ſays, he had it from the Mouth of *Eudæmon* the Presbyter, who gave *Nectarius* this Advice; and *Sozomen* [*o*] adds, that the Biſhops of moſt other Churches followed *Nectarius*

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 28. in 1 Cor. p. 569. [*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 8. de Pœnitent. T. 1. p. 700. [*n*] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 19. [*o*] Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

Nectarius his Example. In the *Latin* Church, it appears alſo from *Gennadius* [*p*], that the general Rule for great Crimes of a publick Nature was, to do publick Penance in the Church: But for private Crimes no other was neceſſarily required but private Satisfaction by a Change of Life from ſecular to religious, by continual Mourning to implore GOD's Mercy, by doing Things contrary to thoſe whereof the Sinner repents, and by receiving the *Euchariſt* every Lord's-Day to the End of his Life. And *Laurentius* Biſhop of *Novaria* [*q*] ſpeaking of Repentance, ſays, After Baptiſm GOD hath appointed thee a Remedy within thy ſelf, he hath put Remiſſion in thy own Power, that thou needeſt not to ſeek a Prieſt when Neceſſity requires; but thou thy ſelf now, as a skilful Maſter always at Hand, mayſt correct thy own Error within thyſelf, and waſh away thy Sin by Repentance. It were eaſy to add Abundance more Teſtimonies both out of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, but theſe are ſufficient at preſent to ſhew that they did not require private Confeſſion, as any neceſſary Part of that Preparation which Men were obliged to make for the purging of private Sins before they came to the Lord's Table: But their Direction was the Apoſtle's Rule, *Let a Man examine*

[*p*] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccleſ. cap. 53. Sed & ſecreta ſatisfactione ſolvi mortalia crimina non negamus, ſed mutato prius ſeculari habitu, & confeſſo Religionis ſtudio per vitæ correctionem, & jugi, imo perpetuo luctu miſerante Deo, ita duntaxat, ut contraria pro iis quæ pœnitet agat, & Euchariſtiam omnibus Dominicis diebus ſupplex ſubmiſſuſque uſque ad mortem ſuſcipiat. [*q*] Laurent. Hom. 1. de Pœnit. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 129. Poſt baptiſma remedium tuum in teipſo ſtatuit, remiſſionem in arbitrio tuo poſuit, ut non quæras ſacerdotem, cum neceſſitas flagitaverit: Sed ipſe jam, ac ſi ſcitus perſpicuuſque Magiſter, errorem tuum intra te emendes, & peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas.

examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.

Sect. 7. *That Preparation conſiſts not in coming to Communion at certain holy Seaſons, but in Sanctity and Purity at all Times.*

YET they did not hereby diſcharge Men of all Obligation to cleanſe themſelves from Sin, but carefully preſſed upon the Conſcience the Neceſſity of univerſal Purity when they came to feaſt upon the Body and Blood of CHRIST, at his Table. *Let a Man examine himſelf: For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh Damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's Body.* There were ſome ſo vain as to think, that a formal Appearing at the Lord's Table at ſome certain holy and ſolemn Seaſons was all the Preparation that was needful: As if the Circumſtance of Time added any real Qualification to their Souls. Againſt theſe Mens Extravagance, St. *Chryſoſtom* inveighs with the greateſt Sharpneſs: I obſerve many, ſays he, who are Partakers [r] of the Lord's Body inconſiderately and at all Adventures, more out of Cuſtom, than by any Rule, or Reaſon, and Underſtanding. If the holy Time of *Lent* comes, or the Day of CHRIST's *Epiphany*, or *Nativity*, then they partake of the Holy Myſteries, whatever Condition they are in. But *Epiphany* is not the Time of Approaching: Neither does *Lent* make Men worthy to come, but the Sincerity and Purity of their Souls. With this come at all Times; without it come never. Conſider thoſe who were Partakers of the Sacrifices under the old Law; What Abſtinence did they uſe? What did they not do? What did they not perform, to purify themſelves in every reſpect? And doſt thou, when thou comeſt

[r] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1050.

comeſt to the Sacrifice, at which the Angels are even amazed and tremble, meaſure the Buſineſs by the Revolution and Periods of certain Times and Seaſons? How wilt thou ſtand before the Tribunal of CHRIST, who dareſt to touch his Body with polluted Hands and Lips? Thou wouldſt not preſume to kiſs the King with a ſtinking Mouth: And doſt thou kiſs the King of Heaven with a ſtinking Soul? That is the higheſt Affront that can really be offered to him. Tell me, wouldſt thou chuſe to come to the Sacrifice with unwaſhen Hands? I ſuppoſe not, but wouldſt rather not come at all, than with unclean Hands. Since therefore thou art ſo ſcrupulous and religious in a ſmall Matter, how dareſt thou to come and touch the Sacrifice with a polluted Soul? When as thy Hands only hold it for a time, but thy Soul has it wholly diſſolved into it. At other times ye come not to it, though ye be clean; but at *Eaſter* ye come, although ye be defiled with Sin. Oh Cuſtom! Oh Prejudice! Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* reproves thoſe who contented themſelves with an outſide, formal Preparation, to comply with the general Cuſtom of Receiving at ſome of the holy Feſtivals; which was a mere corporeal Purification, like the Phariſaical Righteouſneſs: For *they made clean the outſide of the Cup and Platter, whilſt their inward Part was full of Corruption and all Uncleanneſs.* In another Place [s] he thus oppoſes this fantaſtical Preparation, and deſcribes the true Preparation of the Soul by the Purity of a Man's Conſcience, and a ſanctified Life. Many Chriſtians now-a-days, ſays he, are ſunk into ſo great Stupidity and Contempt, that though they be laden with Sins, and take no manner of Care of themſelves, yet they come to the Holy Table at the

[s] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Philogonio. T. 1. p. 402. Vid. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 1. p. 710.

the ſolemn Feſtivals Hand over Head, and juſt as mere Chance directs them: Not conſidering, that what makes it ſeaſonable to communicate, is not merely a Feſtival, or the Time of a more ſolemn Aſſembly, but a pure Conſcience, and a Life free from Sin. For as he, who is conſcious to himſelf of no enormous Crime, ought to come every Day; ſo on the other Hand, he who is fettered in Sins, and does not repent, cannot ſafely come upon a Feſtival. For it is not our coming once a Year that diſcharges us of our Sins, if we come unworthily: But this very thing rather increaſes our Condemnation, that though we come but once a Year, yet we come not even then with a pure Conſcience. Wherefore I exhort you all, not to come to the Holy Myſteries barely upon the account of a Feſtival; but whenever ye deſign to partake of this Holy Sacrifice, to purge yourſelves many Days before by Repentance, and Prayer, and Alms, and Attendance upon ſpiritual Things; and not to return again like the Dog to his Vomit. Is it not abſurd to ſpend ſo much Care upon corporeal Things, as that when a Feſtival approaches, youwill bring forth your beſt Clothes out of your Wardrobe, and make them ready many Days before, and buy you Shoes, and prepare a more ſplendid Table, and think of many Ways to deck and adorn yourſelf; But in the mean time have no Regard to your Soul, which lies neglected in Filth and Naſtineſs, and ready to periſh with Famine, and over-run with Impurity? How abſurd is it to preſent the Body here finely adorned, but your Soul naked and vilely clothed? When yet none ſees your Body but your Fellow-Servants; but your Soul is nicely viewed by the LORD, who will alſo ſeverely puniſh your Neglect of it. Know you not, that this Table is filled with ſpiritual Fire, and ſends forth ſecret Flames, as Fountains do their Water in Abundance?

dance? Bring not therefore hither Wood, Hay, Stubble, leſt you increaſe the Flame, and burn your Soul by ſuch a Participation: But bring hither Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, that ye may make thoſe Materials ſtill more pure, and go hence with greater Gain and Advantage. If any Evil remains in your Soul, chaſe and drive it thence. Has any one an Enemy, from whom he has ſuffered great Injuries and Injuſtice? Let him diſſolve his Enmity, and reſtrain his flaming, ſwelling Mind, that there be no Tumult or Perturbation within. For thou art now about to receive a King by Communion: And when a King enters into thy Soul, there ought to be a perfect Calm, Tranquillity, and Silence, and a profound Peace in thy Thoughts. But thou haſt been exceedingly injured, and canſt not bear to moderate thy Anger againſt him. What then? Wilt thou therefore more grievouſly injure thyſelf? For thy Enemy, whatever he does, cannot do thee ſo much Harm, as thou doſt to thyſelf, if thou art not reconciled to him, but trampleſt on the Laws of GOD. He has injured and affronted thee, and wilt thou injure and affront GOD? For not to receive an Enemy to Pardon and Favour, is not ſo much to take Revenge on him, as to affront GOD, who haſt given us this Law of Reconciliation. Therefore look not to thy Fellow-Servant, nor to the Greatneſs of the Injuries that he hath done thee; but look unto GOD, and putting his Fear into thy Mind, conſider this, that the greater Violence thou offereſt to thy Soul, by compelling it to be reconciled after ſuffering a thouſand Indignities, ſo much the greater Honour ſhalt thou obtain from him who prohibits thee Revenge. And as thou receiveſt GOD with great Honour here, He will receive thee with great Glory hereafter, and recompence thee a thouſand-fold for this Obedience. Thus did this holy Man explain in general the due Man-

Manner and Method of Preparing to receive the *Euchariſt*, and with the ſtrongeſt Arguments of Piety, and the utmoſt Force of Eloquence and Reaſon endeavour to perſuade his Hearers to the Practice of it.

Sect. 8. *What Faith is required in Communicants.*

I HAVE not room to tranſcribe all that this Author [*t*] and the reſt have ſaid farther in their general Exhortations to make a due Preparation for the Communion: Much leſs will it conſiſt with the Deſign of this Work to deſcend to all the particular Caſes and Queſtions that might be moved about it, the Handling of which would eaſily ſwell into a Volume: And the Reader may find it already done in a great Meaſure by our Learned Biſhop *Taylor* in his *Worthy Communicant*, where he States all the Duties required in order to a worthy Participation, together with the Caſes of Conſcience occurring in the Duty of him that miniſters, and in the Duty of him that communicates, out of the ancient Writers. I ſhall content myſelf to ſuggeſt a few Things relating to theſe Particulars, which are: 1. Faith. 2. Repentance and Obedience. 3. Juſtice. 4. Peace and Unity. 5. Charity and Beneficence. 6. Pardoning of Offences. 7. Laſtly, Mens Behaviour at the time of Communicating and afterwards, which I ſhall chiefly repreſent in the Words of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who has ſpoken ſo largely upon this Subject. And firſt with reſpect to Faith, they required in every Communicant, that was of Years of Diſcretion, not only an Orthodox Profeſſion of the ſeveral Articles of the Chriſtian Faith in general, but alſo a particular Faith with relation to the Myſtical Eating and Drinking of CHRIST's Body

[*t*] Vid. Chryſ. in Pſal. 133. p. 488. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1872.

Body and Blood in the Holy Sacrament. The former is evident from that uſual Form of Words in the Deacon's Admonition to all that had not a Right to communicate, to withdraw; among whom all Heterodox or Heretical Perſons were admoniſhed to be gone: μή τις ἡμῖν ἑτεροδόξων, *Let no Heterodox Perſon be preſent.* And in regard to this St. *Chryſoſtom* [u] or whoever was the Author of the Sermon of *Binding and Looſing Sin*, ſpeaking of Mens private Examination of themſelves, ſays, GOD hath given thee the Power of Binding and Looſing. Thou haſt bound thyſelf with the Chain of Covetouſneſs; Looſe thyſelf with the Injunction of the Love of Poverty. Thou haſt bound thyſelf with the furious Deſire of Pleaſure; Looſe thyſelf by Temperance. Thou haſt bound thyſelf with the Heterodox Belief of *Eunomius*; Looſe thyſelf with the religious embracing of the *Orthodox Faith.* But they did not only require an *Orthodox Faith* in general, but a particular Faith with reſpect to the Sacrament itſelf, teaching Men, not the monſtrous Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, but that under the viſible Elements of Bread and Wine, ſanctified by the Spirit, the worthy Communicant by Faith might receive the ſpiritual Food of CHRIST's Body and Blood, and all the bleſſed Effects and Benefits of his Death and Paſſion. To this Purpoſe, they required Men to come with the Mouth of Faith, ſpiritually to eat CHRIST's Fleſh and Blood; and to ſee him ſacrificed with the Eyes of their Mind, whilſt his real bloody Sacrifice once offered was daily repreſented and commemorated in the viſible Images and Symbols of Bread and Wine. St. *Auſtin* is very copious in ſetting forth this neceſſary Doctrine

[u] Chryſ. Hom. in illud Quodcunque ligaveris. Tom. 7. Edit. Savil. p. 268.

Doctrine of ſpiritual Manducation by Faith, as that which makes both Senſe and Piety of ſo many Expreſſions in the Goſpel, which otherwiſe would ſeem horrible and abſurd. Explaining thoſe Words of our SAVIOUR, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*, he ſays [x], This ſeems to command a Crime. Therefore it is a figurative Speech, commanding us to communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and with Pleaſure and Profit to lay it up in our Minds, that his Fleſh was crucified and wounded for our Tranſgreſſions. So again [y] he brings in our Saviour telling his Diſciples, "Ye are not to eat this Body which ye ſee, "and drink that Blood which my Crucifiers ſhall "ſhed. But I have commended to you a certain "Sacrament, which being ſpiritually underſtood will "quicken you; and though it be celebrated viſibly, "it is inviſibly or ſpiritually to be underſtood." Meaning this Faith, with which the Body of CHRIST was to be received, to make it ſpiritually and really the true Body, and Life to the Receiver. For the true Body of CHRIST could no other ways be eaten but ſpiritually by Faith [z], whilſt it was really

[x] Aug. de Doctrina Chriſt. Lib. 3. cap. 10. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo eſt, præcipiens Paſſioni Domini eſſe communicandum, & ſuaviter atque utiliter in Memoria recondendum, quod Caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa & vulnerata eſt. [y] Aug. in Pſal. 98. T. 8. p. 452. Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis; & bibituri illum ſanguinem, quem fuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; ſpiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos, & ſi neceſſe eſt illud viſibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen inviſibiliter intelligi.

[z] Id. Ser. 2. de Verb. Apoſt. T. 10. p. 94. Manduca vitam, bibe vitam. Tunc autem hoc erit, id eſt, vita unicuique erit Corpus & Sanguis, ſi quod in Sacramento viſibiliter ſumitur, in ipſa veritate ſpiritaliter manducetur, ſpiritaliter bibatur. It. Tract. 26. in Joan. T. 9 p. 94. Qui manducat intus, non qui manducat foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.

really abſent in Heaven. The Hand could not reach that Body, nor the Teeth conſume it; but Faith [a] could aſcend up to Heaven, and there touch the Body of CHRIST; and with the Heart it might be eaten, though not with the Teeth and oral Manducation. This is therefore that ſpecial Faith which the Ancients ſo often require in every pious Communicant, to qualify him to eat the Fleſh of CHRIST to Life and Salvation; a Faith whereby in Heart he aſcends to Heaven, (according to the uſual Phraſe of the Church in Her Sacramental Prayers, *Surſum Corda, Lift up your Hearts; We lift them up unto the Lord;*) and whereby he receives the real Body of CHRIST by ſpiritual Eating, which no wicked Man can receive, though he receive the Sacrament of his Body both in his Hand and Mouth to his Condemnation. Therefore St. *Auſtin* bids all Communicants prepare [b] their Heart, and not their Mouths, to eat *the Bread of Life, which came down from Heaven.* And St. *Chryſoſtom* [c] calls upon them to imitate Eagles, and fly up to Heaven. For *where the Carcaſs is, there will the Eagles be gathered together*, ſays our SAVIOUR, calling his Body the Carcaſs becauſe of Death. For if he had not fallen, we had not riſen. But he calls us Eagles, ſhewing, that he that comes to this Body, ought to ſoar aloft, and have nothing to do with the Earth, nor move downward and creep upon the Ground, but always to fly upward, and look to the *Sun of Righteouſneſs*, and have the Eyes of his Mind quick-ſighted. For this Table is the Table of Eagles, not

[a] Aug. Tract. 1 in 1 Joan. p. 236. Ipſum jam in cœlo ſedentem manu contrectare non poſſumus, ſed Fide contingere.

[b] Aug. Ser. 33. de Verb. Dom. p. 40. Nolite parare fauces, ſed Cor. &c. [c] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Vid. Hom. 14. in Epheſ. p. 1127.

of Jack-Daws. And they who thus worthily receive him, may expect to meet him when he ſhall come down again from Heaven.

Sect. 9. *What Purity of Soul by Repentance and Obedience. How far Faſting uſeful or neceſſary to this Purpoſe.*

2. BUT St. *Chryſoſtom* [*d*] obſerves, that to come unto CHRIST by Faith, is not barely to receive him in the outward Element, but to touch him with a pure Heart. And therefore he Diſcourſes excellently upon this moſt neceſſary Part of Preparation, to ſome who put great Confidence in their Obſervation of the *Lent*-Faſt, as if that were a juſt Preparation for the Communion. Let us give up our ſelves, ſays he, to the Practice of Virtue. For at this End [*e*] aims all our Faſting, and *Lent*, and religious Aſſemblies ſo many Days together, and our Hearing, and Prayers, and Preaching; that by theſe Exerciſes we may waſh away the Guilt and Stain of whatever Sins we have any ways contracted during the whole Year, and ſo come with Piety and ſpiritual Aſſurance to partake of that Unbloody Sacrifice. But if we do not thus purify our ſelves, all that other Labour is in Vain and to no Purpoſe, we reap not the leaſt Advantage from it. Let every one therefore conſider with himſelf, and examine in his Account, what Defect he has amended, what Virtue he has acquired, what Vice he has waſhed away, in what Part he is grown better: And if he finds any conſiderable Advantage of this Kind ariſe from his Faſting, and that many of his Wounds have been cured by it, let him come: But if he has been negligent, and has nothing to ſhew but his Faſting, without any other Goodneſs or Amendment, let him keep off and abide without, and then come when he has purged himſelf from all his Sins. Let no Man place

[*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 454. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 22. de Simultate. T. 1.

place his Confidence in Faſting only, who adheres to his Sins without Amendment. For 'tis poſſible a Man that does not faſt, may obtain Pardon, having the Excuſe of bodily Infirmity: But he that does not correct his Faults, cannot poſſibly have any Excuſe. Thou haſt omitted to faſt by reaſon of the Infirmity of thy Fleſh: But why haſt thou not been reconciled to thy Enemies? Canſt thou here pretend bodily Infirmity alſo? Thou ſtill retaineſt Hatred and Envy: What Excuſe, I pray, canſt thou plead for theſe? There is no flying for Refuge to bodily Infirmity in Behalf of ſuch Sins as theſe. Thus *Chryſoſtom* ſhews the Neceſſity of correcting every evil Way, in Thought, Word and Deed, in Order to prepare Men for a worthy Reception at GOD's Table; and that no Pretences of other Qualifications without Holineſs, nor any Excuſes for Sin will be accepted, while CHRIST has made his Commandments very practicable, and recommended his Yoke as eaſy, and his Burden as Light.

Sect. 10. *How neceſſary Juſtice and Reſtitution to a worthy Communicant.*

3. AND becauſe there are ſome great Sins, to which Men have a more than ordinary Propenſity and Affection, and are ready to find out a Thouſand Arts to palliate and retain them with a Semblance of Piety and pretended Devotion: The ſame Author is always very careful to particularize about theſe in Mens Preparation, pulling off the Vizard and falſe Colours they were apt to lay upon them. Thus in the Caſe of Injuſtice, many were inclined to impoſe upon themſelves by that old Phariſaical Pretence of giving ſomething to the *Corban*, to make a full Atonement, as they thought, for their manifold Rapines and Oppreſſion. Whom he thus reproves, and lays open their Folly. Let no *Judas*, no *Simon*

Magus come near this Table [*f*]: For they both periſhed in their Avarice and Love of Money. Wherefore let us fly from this Pit, and not imagine it ſufficient for our Salvation, that when we have ſpoiled Widows and Orphans, we offer a Golden Cup adorned with Jewels to this Table. Wouldſt thou honour this Sacrifice? Offer thy Soul, for which CHRIST was offered, and make it a Golden Soul. But if thy Soul remain worſe than Lead or Earth, what will thy Golden Veſſels profit thee? Let us not therefore labour to offer Golden Veſſels only, but offer what we acquire by our juſt and honeſt Labour. For theſe are more precious than Gold, which are not the Fruits of Covetouſneſs and Injuſtice. The Church is not the Work-houſe of Silver and Gold, but the Congregation of Angels. Therefore the Purity of our Souls is required: For GOD receives theſe Things upon the Account of our Souls. Doubtleſs that Table was not of Silver, nor that Cup of Gold, wherein CHRIST gave his Blood to his Diſciples: Yet all was precious and full of Reverence, becauſe they were filled with the Spirit. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks this to Mens own Conſciences in Private, who knew their own Extortions, when perhaps the Church knew nothing of them; and he lays upon them the Neceſſity of Juſtice and Reſtitution in their Private Accounts with GOD, before they could hope to gain his Favour, or be accepted at his Altar. For as to publick Offences of this Kind, we have noted before [*], That when they were ſuch as the Church could take Cognizance of, they fell under her publick Diſcipline: And it was a ſtanding Law, that the Oblations of known Oppreſſors ſhould not be received; much leſs their Perſons to the Communion of the Altar.

4. AN-

[*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 455. It. Hom. 86. p. 722. *cited before.* Chap. ii. n. 2. [*] Book XV. Chap. ii. n. 2.

Sect. 11. *The Neceſſity of Peace and Unity.*

4. ANOTHER Thing they much inſiſted on, was Unity and a peaceable Spirit: By which they chiefly intended that Sort of Peaceableneſs, which preſerves the Unity of the Church, not only in Oppoſition to formed and profeſſed Schiſms, but all Factions and Diviſions within the Boſom of the Church. As to formal and profeſt Schiſmaticks, they were Objects of the Publick Diſcipline, and not to be admitted to Communion without publick Recantation and formal renouncing of their Errors. But beſides theſe there were another Sort of turbulent Spirits, who without breaking forth into profeſt Separations, were often the Occaſion of great Tumults and diſquiet in the Church. Such were thoſe *Corinthians*, whom the Apoſtle ſo often rebukes for their factious Zeal and unneceſſary Diſputations and Contentions one with another; which proceeded from many evil Cauſes, and were attended with as bad Effects. For they ſprung from the bitter Roots of Envy and Pride and Ambition, and Covetouſneſs and Self intereſt, and Self-love, and a blind, or elſe crafty and deſigning Admiration of one Teacher above another. *For one ſaid, I am of* Paul; *and another, I of* Apollos; *I of* Cephas; *and I of* CHRIST. And the Effects were Debates, Envyings, Wraths, Strifes, Backbitings, Whiſperings, Swellings, Tumults. Inſomuch that in their Sidings and Partyings, they came to expreſs a Diſdain and Contempt of one another in that, which ſhould have taught them the quite contrary Leſſon, the Celebration of the Lord's Supper and their Feaſts of Charity. For in eating, every one took before others his own Supper: And one was hungry, and another was drunken. Upon which the Apoſtle gave them that moſt ſolemn Admonition: 1 *Cor.* xi. 28. *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that*

Cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself, not Discerning the Lord's Body. It was not long after St. *Paul's* Death, that *Clemens* Biſhop of *Rome* had Occaſion to write a long Epiſtle to theſe *Corinthians* upon the very ſame Subject of their ſeditious Factions and Diviſions, where among many other Arguments to perſuade them to Unity and Peace, he bids them [*g*] beware, that the manifold Bleſſings of GOD did not turn to their Condemnation, if they walked unworthy of Him, and neglected to do what was good and pleaſing in his Sight with Unanimity and Concord. Therefore he bids [*h*] them, Quickly remove this Evil, and fall down before the Lord, and weep and pray to him, that he would be merciful and reconciled to them, and reduce and reſtore them to the pure and comely Way of Brotherly Love. For this is the Gate of Righteouſneſs which opens unto Life. Charity unites us [*i*] unto GOD; Charity covers a Multitude of Sins; Charity beareth all Things: Charity has nothing of Pride or Baſeneſs in it; Charity has no Schiſm; Charity raiſes no ſedition; Charity does all Things in Concord. By Charity all the Elect of GOD are made perfect; without Charity nothing is acceptable unto GOD. Therefore he adviſes the Ring-leaders of the Sedition and the Heads of Faction to be Subject to their Rulers and repent, and to lay aſide all arrogant [*k*] and proud Boaſting of the Tongue; ſince it was better to be found little and approved in the Fold of CHRIST, than to be high-minded and rejected from the Hope of his Kingdom. He bids them ſacrifice their own Intereſt to the Peace of the Church. Who among

[*g*] Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor. n. 21. [*h*] Ibid. n. 48.
[*i*] Ibid. n. 49. [*k*] Ibid. n. 57.

among you is of a noble and generous Temper? Who [*l*] has any Bowels of Compaſſion? Who is filled with Charity? Let him ſay: If upon my Account there be Sedition, and Diſcord, and Schiſm; I will willingly depart, and go away witherſoever you pleaſe; I will do what the People command me; only let the Fold of CHRIST be in Peace under the Elders that are ſet over them. He that does this, ſhall purchaſe to himſelf great Honour in the Lord, and every Place will receive him. *For the Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulneſs thereof.* Thus did that holy Man exhort the ſeditious *Corinthians* to lay aſide their factious and turbulent Spirit, and betake themſelves to the Ways of Unity and Peace, as ever they hoped to find Mercy and Favour at the Hands of the Lord. And the Ancients generally uſe this Argument againſt uncharitable Striſe and Contention, and Schiſm and Diviſion, that they are Crimes of that Magnitude, that without Repentance even the Blood of Martyrdom will not waſh away and blot out the Stain and Guilt of them. Which is a noted Saying of *Cyprian*'s [*m*], repeated and approved by *Chryſoſtom* [*n*], St. *Auſtin* [*o*], *Fulgentius* [*p*] and many others.

Sect. 12. *Of Charity and Mercy to the Poor.*

5. ANOTHER Thing they much recommended as a neceſſary Qualification in a worthy Communicant, was the Exerciſe of Beneficence and Charity to the Indigent, eſpecially to the poor Members of CHRIST. For when they themſelves were about to receive the greateſt Bleſſings in the World, they thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould

[*l*] Ibid. n. 54. [*m*] Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ. p. 113. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 11. in Epheſ. p. 1107. [*o*] Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. Lib. 4. cap. 17. [*p*] Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. 39.

ſhould ſhew Kindneſs, according to their Ability, to his and their Brethren. This was the Foundation of their Oblations and Love-Feaſts mentioned before; and the Neglect, or Abuſe, or Partiality uſed in them, was always reputed a capital Miſdemeanour. But this was not all: They not only required Men to be charitable in the Act of Communicating, but at all Times; and allowed not the moſt plauſible Pretences that could be offered to the contrary. Some apologized for their Uncharitableneſs, as they did for their Injuſtice; they wiped their Mouths, and cried out, *Corban*, It is a Gift to CHRIST, wherewith thou mighteſt be profited by me: And ſo they thought themſelves diſcharged by Commutation: They gave to GOD's Uſe ſome Gift which He required not, and let the Poor periſh, whom He had commanded them to ſuſtain. To theſe St. *Chryſoſtom* [q] thus elegantly diſcourſes. Would you honour the Body of CHRIST? Do not then deſpiſe him when he is naked. Do not honour him here in the Church with Veſtments of Silk, and neglect him without Doors, when ready to periſh with Cold and Nakedneſs. For he that ſaid, *This is my Body*, and confirmed the Thing with his Word, ſaid alſo, *Ye ſaw me an hungred, and fed me not*: And, *for as much as ye did it not to one of the leaſt of theſe, ye did it not unto me.* For this Body of CHRIST (the *Euchariſt*) needs no Clothing, but a pure Mind: But that other Body of his needs much of our Care. Therefore let us learn to be wiſe, and honour CHRIST according to his own Will. Give him that Honour which He has commanded; diſtribute your Riches among the Poor. GOD has no need of golden Veſſels, but of golden Souls. I ſay not this, to forbid any Man to offer ſuch Gifts; but becauſe I judge it proper,

[q] Chryſ. Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 455.

per, together with these, and before these, to do Works of Charity. For GOD indeed receives these, but the other are much more acceptable to Him. Vessels only profit him that offers them, but Works of Charity profit both the Giver and the Receiver. The one is often an Occasion of Ostentation, but the other is all Humanity and Mercy. What Profit is it to CHRIST, that his Table is filled with golden Cups, whilst he himself is famished by Want? Therefore first feed him when he is hungry, and then of your Superfluity and Abundance adorn his Table. You make him a golden Cup, but will not give him a Cup of cold Water. What does this profit him? You prepare Coverings for his Table embroidered with Gold; but he himself is naked, and you cover him not with necessary Clothing. What Advantage is there in all this? Tell me, I pray: Suppose you should see a Man want necessary Food, and you instead of relieving his Hunger, should only adorn his Table with Gold: Would he take this as any Kindness, and not rather look upon it with Indignation? Or, if you saw a Man clothed in Rags, and frozen with Cold, and you instead of giving him Raiment, should erect golden Pillars, and say, you did it for his Honour: Would he not rather say you mocked him, and think you put the greatest Affront imaginable upon him? You may apprehend the Case to be the very same with CHRIST: When he wanders about as a Stranger, having no House to cover his Head, then thou neglectest to take him in; thou contemnest his Person, but beautifiest his Pavement and his Walls, and the Heads of his Pillars: Thou makest his Lamps to hang on Silver Chains, but wilt not vouchsafe to visit him when he is chained in Prison. I speak not this to prohibit thee from doing these Things, but to excite thee to do the other together with them, or rather before them.

For

For no Man was ever condemned for not building magnificent Temples, but for neglecting the Poor Hell is threatned, and the Fire that ſhall never be quenched, and Puniſhment with Devils. Whilſt therefore you adorn GOD's Houſe, do not neglect your afflicted Brother. For he is more properly the Temple of GOD than the other. For thoſe may be plundered of all their Treaſure by Infidel Kings, and Tyrants, and Thieves: But what thou doſt to a Brother that is hungry, or a Stranger, or naked, the Devil himſelf cannot rob thee of, but it is laid up in a ſafe Repoſitory, where no Violence can make a Prey of it. It were eaſy to give the Reader many other ſuch affecting Paſſages out of *Chryſoſtom* [r] and others, but this one is ſufficient to ſhew what Streſs they laid upon Charity or Beneficence to the Poor, in order to qualify Men for a worthy Reception of the Holy Communion.

Sect. 13. *Of Charity in Forgiving Enemies, and Pardoning Offences.*

6. BUT this was not the only Kind of Charity they required to be exerciſed upon this Occaſion; There was another more difficult to be practiſed, and yet no leſs neceſſary to be performed by all that would lay any juſt Claim to the Mercy of GOD in the Sacrifice of Chriſt's Body and Blood: And that was the Duty of Pardoning and Forgiving Enemies, without which it was abſurd and impudent to preſume to ask GOD Pardon at the Holy Table. Therefore St. *Chryſoſtom* [s] explaining thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Matth.* v. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee; leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, firſt*

[r] Vid. Chryſ. Hom. 1. in 1 Tim. p. 1631. Hom. 9. de Pœnitent. T. 1. p. 704. Hom. 25. T. 5. p. 369. [s] Chryſ. Hom. 16. in Mat. p. 166.

first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift: ſays, by all this CHRIST intended to ſignify, that the Holy Table would not receive Men that were at Enmity with one another: No, nor yet could they ſo much as offer their Prayers acceptably to GOD. Therefore hear this, ſays he, all ye that are initiated in the Holy Myſteries, and come not in Enmity to the Communion of the Altar. Let them alſo hear it, who are not yet initiated. For they have a common Concern in theſe Words alſo. For they offer likewiſe their Gifts and their Sacrifice, I mean their Prayers and their Alms; which the *Pſalmiſt* often calls Sacrifice: *The Sacrifice of Praiſe ſhall honour me:* And, *Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe:* And, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice.* Whence he concludes, That if a Man come to pray with ſuch a Mind, he had better leave his Prayers, and go firſt and be reconciled to his Brother, and then come and offer his Prayers. It is uſual with *Chryſoſtom* upon this account to tell his Hearers, that they [*t*] who are unqualified for the Communion, are unqualified for their Prayers likewiſe: Becauſe they in effect pray to GOD to curſe themſelves, whilſt they pray for Forgiveneſs of Sins only in the ſame manner as they forgive their Enemies. If we have Deſigns of Revenge in our Hearts, ſays he [*u*], when we pray, we pray againſt ourſelves, ſaying, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* Theſe are terrible Words, and the ſame as if one ſaid to GOD: "Lord, I have forgiven my Enemy, forgive Thou "me: I have looſed him, looſe Thou me: I have "pardoned my Enemy, pardon me: If I have re-

"tained

[*t*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. Hom. 22. de Ira. T. 1. p. 288. [*u*] Chryſ. Hom. in Eutrop. T. 4. p. 554. Hom. 38. de Pœnitent. & Euchar. T. 5. p. 570.

"tained his Sins, retain thou mine: If I have not "looſed my Neighbour, do not thou looſe my Of-"fences: What Meaſure I have meted to him, mea-"ſure thou to me again." It was with this Argument that he induced the People to ſhew Mercy to their great Enemy *Eutropius*, when he was fled for Sanctuary to the Altar. How will you be able to take the Holy Sacrament into your Hands, and uſe the Words of that Prayer, wherein we are commanded to ſay, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, if you exact Puniſhment of your Debtor? In another Place [x] he tells them, if they forgave their Enemies, they might then come with a pure Conſcience to the Holy and Tremendous Table, and boldly ſay the Words contained in that Prayer, *Forgive us, as we forgive.* But if they retained Anger or Malice in their Hearts [y], they were no fitter to partake of that Holy Table than Fornicators, or Adulterers, or Blaſphemers. For how canſt thou deſire GOD to be gracious and merciful to thee, who art ſo implacable and inexorable to thy Fellow-Servant? Admit he has injured and affronted thee. Haſt thou not often injured and affronted GOD? And what Compariſon is there betwixt the LORD and a Servant? It may be alſo thy Fellow-Servant was firſt injured by thee, and only returned the Complement, and payed thee in thy own kind, and thou art incenſed at that: But thou, without any Injury or Provocation received from GOD, treateſt him contumeliouſly; nay, not only when He does thee no Harm, but when He Daily loads thee with Bleſſings, and continually pours forth his Benefits upon thee. He adds [z], that

[x] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. [y] Hom. 22. de Ira. T. 1. p. 277. [z] Ibid. p. 282.

that this Sin of Malice and Revenge was the more dangerous and inexcuſable, becauſe it had none of the little Pleas which were commonly urged in the Behalf of other Sins, to be offered in its Favour. If I bid you faſt, you plead the Excuſe of bodily Infirmity; if I bid you give to the Poor, you plead Poverty yourſelf, and the Care of your own Children: If I call upon you to attend divine Worſhip, you pretend the Avocations of worldly Care and ſecular Buſineſs; If I bid you hear Sermons, and conſider the Power of the Doctrine contained in them, you plead Diſability and want of Learning to underſtand them; If I adviſe you to admoniſh and correct your Brother, you tell me, he will not hearken to your Counſel; you have admoniſhed him, and he deſpiſes you. Theſe are but cold Excuſes, yet they are Excuſes in ſome ſort. But if I bid you lay aſide your Anger, which of theſe Excuſes can you make? You cannot plead bodily Infirmity, nor Poverty, nor Want of Underſtanding, nor Want of Time and Leiſure from worldly Buſineſs, nor any other ſuch Excuſe: Therefore this of all others is a moſt unpardonable Sin. How then will you hold up your Hands to Heaven, or move your Tongue, or ask Pardon of your Sins, when if GOD were diſpoſed to pardon them, you will not ſuffer him to do it, while you refuſe to pardon the Offence of your Fellow-Servant? Having uſed theſe and many other excellent Arguments to ſhew Men the Neceſſity of Reconciliation and mutual Forgiveneſs, when they came to the Holy Communion, which is the Covenant of Forgiveneſs, and Peace with GOD and Man, he takes notice of two Evaſions, which ſome Men uſed in this Caſe to palliate and foſter ſtill ſomething of an ill-natured Temper, and make it ſeem conſiſtent with their Duty. Some were indeed afraid to ſay thoſe Words of the *Lord's Prayer*, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*,

Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us; as being ſenſible it was no better than Curſing themſelves, while they continued in ſuch an evil Diſpoſition: And therefore they only ſaid the firſt Clauſe, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, and drop'd the ſecond, which contains the Condition of their Forgiving others: And they were ſo vain as to think, this was a ſufficient *Salvo* to their Conſciences, and a Security againſt the Menaces that were threatned to a revengeful Temper. To whom he replies [*a*], That this was but a vain Caution, for whether they ſaid the Words or not, GOD would deal with them according to their Actions; CHRIST having told them in the very next Words, *If ye forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive you your Treſpaſſes.* Others excuſed themſelves by ſaying, I bear no Hatred or Malice againſt my Enemy, I am not concerned or troubled at his Enmity, I will have nothing to do with him. But, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, this is not enough, that thou wilt give him no Trouble, that thou wilt do him no Harm, that thou wilt bear no rancorous Mind againſt him; but thou muſt endeavour to reſtore him to a Friendly Temper. For GOD has not commanded us to have nothing to do with our Enemy, but to have many things to do with him. For this Reaſon he is our Brother: and for this Reaſon GOD ſaid not, Forgive thy Brother what thou haſt againſt him; but, *Go, and be reconciled to him, if he hath ought againſt thee*; and ceaſe not, till thou haſt brought that Member to its proper Harmony and Concord. He has alſo there [*b*] theſe remarkable Words, I tell you before, I proteſt, I proclaim it aloud, Let no Man that has an Enemy, come to the Holy Table, and

[*a*] Ibid. p. 289. [*b*] Ibid. p. 285.

and receive the Body of the Lord. Let no Man come that has an Enemy. Haſt thou an Enemy? come not. Wouldſt thou come? Be reconciled, and then come and receive the Holy Body. Thy Lord, to reconcile thee to his Father, refuſed not to be ſlain, and ſhed his Blood for thy Sake: And wilt not thou ſpeak a Word, nor go to make the firſt offer, to reconcile thy Fellow-Servant? This he ſays to thoſe, who thought it below them, and an Act of Puſillanimity and Diſgrace, to ſeem to make the firſt Step toward reconciling an Enemy, by being firſt in the Offer and Motion of Peace. But he aſſures them it was a Duty, and an honourable Duty, thus to imitate CHRIST in a charitable Condeſcenſion: And whatever might be the Effect of it here, it would have a double and a triple Crown hereafter. Finally he tells them with a ſolemn Proteſtation [c], in the Cloſe of all, that if after Forty Days Warning he found any ſtill perſiſt irreconcilable to one another, he would no longer uſe Admonitions, but proceed to ſeverer Methods, and Order them to be kept back from the Holy Myſteries, till they ſhould amend their Fault, and come to the Holy Table with a pure Conſcience, which was the only proper Way to partake of the Communion.

Sect. 14. *Of their Behaviour at the Communion and afterwards.*

THESE were ſome of thoſe neceſſary Qualifications they required in Men before they came to the Holy Communion. And at the Time of Celebration, the very Offices of the Church were ſo framed as to elevate Mens Souls to the higheſt Pitch of Reverence, Devotion and Thankfulneſs to GOD for his Mercies in the Sacrifice of CHRIST his only Son. To which Purpoſe the Reader may recollect what has been ſaid of

[c] Ibid. p. 294.

of the great Thankſgiving in the Conſecration of the *Euchariſt*; and the *Surſum Corda*, or Call to lift up their Hearts to the Lord; and of the Seraphical Hymns and Angelical Glorifications intended to ſet forth the Praiſes of GOD in this excellent Myſtery. To which may be added that Advice of *Origen* [*d*], That Men ſhould approach it with the profoundeſt Humility, imitating the good Centurion, and ſaying, *Lord I am not worthy that Thou ſhouldſt come under my Roof.* That they ſhould then quit all Thoughts of earthly Things, and conſider that they were then in the midſt of Cherubims and Seraphims, Angels and Archangels, and all the Powers above. For this Myſtery, [*e*] in *Chryſoſtom*'s Phraſe, turns Earth into Heaven. Open the Gates of Heaven, and ſee; or rather not Heaven, but the Heaven of Heavens, and then you ſhall ſee what I ſay. For that which is the moſt honourable of all Things there, that I will now ſhew you upon the Earth; not Angels, or Archangels, not the Heavens or the Heaven of Heavens, but the Lord of them all, whom you not only ſee, but touch, and eat, and carry Home with you. Therefore upon this he Grounds ſeveral excellent Exhortations. Let us become Eagles [*f*] and fly up to him in Heaven; let us have nothing to do with the Earth, but look upward to the Sun of Righteouſneſs; let us not receive him with polluted hands, but come to him with Reverence and all imaginable Purity; ſaying, By this Body I am no longer Earth and Aſhes; I am no longer a Captive, but Free: For this I hope to receive Heaven and all the good Things therein, Immortal Life, the Condition of Angels, the Society of CHRIST. Cleanſe therefore and waſh thy Soul, prepare thy Mind for the Reception

[*d*] Orig. Hom. 5. de Diverſis. T. 2. p. 441. [*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 538. [*f*] Ibid. p. 536. & 538.

ception of theſe Myſteries. If the Son of a King in all his Ornamental Robes, his Purple and his Diadem, were put into thy Hands to carry, thou wouldſt contemn all earthly Things. But now thou receiveſt not the Son of a Mortal King, but the Onely-begotten Son of GOD: And art thou not afraid ſtill to retain the Love of worldly Things? Why is not this Ornament alone ſufficient for thee, but thou muſt yet needs look to the Earth, and be in love with Riches? Knoweſt thou not that thy Lord has an Averſion to all the Pomp and Magnificence of this Life? Was he not therefore born of a Poor Mother, and at his Birth laid in a Manger? And was not his Anſwer this, to the Man who thought to make a Gain of his Service, *The Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head?* Let us therefore imitate him; and paſſing by the Beauty of Pillars and Marbles, let us ſeek for Manſions in Heaven above; and trampling upon all worldly Pride, and the love of Riches, let us take to ourſelves lofty Souls, and mind the Things that are on high. When you come to the holy Table and the ſacred Myſteries, ſays he [g] in another Place, do it with Fear and Reverence, with a pure Conſcience, with Faſting and Prayer. Conſider what a Sacrifice you partake of, what a Table you approach unto. Conſider, that thou who art but Duſt and Aſhes, receiveſt the Body and Blood of CHRIST. GOD calls thee to his own Table, and ſets before thee his Son; where the Angelical Powers ſtand about with Fear and Trembling, and the Cherubims cover their Faces, and the Seraphims cry with Reverence, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hoſts.* Let us therefore come with the greateſt Reverence alſo, and give Thanks, and fall down

[g] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Nativ. Chriſti. T. 5. p. 479.

and confeſs our Sins, and with Tears bewail our Offences, and offer up fervent Prayers to GOD. And ſo purifying ourſelves in Quietneſs and decent Order, let us come as to an heavenly King; and receiving the Holy and Immaculate Sacrifice, let us kiſs and embrace it with our Mouths and Eyes, and therewith warm our Souls; that we come not together to Judgment and Condemnation, but to create in us Sobriety of Mind, and Charity and Virtue, and reconcile ourſelves to GOD, and obtain a laſting Peace, and whatever other Bleſſings ariſe from thence; that we may both ſanctify ourſelves and edify our Neighbours.

AND as they thus taught Men, with what Veneration and ſerious Deportment they ought to behave themſelves at the Lord's Table; ſo they endeavoured to make laſting Impreſſions of Vertue upon Mens Minds by this Argument, ſhewing them what Obligations of Holineſs and Purity the Reception of the Body and Blood of CHRIST laid upon every Member of the Body, and every Faculty of the Soul. It was an Oblation of their Bodies and Souls to GOD; It was an Oath, or Bond and Covenant to do no Evil, but to exerciſe themſelves in all manner of Vertue, as *Pliny* [*b*] repreſents it from the Mouths of ſome Chriſtians. Therefore *Chryſoſtom* elegantly repreſents it as an Obligation laid upon every Member of the Body, the Hands, the Eyes, the Lips and Tongue, the Heart and Soul eſpecially, to abſtain from all Pollution and Impurity of Sin. Thou faſteſt before thou doſt communicate, that thou mayſt appear worthy [*i*]: And doſt thou deſtroy all after Communicating, when thou oughteſt to be more temperate? I do not enjoyn thee to faſt, but to abſtain

[*b*] Plin. Lib. 10. Ep. 97. [*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567.

ſtain from Luxury and all the evil Effects of it, immoderate Laughter, diſorderly Words, pernicious Jeſting, fooliſh and vain Diſcourſe, and whatever a Chriſtian ought not to ſpeak, who has been entertained at CHRIST's Table, and touched his Fleſh with his Tongue: Whoever thou art therefore, purify thy Hands, thy Lips and thy Tongue, which have been the Gates at which CHRIST entred into thee. When thou ſitteſt down to a common Table, remember that ſpiritual Table, and call to mind that Supper of the Lord. Conſider [*k*] what Words thy Mouth hath ſpoken, Words worthy of ſuch a Table, what Things thy Mouth hath touched and taſted, what Meat it has fed upon. Doſt thou think it no Harm with that Mouth to ſpeak evil of and revile thy Brother? How canſt thou call him Brother? If he is not thy Brother, how couldſt thou ſay, *Our Father?* For that implies more Perſons than one. Conſider with whom thou ſtoodſt in the time of the Holy Myſteries; with Cherubims, with Seraphims. But the Cherubims uſe no Reviling. Their Mouth is filled with one Office, Glorifying and Praiſing GOD. How then canſt thou ſay with them, *Holy, Holy, Holy,* who uſeſt thy Mouth to Reviling? Tell me, if there were a royal Veſſel, always filled with royal Dainties, and ſet apart only for this Uſe; and one of the Servants ſhould uſe it to put Dung in; would he dare after that to put it thus filled with Dung, among the other Veſſels appointed for royal Uſe? No, certainly. Yet this is the very Caſe of Railing and Reviling. You ſay at the Holy Table, *Our Father,* and then immediately add, *which art in Heaven.* This Word raiſes you up, and gives Wings to your Soul, and ſhews that you have a Father in Hea-

[*k*] Id. Hom. 14. in Epheſ. p. 1127.

Heaven. Therefore do nothing, ſpeak nothing of earthly Things. He hath placed you in the Order of Spirits above, and appointed you a Station in that Quire. Why then do you draw yourſelf downward? You ſtand by the Royal Throne, and do you revile your Brother? How are you not afraid, leſt the King ſhould take it as an Affront offered to himſelf? If a Servant beats or reviles another in our Preſence, who are but his Fellow-Servants, though he does it juſtly, we rebuke him for it. And dare you ſtand before the Royal Throne, and revile your Brother? See you not theſe holy Veſſels? Are they not always appropriated to one peculiar Uſe? Dares any one put them to any other? But you are more Holy than theſe Veſſels, yea, much more Holy. Why then do you pollute and defile yourſelf? You ſtand in Heaven, and do you ſtill uſe Railing? You converſe with Angels, and do you yet revile? You are admitted to the Lord's Holy Kiſs, and do you yet revile? God hath honoured and adorned your Mouth ſo many ways, by Angelical Hymns, by Food, not Angelical, but ſuper-angelical, by his own Kiſſes, and by his own Embraces, and do you after all theſe revile? Do not, I beſeech you. Let that which is the Cauſe of ſo many Evils, be far from the Soul of a Chriſtian. With what Force and Eloquence does this holy Writer here ſhew us the Obligation, which the Reception of the *Euchariſt* lays upon Men to abſtain from Evil-ſpeaking? But it equally lays a Reſtraint upon all the other Members of the Body, and Operations of the Soul, as well as the Tongue. Which *Chryſoſtom* excellently deduces after this manner in another Place: Be grateful to thy Benefactor by an excellent Converſation [*l*]; Conſider the Greatneſs

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom 21. ad Pop. Antioch. T. 1. p. 266.

neſs of the Sacrifice, and let that ingage thee to adorn every Member of thy Body. Conſider what thou takeſt in thy Hand, and never after endure to ſtrike any Man: Do not diſgrace that Hand by the Sin of Fighting and Quarrelling, which has been honoured with the Reception of ſo great a Gift. Conſider what thou takeſt in thy Hand, and keep thy Hand free from all Rapines and Injuſtice Think again, how thou not only receiveſt it in thy Hand, but putteſt it to thy Mouth, and keep thy Tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious Speech, from Blaſphemy and Perjury, and all Words of the like Nature. For it is a moſt pernicious Thing, that the Tongue, which miniſters in ſuch tremendous Myſteries, and is dyed with the Purple of ſuch precious Blood, and made a golden Sword, ſhould be put to the vile Practice of Railing and Reviling, and ſcurrilous and abuſive Language. Regard with Veneration the Honour wherewith GOD has honoured it; and do not debaſe it to ſuch mean Offices of Sin. Conſider again, that after thy Hand and thy Tongue, thy Heart receives that tremendous Myſtery: Then never deviſe any Fraud or Deceit againſt thy Neighbour, but keep thy Mind pure from all malicious Deſigns. After the ſame manner guard thy Eyes and thy Ears. For is it not moſt abſurd, after that myſtical Hymn that was brought from Heaven by the Cherubims, to defile thy Ears with the Songs of Harlots, and effeminate Muſick? And what Puniſhment can be too great for thee, if thou ſuffereſt thoſe Eyes, which have ſeen the Unſpeakable and venerable Myſteries, to wander gazing after Harlots, and committeſt Adultery in thy Mind? *Tertullian*, among many other Arguments which he uſes againſt a Chriſtian's going to be a Spectator at the *Roman* Games, uſes this as one, taken from the ſame Topick: What an Abſurdity is it

[*m*] for a Man to go from the Church of GOD into the Church of the Devil? *Out of Heaven*, as the Saying is, *into the Mire*? First to lift up his Hands in Prayer to the LORD, and then to toſs thoſe very Hands to Wearineſs in the Praiſe of a Stage-Player? To make that Mouth, which was uſed to ſay *Amen* at the Holy *Euchariſt*, give Teſtimony to a Gladiator? To cry out, *World without End*, to others beſides CHRIST his God? By ſuch familiar Arguments drawn from the Nature of the Sacrament, and the Inconſiſtency of all vicious Actions with the Deſign, and Circumſtances, and whole Tendency of it, did the Ancients endeavour to poſſeſs Mens Minds with the Senſe of their Duty, and their great Obligation to perſevere in Holineſs, and glorify GOD both in Body and Spirit all their Days. Which as it was but their reaſonable Service, ſo it was the only Way to make this Holy Sacrament effectual to their Salvation, and uſeful in their preſent State, by keeping up a perpetual and flaming Love for CHRIST, which qualified them for a frequent Reception, and almoſt daily Repetition of it; which is the laſt Thing to be conſidered in this whole Enquiry.

CHAP.

[*m*] Tertul. de ſpectac. cap. 25. Quale eſt de Eccleſia Dei in Diaboli Eccleſiam tendere? de cœlo, ut ajunt, in cœnum? illas manus quas ad Dominum extuleris, poſtmodum Hiſtrionem laudando fatigare? Ex ore quo Amen in ſanctum protuleris, Gladiatori teſtimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alij omnino dicere niſi Deo Chriſto? *See more ſuch Arguments in* Cyprian. Ep. 36. al. 38. p. 125.

CHAP. IX.

Of frequent COMMUNION, *and the Times of celebrating it in the Ancient Church.*

Sect. 1. *All Perſons, except Penitents under Cenſure, anciently obliged to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, by the Canons of the Church.*

IT has been ſhewed before, in ſpeaking againſt private and ſolitary Maſſes, that though it be now the Cuſtom in the Church of *Rome* for the Prieſt to receive the *Euchariſt* without any other Communicants, either Clergy or Laity, how many ſoever be preſent at the Action, yet there was no ſuch Cuſtom ever heard of in the ancient Church. And tho' in moſt other Churches this Corruption be reformed, yet there remains a great Defect ſtill uncorrected, which is the Want or Neglect of frequent Communion. I ſhall make no farther Enquiry into the Cauſes of this Neglect, whether it proceed from a general Decay of Chriſtian Piety, or from a Want of ſtrict Diſcipline in the Church, but only obſerve that it is a great Declenſion from the Zeal and Fervour of the Primitive Ages. For then it is certain it was both the Rule and Practice for all in general both Clergy and Laity to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, except ſuch as were unqualified for it either as Catechumens or Penitents, who of Courſe for Want of a due Preparation were obliged to abſtain from it. Among the Apoſtolical Canons there are two to this Purpoſe. The firſt ſays, If any Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, or any other of the Clergy does not communicate, when the Oblation is offered [*a*], let him ſhew cauſe why he does not,

[*a*] Can. Apoſt. Can. 8.

that if it be a reaſonable Cauſe, he may be excuſed; but if he ſhew no Cauſe, let him be excommunicated; as giving Scandal to the People, and raiſing Suſpicion againſt him that offers. And the next Canon ſays, If any of the Faithful come to Church to hear the Scriptures read, and ſtay not to join in the Prayers and receive the Communion, let them be excommunicated, as the Authors of Diſorder in the Church. The Council of *Antioch*, which was held in the Middle of the Fourth Century, repeats this Decree: Let all thoſe be caſt out of the Church, who [*b*] come to hear the Scriptures read in the Church, but do not communicate with the People in Prayer, or diſorderly turn away from the Participation of the *Euchariſt*, till by Confeſſion and Fruits of Repentance and Interceſſion they have obtained Pardon. Theſe Canons ſhew, that as often as they met together for Divine Service on the Lord's Day, they were obliged to receive the *Euchariſt* under Pain of Excommunication. And all other Canons which ſpeak of the Order of Divine-Service, plainly ſhew that the Celebration of the *Euchariſt* was always one inſeparable Part of it. The Council of *Laodicea* [*c*] as has been often noted before, deſcribes the whole in this Order. Firſt after the Sermon the Prayers of the Catechumens, and then the Prayers of the Penitents, and after their Departure, the Prayers of the Faithful, and then the Kiſs of Peace, and laſt of all the Offering of the Holy Oblation. And all ſuch Canons as forbid the Penitents to be Partakers of the *Euchariſt* [*d*], do plainly ſuppoſe all the reſt of the People to be Partakers of it. And if any Man did not partake of it, it was an Intimation

[*b*] Conc. Antioch. can. 2. [*c*] Conc. Laodic. can. 19. & 49. [*d*] Vide Conc. Nicen. can. 11. & 13. Conc. Ancyr. can. 4. 5. ℌ. κοινωνήσωσιν δίχα προσφορᾶς.

tion either that he was doing Penance, or at leaſt was conſcious to himſelf of ſome great Crime, for which he ought to do Penance: For no others were allowed to abſtain from the conſtant Participation of the *Euchariſt*. All they that do not communicate, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom* [*e*], are Penitents: If thou art of the Number of thoſe who do Penance, thou mayſt not partake. For whoever does not partake, is one of that Number. Which implies, that all were obliged conſtantly to communicate, who were not doing Penance publickly or privately for their Offences. And this was ſo much the Practice of thoſe Days, that the Council of *Eliberis* [*f*] orders, that they who would not communicate, ſhould not be allowed to make their Oblations. Which was a Sort of Excommunication of them. For the Oblations and the *Euchariſt* commonly went together. The firſt Council of *Toledo* [*g*] orders thoſe who come to Church, but neglect to communicate, to be admoniſhed: And if they amend not upon Admonition, then to be reduced to the State of formal Penance for their Crime. It were no hard Matter to ſhew the like Preſcriptions in many other [*h*] Councils, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew what was the ſtanding Rule of the firſt Ages as to Mens Obligations to be conſtant in receiving the Communion once a Week in their ſolemn Aſſembly on the Lord's Day.

AND

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. [*f*] Conc. Eliber. Can. 28. Placuit ab his qui non communicant, Epiſcopos munera accipere non debere. [*g*] Conc. Tolet. 1. can. 13. De his qui intrant in Eccleſiam, & deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur. Quod ſi non communicant, ad Pœnitentiam accedant.

[*h*] Vid. Conc. Matiſcon. 2. can. 4. Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 39.

Sect. 2.
This ſhewed to be the conſtant Practice for the Three firſt Ages.

AND if we run over the whole Hiſtory of the Three firſt Ages, we ſhall find this to have been the Churches conſtant Practice. *Ignatius* exhorts the *Epheſians* [*i*] to be diligent in aſſembling frequently to celebrate the *Euchariſt* and glorify GOD. For when ye often meet together, ye demoliſh the Power of Satan; and the Harmony of your Faith deſtroys the Deſtruction which he meditates againſt you. This Frequency of Communion may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be then, according to the known Practice, once a Week, on every *Lord's Day*. For on this Day, (as *Pliny*, who was Co-temporary with *Ignatius*, informs us [*k*], from the Teſtimony and Confeſſions of ſome Chriſtians, whom he as Proconſul of *Bithynia* examined) they were uſed to meet before it was Light by Reaſon of the Perſecutions, and then not only ſing Hymns to CHRIST their GOD, but alſo to bind themſelves by a Sacrament againſt the Commiſſion of all manner of Wickedneſs. *Juſtin Martyr* ſays [*l*] more expreſsly in his Apology to the Emperors, that on the Day called *Sunday* they were all uſed to meet together both out of City and Country, and hold a religious Aſſembly in this manner: Firſt a Reader read the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles: Then the Preſident of the Aſſembly made a Sermon; after which they all roſe up to common Prayers; and when thoſe were ended, Bread and Wine were brought to the Preſident, who conſecrated them with Prayer and Thankſgiving, to which all the People ſaid, *Amen*. Then all the preſent Members participated of the Eu-

[*i*] Ignat. Ep. ad Epheſ. n. 13. παραλύει τὴν τοῦ σατανᾶ δύναμιν· ἡ ὁμόνοια τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν αὐτὸν καταναλίσκει· καὶ ἡ στερεὰ ὑμῶν πίστις ἐστὶν ἀπώλεια τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ μηχανῆς. ὑμεῖς γὰρ πυκνότερον συνερχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, λύετε τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ διαλύετε τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνέργειαν ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν. τί γὰρ ἀμεινότερον εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καταργεῖται; &c. [*k*] Plin. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

[*l*] Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 97. & 98.

Euchariſt, and it was carried to the Abſent by the Deacons. The like Account is given by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, when he ſays [*m*] that as ſoon as the Bread was broken in the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, they permitted every one of the People to take his Share of it. And we ſhall preſently ſee more of this Cuſtom of communicating every Lord's Day in the Writings of *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, and *Euſebius*, and many others, who ſpeak of other Days as well as the Lord's Day, appropriated in ſome Churches to this Service: But about theſe the Cuſtom varied: For on other Days ſome Churches celebrated the *Euchariſt*, and others did not; but on the Lord's Day it was univerſally celebrated in all Churches, and never omitted by any Aſſembly of Chriſtians whatſoever. In ſo much that ſome [*n*] have obſerved out of *Chryſoſtom* [*o*], that *Sunday* was anciently among other Names called, *Dies Panis*, The Day of Bread, becauſe the Breaking of Bread was ſo general a Cuſtom in the Church on that Day.

Sect. 3. *The* Euchariſt *celebrated on other Days beſides the* Lord's Day *in many Churches.*

As to other Days, we may obſerve out of *Tertullian*, that in his Time they not only received the *Euchariſt* on *Sundays* [*p*] in their Morning Aſſemblies before Day, but alſo at other Times on other Days; particularly on the Anniverſary Feſtivals of the Martyrs; and the fifty Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, which were but one continued

[*m*] Clem. Strom. 1. p. 318. Vid. Conc. Laodic. can. 49. Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. Gaudent. Ser. 2. de Paſcha.

[*n*] *See Biſhop* Taylor's *conſtant Commun.* p. 462.

[*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 5. de Reſur. in Edit. Latinis.

[*p*] Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. Antelucanis cœtibus Euchariſtiam ſumimus. &c.

tinued Feſtival; and all their Stationary Days, that is, *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* in every Week throughout the Year. Theſe Things are not commonly obſerved by Writers on this Subject, but they add conſiderably to the Argument about frequent Communion. *Tertullian* ſays expreſsly of theſe ſtationary Days, that they were alway obſerved with Receiving the *Euchariſt*. For he tells ſome, who obejcted againſt it on theſe Days, That their Station would be ſo much the more ſolemn [q] for their Standing at the Altar. And whereas they ſcrupled to communicate becauſe they were afraid that Receiving the *Euchariſt* would be a breaking of their Faſt: (For theſe were *Semi-jejunia*, Half-Faſts, which they obſerved till three in the Afternoon): he takes away [r] this Scruple alſo, and tells them, that Receiving the *Euchariſt* would be ſo far from breaking their Faſt, that it would the more recommend it to GOD, and by doing this they would perfectly perform both Duties together. St. *Baſil* [s] agrees with *Tertullian* in making the Stationary-Days not only Faſt-Days, but Days of Communion. For reckoning four Days in the Week on which they received the Communion, he counts *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* with *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, to compleat the Number. And *Socrates* [t] notes it as a peculiar Cuſtom in the Church of *Alexandria*, that though they had religious Aſſemblies on theſe Days, and all other Divine-Service performed on them, yet they had not the Communion. Which Exception implies, that to receive the Communion on thoſe Days, was the general Cuſtom of other Churches.

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[q] Tertul. de Orat. cap. 14. Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi et & ad aram Dei ſteteris?

[r] Ibid. Ergo devotum Deo obſequium Euchariſtia reſolvit, an magis Deo obligat? [s] Baſil. Ep. 219 ad Cæſaream Patriciam. T. 3. p. 278. [t] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

TERTULLIAN as plainly intimates that they received the Communion upon all the Feſtivals of the Martyrs [u]. And the ſame is noted by *Cyprian* [x], and *Chryſoſtom* [y], and *Sidonius Apollinaris* [z]. The Paſſages have been cited at large in another Place [*], and therefore I need not here repeat them. *Tertullian* [a] ſays farther, that the fifty Days of *Pentecoſt*, or all the Days between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, were one continued Feſtival. And ſince all Feſtivals were Communion-Days, we may conclude that the Communion was celebrated every Day during this Interval.

SATURDAY alſo or the *Sabbath* in every Week, was obſerved as a religious Feſtival in many Churches. And therefore on this Day likewiſe they generally received the Communion. This is expreſsly ſaid by *Socrates* [b], and *Caſſian* [c], and St. *Baſil* [d], and *Timothy* of *Alexandria* [e], and St. *Auſtin* [f], and the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* [g], and the Council of *Laodicea* [h]. I have already [†] produced the ſeveral Teſtimonies of theſe Writers at large upon another Occaſion, and therefore it is ſufficient here to make a ſhort Reference to them. By all this it appears undeniably, that in many Churches they had the Communion four times every Week, on *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, beſides incidental Feaſtivals, which were very frequent, for as *Chryſoſtom* [i] tells us, there was ſcarce

[u] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3. [x] Cypr. Ep. 12. al. 37. Ep. 39. al. 34. [y] Chryſ. Hom. 59 de Martyr. T. 5. p. 779. [z] Sidon. Lib 5. Ep. 17. [*] Book XIII. Chap. ix. n. 5. [a] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 3. De Idololat. cap. 14. [b] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 22. Lib. 6. cap. 8. [c] Caſſian. Inſtit. Lib. 3. cap. 2. [d] Baſil Ep. 289. [e] Timoth. Can. 13. [f] Aug. Ep. 118. [g] Conſtit. Lib. 2. cap. 59. [h] Conc. Laodic. Can. 49. [†] Book XIII. Chap. ix. n. 3. [i] Hom. 40. in Juventin. T. 1. p. 546. Hom. 65. de Martyr. &c.

ſcarce a Week paſſed in the Year but they had one or two Commemorations of Martyrs.

Sect. 4. *And in ſome Places every Day.*

BUT we are aſſured farther, that in ſome Places they received the Communion every Day. St. *Auſtin* ſays [*k*] in ſome Places only on the *Saturday* and the *Lord's Day*; and in other Places only on the *Lord's Day*. For this was left to the Liberty of every Church: But they that communicated the ſeldomeſt, did it at leaſt every *Lord's Day*. So again [*l*], The Sacrament of his Body, the Church and its Unity, is in ſome Places prepared and taken every Day at the Lord's Table; in other Places only on certain Days with an Interval of Time between them. In the greater Churches probably they had it every Day, in the leſſer only once or twice a Week. *Carthage* ſeems to have been one of thoſe Churches which had it every Day [*m*] from the Time of *Cyprian*. For *Cyprian* and *Auſtin* [*n*] after him ſpeak of it as the Cuſtom of that Church to receive it Daily, unleſs they were under ſome ſuch grievous Sin as ſeparated them from the Body of CHRIST, and kept them as Penitents from Communicating. Therefore *Cyprian* gives this as one Senſe of that Petition in the *Lord's Prayer*, *Give us this Day our Daily Bread*, as if it might be underſtood in the ſpiritual Senſe, as well

[*k*] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 2. Alij quotidie communicant corpori & ſanguini Dominico, alij certis diebus accipiunt: alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum & Dominico: alibi tantum Dominico, &c.

[*l*] Id. Tract. 26. in Joan. p. 94. Hujus rei Sacramentum, id eſt, unitatis corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominica menſa præparatur & ſumitur. *See alſo* Aug. Ser. 29. de Verb. Dom. al. 5. in Appendice. It. Lib. 2. de Serm. Dom. in monte. cap. 7. T. 4. [*m*] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Euchariſtiam quotidie ad cibum ſalutis accipimus, &c. [*n*] Aug. de Dono Perſeverantiæ. cap. 5.

well as the natural, as a Petition to be Daily fed with the Fleſh of CHRIST in the *Euchariſt*, which was the Bread of Life. In another Place [o] he exhorts the Martyrs to prepare themſelves for the Fight of Perſecution, conſidering that they therefore drink the Cup of CHRIST's Blood every Day, that they may be able to ſhed their Blood for CHRIST. Therefore, ſays he [p] a little after, Let us arm our Hand with that ſpiritual Sword, that it being mindful of the *Euchariſt*, (the Chriſtian Sacrifice) may valiantly refuſe thoſe abominable and deadly Sacrifices of the Heathen; Let that Hand, which has received the Body of the Lord, embrace the Lord himſelf, being afterward to receive the Reward of an eternal Crown from the LORD in Heaven. To which may be added what he ſays in another Place [q], That the Prieſts who celebrated the Daily Sacrifices of GOD, did alſo prepare the Martyrs to offer themſelves as Victims and Oblations unto GOD. Where by the Daily Sacrifice he certainly means the *Euchariſt*, which is often called the Daily Sacrifice [r] by the Ancients, for the ſame Reaſon as the *Lord's Prayer* is called the Daily Prayer, becauſe they were both daily celebrated at the Altar. St. *Jerom* aſſures us [s] it was the Cuſtom at *Rome* for the Faithful to receive the Body of CHRIST every Day.

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[o] Cypr. Ep. 36. al. 38. ad Thibaritanos. p. 129. Conſiderantes idcirco ſe quotidie calicem ſanguinis Chriſti bibere, ut poſſint & ipſi propter Chriſtum ſanguinem fundere.

[p] Ibid. p. 125. Armemus dexteram gladio ſpiritali, &c.

[q] Cypr. Ep. 54. al. 57. ad Cornel. p. 118. Sacerdotes qui ſacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus, hoſtias Deo & victimas præparemus.

[r] So Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Epheſ. p. 1051. θυσία καθημερινὴ, καὶ ἐκάστη. &c.

[s] Hieron. Ep. 50. ad Pammachium. cont. Jovin. cap. 6. Scio Romæ hanc eſſe conſuetudinem, ut fideles ſemper Chriſti corpus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo nec probo. Unuſquiſque enim in ſuo ſenſu abundat.

Day. Which he neither abſolutely commends, nor diſallows, but leaves every Man to abound in his own Senſe, only requiring Men to receive it with due Preparation. In another Place [*t*] he ſays, it was not only the Cuſtom at *Rome*, but of the *Spaniſh* Church to communicate every Day. And to one who propoſed the Queſtion to him as a Caſe of Conſcience, Whether he ought to communicate every Day? he gives this Anſwer, That the Cuſtoms and Traditions of every Church, which did not prejudice the Faith, were to be obſerved in ſuch manner as they were handed down by their Forefathers; and the Cuſtom of one Church was not to preſcribe to, or overthrow the contrary Cuſtom of another. And he wiſhes that all Men might receive the *Euchariſt* every Day, provided they might do it without Condemnation and Pricks of Conſcience for unworthy Receiving. Which is the ſame Reſolution as St. *Auſtin* gave in the Queſtion: For having ſtated the Arguments on both Sides, for and againſt daily Receiving; the one Pleading, That Men ought to abſtain for a few Days, that they might prepare to receive more worthily when they came to it: And the other arguing, That unleſs their Sins were ſuch as deſerved Excommunication, and the Cure of a more ſolemn Repentance, they ought not to ſeparate themſelves from the Daily Medicine of CHRIST's Body; he divides the Matter between them, determining that each Party might act according as their own Judgment and Faith in this Caſe piouſly directed them. For neither of them [*u*] intended to diſhonour the Body and Blood of the Lord, whilſt they ſtrove earneſtly who

[*t*] Ep. 28. ad Lucinium Bœticum. De Euchariſtia quod quæris, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Hiſpaniæ obſervare perhibentur, &c,

[*u*] Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. 3.

who ſhould do the greateſt Honour to the Holy Sacrament of their Salvation. In like manner as *Zacchæus* and the Centurion were at no Variance between themſelves, neither did the one prefer himſelf before the other, when the one received the Lord into his Houſe Rejoycing, and the other ſaid, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou ſhouldſt come under my Roof:* For they both really honoured their Saviour, though in a different, and as it were, in a contrary Way, being both miſerable in their Sins, and both alike obtaining Mercy. So it is with Pious Chriſtians in this Caſe; The one out of Honour dares not receive the Sacrament every Day, and the other out of Honour dares not let any Day paſs without Receiving it. This was an holy Strife indeed, and we ſee the Diſpute was not, Whether they ſhould receive it only once or twice a Year, but whether they ſhould receive it once or twice a Week, or rather every Day. We have heard *Gennadius* ſay before [x], that he netiher praiſes nor diſpraiſes Receiving the *Euchariſt* every Day, but he perſuades and exhorts all to receive it every *Lord's Day*, if their Minds be pure from Affections to Sin. St. *Ambroſe* was more peremptory in his Advice to receive it every Day. If it be our daily Bread [y], ſays he, why doſt thou receive it once a Year only, as the *Greeks* are uſed to do in the *Eaſt*? Receive that daily, which is for thy daily Advantage: And ſo live, that thou mayſt deſerve daily to receive it. He that does not deſerve to receive it every Day, does not deſerve to receive it after a Year. Again [z], I ought always to re-

[x] Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccleſ. cap. 53. *See the laſt Chapter.* n. 3. [y] Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 5. cap. 4. Si quotidianus eſt Panis, cur poſt annum illum ſumis, quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere conſueverunt? &c. [z] Id. Lib. 4. c. 6. Qui ſemper pecco, ſemper debeo habere Medicinam, &c.

ceive that which is ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, that my Sins may always be forgiven me: I that am always ſinning, ought always to have my Medicine at hand, as he that has a Wound, ſeeks without delay for a Cure. St. *Ambroſe* here is very plain, that the Communion was adminiſtred daily in the *Weſtern* Church, but he ſeems to reflect upon the *Greek* Church, as if they had left off that Cuſtom. But he is to be interpreted by St. *Auſtin* [a], who ſpeaks the ſame Thing, but does not charge the whole *Greek* Church, nor any Part of it with this Innovation, but only ſome particular Men in ſome Parts, who did not think themſelves under any Obligation to receive it daily. And indeed it appears from St. *Chryſoſtom* and others, that about this Time many began ſcandalouſly to neglect frequent Communion, and contented themſelves to receive once or twice a Year upon ſome ſolemn Feſtival. But the Church was far from encouraging this Contempt: For She kept ſtill to the Cuſtom of daily Communion in many Places, and in all Places to the Celebration of it on *Saturday* and the *Lord's Day*, and in many Places on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* alſo; and they that were piouſly diſpoſed, were conſtant Communicants at theſe Times; and they that were negligent and prophane, were earneſtly invited to be more frequent in Communicating, and there are many ſevere Invectives againſt their Remiſneſs. *Euſebius* [b] ſays expreſsly, that they celebrated the Memorial of CHRIST's Body and Blood, ὁσημέραι, every Day. And it appears from the Council of *Laodicea* [c] that they

[a] Aug. de Sermone Dom. in monte. Lib. 2. cap. 7. T. 4. Plurimi in Orientalibus partibus non quotidie cœnæ Dominicæ communicant, cum iſte panis Quotidianus dictus ſit.

[b] Euſeb. Demonſtr. Evangel. Lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 37.

[c] Conc. Laodicen. can. 49.

they had it twice in the Week, on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, in *Lent*, and at all other Times of the Year more frequently. St. *Baſil* [*d*] ſpeaks of four Days in the Week on which it was uſual to receive the Communion beſides incidental Feſtivals of Martyrs. And he commends it as good and uſeful to communicate and participate of the Holy Body and Blood of CHRIST every Day, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. *Palladius* tells us [*e*] how *Macarius* adviſed a Woman that had been under the Power of Inchantment, never to omit Receiving the Communion; telling her, that that Judgment had befaln her becauſe that for five Weeks ſhe had neglected to partake of the Holy Myſteries. But none is more expreſs in this Matter, nor more vehement againſt the Neglect of frequent Communion than St. *Chryſoſtom*. He tells us ſometimes that they had Communions every Day for thoſe that were more devoutly diſpoſed; ſometimes on the three more ſolemn Days in the Week, *Fridays*, *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, on which Days the whole Church was expected; though for all this many came not above once a Year. In vain, ſays he [*f*], is the daily Sacrifice, καθημερινὴ θυσία, in vain do we ſtand at the Altar: There is none to participate. He ſpeaks this againſt thoſe who came but once a Year out of mere Cuſtom at ſome ſolemn Feſtival, whilſt in the mean time the Sacrifice was daily offered, though they refuſed to partake of it. In another Place diſcourſing of the Difference between the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian Paſſover* [*g*], he ſays, The *Jewiſh Paſſover* comes but once a Year, but the *Chriſtan Paſſover* is celebrated

[*d*] Baſil. Ep. 289. ad Cæſaream. [*e*] Pallad. Hiſt Lauſiac. cap. 19. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. T. 2. p. 923. *See alſo* Caſſian. Collat. 7. cap. 30. *Where he ſpeaks of Daily Communion.* [*f*] Chryſ. Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. [*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 52. in eos qui Paſcha jejunant. T. 5. p. 705. & 709.

in every *Synaxis* or Aſſembly. And a little after, *Lent* comes but once a Year, but the *Paſſover* is celebrated three times a Week, and ſometimes four, or as often as we pleaſe. Again, This is what deſtroys [*b*] all Religion, that Men meaſure their Worthineſs not by the Purity of their Souls, but by the Length of Time, and take this for Piety and Reverence, that they come not frequently to the Lord's Table; not conſidering that if they come unworthily, tho' it be but once a Year, they are worthy of Puniſhment. It is not Boldneſs to come frequently, but to come unworthily, though a Man do it but once in all his Life. But we are ſo ſtupid and inſenſible as to think, that when we have wallowed in Sin all the Year without any Care to repent, it is ſufficient that we have not daily preſumed in a contumelious manner to touch the Body of CHRIST: Not conſidering that the *Jews*, who crucified CHRIST, did it but once. But was their Sin ever the leſs for that? And *Judas* betrayed him but once. But did that excuſe him? Why therefore do we meaſure this Matter by Time only? Let the ſeaſonable Time of our coming be a pure Conſcience. The Communion is the ſame now as it is at *Eaſter*, there is the ſame Grace of the Spirit, it is the *Paſſover* every Day. The ſame Sacrifice is offered on *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*, and *Sundays*, and the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. It is plain by all this, that the Communion was celebrated ordinarily three or four times a Week, if not every Day; though ſome were ſo vain as to think, they were the more reſpectful to it, in not coming above once a Year, out of a pretended Reverence for it; who yet when they did come, came only to eat it to their Comdemnation, for want of a Mind duly

[*b*] Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. p. 1548.

duly prepared to receive it. Whom he thus reflects upon in another Place: Many partake of this Sacrifice only once a Year, others twice, and others frequently. Which of theſe are the moſt acceptable? They only who do it with a pure Conſcience, with a pure Heart, with a Life Unblameable. With this Qualification come [*i*] always; without it come not ſo much as once. For they that do ſo, take only Judgment, Condemnation and Puniſhment to themſelves. This he repeats over and over again in his *Homilies*. He that is conſcious to himſelf of no Crime, ought to come to the Lord's Table: But if Men are laden with Sin, and do not repent [*k*], it is not ſafe for them to come even once upon a Feſtival. The *Jews* have their annual Memorials of GOD's Benefits on their Feſtivals, but thou who art a Chriſtian, haſt a daily [*l*] Memorial, as I may ſay, in theſe holy Myſteries. The beſt Preſerver of Kindneſſes is the Remembrance of them, and perpetual Thankſgiving for them. Therefore thoſe venerable and ſalutary Myſteries, which we celebrate every Day [*m*] in our Aſſemblies, are called the *Euchariſt* or Thankſgiving: Becauſe they are the Memorial of GOD's Kindneſs to us. It were eaſy to collect Abundance more ſuch Paſſages out of this ancient Writer, but I will only add one Place more, where he thus ſharply taxes the Peoples Negligence of frequent Communion: I often obſerve, ſays he, a great Multitude Flock together [*n*] to hear the Sermon, but when the Time of the Holy Myſteries comes, I can ſee few or none of them: Which makes me ſigh from the Bottom of my Heart, that when

[*i*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1872. [*k*] Chryſ. Hom. 31. de Philogon. T. 1. p. 403. [*l*] Hom. 51. in Mat. p. 455. [*m*] Hom. 26. in Mat. p. 259.
[*n*] Hom. 3. de Incomprehenſibili. T. 1. p. 362.

I your Fellow-Servant am diſcourſing to you, you are ready to tread upon one another for Earneſtneſs to hear, and continue very attentive to the End; but when CHRIST our common Lord and Maſter is ready to appear in the holy Myſteries, the Church is in a manner empty and deſerted. What Pardon or Excuſe can be allowed for this? By this Neglect you loſe all the Praiſe that is due to your Diligence in Hearing. If you had laid up in your Hearts what I preach to you, it would retain you in the Church, and prompt you to receive the Holy Myſteries with Piety and Veneration: But now, as if you were hearing one Play upon an Inſtrument, the Preacher has no ſooner done, but ye are all gone out of the Church. This, I confeſs, proves that in *Chryſoſtom*'s Days there was a great Abatement of the Primitive Zeal, and a great Declenſion from the Original Practice: But ſtill it is evident that frequent and daily Communions were in ſome Meaſure kept up by the Clergy and devouter Sort of Laity, who conſtantly frequented them, though many careleſs Chriſtians had no other Regard to them, but only to come formally once or twice a Year, and that with Superſtition enough inſtead of Religion, at ſome of the ſolemn Feſtivals.

Sect. 5.
When firſt it came to be ſettled to Three Times in the Year.

WHEN Matters were come to this Degeneracy, ſome Councils inſtead of reviving the ancient Diſcipline, and quickning Men by juſt Cenſures to frequent Communion, contented themſelves to oblige the Laity to receive three Times a Year, at the Three great Feſtivals, *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Pentecoſt*, under the Penalty of not being reputed Catholick Chriſtians, if they neglected to communicate at thoſe Three noted Seaſons. Thus it was firſt determined in

in the Council of *Agde* [o] about the Year 506. And ſo things continued to the Time of *Charles the Great*, when the Third Council of *Tours* [p] made a Decree to the like Purpoſe, *An.* 813. That all Laymen, who were not under the Impediment of greater Sins, ſhould receive Three Times a Year at leaſt, if not more frequently. And yet the Clergy continued to communicate frequently with ſome of the devouter Laity every *Lord's Day*, as appears from the Writers of that Age, particularly *Rabanus Maurus* [q] and *Bertram* [r], who ſays the Sacrament was adminiſtred not only at the *Paſchal* Solemnity every Year, but on every Day throughout the Year, when as yet the Corruption of private and ſolitary *Maſs* did not prevail, which came not in till ſome Ages after. And it is remarkable, that even in this Age the Council of *Aix la Chapelle* [s] made ſome Attempt to reſtore the ancient Practice to its Primitive Luſtre, by reviving the Decree of the Council of *Antioch*, which orders all ſuch as come to Church to hear the Scriptures, but refuſe to receive the Holy Communion, to be caſt out of the Church, till they ſhould amend their Fault by Confeſſion and Repentance.

[o] Conc. Agathen. can. 18. Seculares, qui in Natali Domini, Paſcha, & Pentecoſte, non communicaverint, Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur.

[p] Conc. Turon. 3. can. 50. Ut ſi non frequentius, vel ter Laici homines in anno communicent, niſi forte quis majoribus criminibus impediatur.

[q] Raban. de Propriet. Sermonis. Lib. 1. cap. 10. It. de Inſtit. Cleric. Lib. 1. cap. 31.

[s] Bertram. de Corp. & Sanguine Dom. in Præfat. Sacramenta —— non ſolum per omnes Paſchæ ſolennitates celebrantur ſingulis annis, verum ſingulis in anno diebus.

[s] Conc. Aquiſgran. cap. 70. ex Conc. Antioch. can. 2.

Sect. 6. *And afterward to once a Year by the Council of* Lateran.

BUT the Diſeaſe was grown too epidemical and inveterate to be eaſily corrected; and therefore in a degenerate Age the Corruption went on and increaſed, and the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the IIId. added Strength and Confirmation to it; reducing the Obligation to communicate ſtill within narrower Bounds. For whereas before, all Men were obliged to communicate at leaſt Three Times a Year, this Council made it neceſſary to do it no more than once at *Eaſter*, when every Man and Woman that was come to Years of Diſcretion, was bound to make Auricular Confeſſion of all his Sins to his own Prieſt, and receive the Communion [*t*], unleſs the Prieſt adviſed that for ſome reaſonable Cauſe he ſhould abſtain from it. This Rule was afterward taken into the Body of their Canon Law [*u*]. And here we may Date the utter Ruin of the Ancient and Apoſtolical Practice of frequent and general Communions. For from this Time People began to think themſelves diſcharged of the Duty of frequent communicating, and contented themſelves with receiving once a Year at *Eaſter*, leaving their Prieſts to communicate alone; which quickly was attended with another Corruption of private and ſolitary *Maſſes*, which uſurped the Room of the ancient general Communions of the whole Church one with another, and made the Ancient Prayers a perfect Heap and Maſs of Abſurdities, whilſt they prayed and

[*t*] Conc. Lateran. 4. can. 21. Omnis utriuſque Sexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annos diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia ſua ſolus peccata confiteatur fideliter ſaltem ſemel in anno proprio Sacerdoti, & injunctam ſibi pœnitentiam ſtudeat pro viribus adimplere, ſuſcipiens reverenter ad minus in Paſcha Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum, &c. [*u*] Decretal. Gregor. Lib. 5. Tit. 38. de Pœnitent. & Remiſſion. cap. 12.

and gave Thanks to GOD for the whole Congregation as Communicants, when there was not ſo much as one Communicant properly ſpeaking among them, but all mere Spectators of the Prieſt pretending to act in the Name of the whole Church, and communicate in Pageantry without any real Communion. This was the general State of the *Romiſh* Service at the Time of the REFORMATION, except in ſome few Collegiate Churches, where if *Bona* [x] ſay true, the Clergy continued to communicate with the officiating Prieſt, according to ancient Cuſtom, without which, he confeſſes, it is hard to make intelligible Senſe of many of their Prayers that are daily uſed in their Service.

Sect. 7. *What Attempt was made to reſtore frequent and full Communions at the* Reformation.

SOME Attempt was made by the firſt Reformers to rectify theſe Abuſes, and reſtore frequent and general Communions in many Places. And they happily carried their Point ſo far, as to aboliſh private *Maſſes* in all Places: But the Reſtoring the ancient Way of the whole Church's Communicating every *Lord's Day*, was a Matter not ſo eaſy to be effected; partly by reaſon of the Prejudices which Men had imbibed by the Prevalency and long Duration of contrary Cuſtom; and partly by reaſon of that Affection which Men retain for their Vices, which will not ſuffer them to comply with an Inſtitution, that requires a conſtant Purity of Soul, and a Conſcience always void of Offence, to qualify them for a worthy Reception of a weekly or daily Communion. *Calvin* laboured hard at his firſt coming to *Geneva* to eſtabliſh a monthly or a weekly

[x] Bona Rer. Liturg. Lib. 2. cap. 17. n. 2. Sine quo vix poſſunt intelligi, quæ in Liturgicis Orationibus quotidie recitantur.

weekly Communion, as moſt agreeable to the Practice of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Church: He pleads earneſtly for it in his *Inſtitutions* [y], where he cenſures the Popiſh Cuſtom of Communicating only once a Year, as moſt certainly the Invention of the Devil: Yet after all he could not prevail to have ſo much as a monthly Communion ſettled among the People, but was over-born in his Endeavours, and forced to yield to a Rule, which requires the People to communicate only four times a Year. However, he ſays, he took Care to have it entred [z] upon Record, That this was an evil Cuſtom, to the Intent that Poſterity might with more Eaſe and Liberty correct it. But whether it ever was corrected to this Day, is what I am ignorant of: Moſt probably it never was, ſince I have had occaſion to ſhew in another Work [*], Communicating only four times a Year, continued to be the general, ſtanding Cuſtom in the *French* Church. Their Diſcipline required no more, though they encouraged more frequent Reception. The *Church of England* was a little happier in her Attempts of this Kind. For though Her Rules require the People in general to receive but three times a Year, as of neceſſary Eccleſiaſtical Obligation; yet in our Cathedral Churches the *Euchariſt* is ordinarily celebrated every *Lord's Day*; as it is alſo in ſome of the *London* Pariſh-Churches; and others both in City and Country have monthly Communions. Yet there remains a great deal ſtill to be done, to bring this Matter to the Primitive Standard. For even in our Cathedrals the Communions are very thin, and there is ſtill room for thoſe Complaints of St. *Chryſoſtom*, In vain do

[y] Calvin. Inſtit. Lib. 4. cap. 17. n. 46.

[z] Calvin. Reſpons. de quibuſdam Eccleſ. Ritibus. p. 206.

[*] *French Churches Apology for the Church of* England. Book III.. Chap. 14.

do we ſtand at the Altar, in vain is the daily Sacrifice offered, there are none, in a manner, that communicate. The Churches are crowded to hear the Sermon, but when the time of the Holy Myſteries comes, they are empty and deſerted. Men are earneſt to hear their Fellow-Servant preach an eloquent Diſcourſe, but when CHRIST the common Lord and Maſter of all is ready to appear, and entertain them, they fly, though never ſo kindly invited, from his Table. This muſt needs grieve the Hearts of all Pious Servants of CHRIST, who ſtand there to miniſter in his Name, whilſt Few hearken to their Admonitions, and the Generality excuſe themſelves from Communicating, as if it were no Chriſtian Duty. And in Country Pariſhes the Matter is ſtill more deplorable, where the Deſpair of Succeſs deters the Miniſter from Attempting it. For here Men are generally ſo averſe to a weekly Communion, that they will not be prevailed upon with all the ſerious Exhortations that can be uſed, to comply with the ſtanding Rules of the Church, which oblige them to communicate three times a Year, though the Miniſter himſelf be under an Obligation to Preſent every ſuch Non-Communicant as a notorious Delinquent. *But if the Foundations be caſt down, what can the Righteous do?* Experience tells us, it is as much Labour in vain to Preſent a Negligent People for not Communicating three times a Year, as it is gravely to exhort them to a weekly Communion. This Diſcouragement which Miniſters commonly meet with, in trying to bring Men to comply with the ſtated Rules of Communicating three times a Year by Church-Cenſures, which are wholly neglected, makes them deſpair of going any higher towards the Perfection of the Primitive Practice: Since they who cannot be prevailed upon by the preſent Diſcipline to communicate

nicate three times a Year, are too Obſtinate and Stubborn to hearken to any the moſt ſerious Admonitions that can be uſed to incline them to a weekly Communion.

Sect. 8. *Wherein this is ſtill deficient, and what ſeems yet neceſſary to be done in order to reduce Communion to the Primitive Standard.*

WHAT effectual Remedy can be applied to this inveterate Diſeaſe, is not very eaſy to determine. Yet certainly the Regaining of that which was ſo much the Glory of the Primitive Church, and the great Support of Chriſtian Innocence and Piety (as frequent weekly Communion moſt certainly was) muſt be a Thing worthy the moſt ſerious Thoughts and Conſideration of all thoſe, into whoſe Hands GOD has put Power and Authority by a ſuperior Influence to redreſs Abuſes, when they can ſafely do it to Edification, and not to Deſtruction. If I were worthy to give any Advice in the Caſe, it ſhould be this, Firſt to reſtore the Practice of the true ancient Diſcipline, and after that the Way would lie open to revive the Practice of the true Primitive Way of Communicating weekly every *Lord's Day*. But it will be ſaid, There lies an inſuperable Difficulty againſt the Reſtoration of the ancient Diſcipline in the preſent Poſture of Affairs: The State of the preſent Times, and the general Corruption of Mens Morals will not admit of it: The *Church of England* has for two Hundred Years wiſhed for the Reſtoration of this Diſcipline, and yet it is but an ineffective Wiſh; for nothing is done towards introducing it, but rather Things are gone backward, and there is leſs Diſcipline for this laſt ſixty Years, ſince the Times of the unhappy Confuſions, than there was before. To which it may be anſwered, That the Difficulty is certainly great, but not inſuperable; For Diſcipline is one of GOD's Ordinances

nances in his Church, and He appoints nothing but what is practicable in itſelf, if Men be not wanting on their Part to contribute toward the Exerciſe of it. But to give Rules in this Caſe is a nice and tender Point, and I had rather it ſhould be done by the Wiſdom of others than my ſelf. Something has already been ſuggeſted by a late Learned Writer [†] on this Subject, very uſeful for obtaining the End now propoſed; and therefore I ſhall content myſelf at preſent to refer to his Suggeſtions, and put an End to this Diſcourſe.

[†] *Penitential Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.* Cap. 4. London. 1714.

FINIS.



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